

averse to the proposal therefore that I should transfer to the mine where he was, and receive the benefit of any help he may be willing to give. I was still a carting-boy and mining student, and I was given work on one of the upper seams where fossil leaves were abundant. When it became known that I was leaving the mine, however, where I had been working since my boyhood, my father was told he must leave also, so meant both of us going to work under my cousin. Unfortunately for my father because he was given work for which he was unsuitable, and soon became a casualty, and never resumed work. It meant of course that his income was greatly reduced, and more of my wages had to be given for the upkeep of the home.

I shall never forget an incident that occurred one day that nearly cost me my life. It was usual for us to bring the full waggons along the tunnel from the coal face to the top of a slope, where they were lowered to pull up empty ones, that were taken away to be filled and returned. The arrangement worked very well, and saved the wages of a man. But one day when I was lowering a full waggon it left the rails, and I hastened down the incline to lift it on and proceed with my work at the top. The sloping incline was not much larger in section than the loaded waggon, so much so, that a man could not get past it. My actions were all haste, for money depended on it, and descending the incline as I did, I forgot to place a large wooden block between the rails at the top to prevent another loaded waggon running into the slope. But that is just what happened, and I was unprotected while working in the small tunnel below. I had taken hold of the rope to lift the waggon back on the rails when I pushed the projecting end of a piece of wire through the front of my third finger; and the wire pinched it so tightly that it caused great pain, and I dare not move it. I could not see how I was going to get the finger off the rope. That was the situation when I heard the sound of a loaded waggon descending from the top of the incline, and accelerating its speed; and I knew it would crush me against the waggon on the rope in a few seconds.

onds, therefore I tore my finger off the rope, and ran into a recess a few yards away where I saw the waggon smash into that I had lifted on to the rails. I was safe; but it was a remarkable escape from death.

It reminds me of another remarkable escape from death which happened before I went to work at the pit. Being interested in Rescue Work as I was, caused me to take an interest in it. The trouble originated in a fire in an intake airway beyond which a number of men were working. Smoke was carried to the place where they were working by the air current so that the men were in danger of suffocation, for there was no other way out of the working except that along which the smoke was being carried. The prospect was grim, but they were men having resource, and decided to build a barrier with stones to prevent the circulation of air, and live as long as they could in static air. They would at least keep the smoke out of their lungs. That was unknown however to men who were on the pit side of the fire. Rescue teams went down in attempts to save the men, water was sent down from the surface to be thrown on the fire, and a long hard fight began.

People gathered at the top of the pit meanwhile, who, after a long <sup>wait</sup> could form no other conclusion than that all had perished.

The case was not quite so hopeless, for the rescuers continued their efforts, the fire was extinguished, the barrier was broken through, and all the men were found to be alive. The whole scene was transformed at the pit-top when the men were being brought to the surface. Some walked away to <sup>their</sup> the homes as usual, and others were helped. I saw it all, and felt the thrill that went through all those who had been waiting, and hoped on when any evidence of survival had vanished.

There was a disaster in a neighbouring coal mine that did not have such a happy ending. It was a case of a coal-dust explosion in which a fellow student was killed. Powdered dust was not suspected as an explosive element to the extent it is today, but it was usually

collected and taken away before a shot was fired. It had been done that occasion, but dust was blown into the air and ignited, with the result that a man and boy lost their lives. The man was married, and had two sons who were deaf and dumb.

I continued to work as a carting-boy for some time after that, when my cousin thought it would be an advantage for me to have work as a 'Breaker', that is, to break the coal from the seam for another youth to drag it to the waggon and load it. It would mean that I left the pit earlier in the afternoon, and thus have more time for study. It was indeed a great improvement in my position, and I used the opportunity to the full.

Again, my cousin thought it <sup>would</sup> be a great help if I had experience in official capacity, so he promoted me to the position of Overman on the night shift. It kept me in touch with developments in the mine, gave me experience in supervising men, and organising work. It took a little time for me to grasp the situation, but I made an effective adjustment to it; and I appeared to give satisfaction. It meant however that much time had to be given to repair things that had gone wrong, clear falls of <sup>of</sup> roof away, replace timber that was broken; and I was brought face to face with danger on more than one occasion.

I recall a case that happened past midnight when men were replacing beams and posts that supported the roof of a tunnel along which waggons ran to the pit. Some cross timbers had broken, and it meant that men had to work under broken timber and roof to put other beams and posts in position. All went well for a time until the roof broke suddenly, pushing down some old timber as large stones fell. Some of the workmen <sup>ran a few steps</sup> jumped back to the sides for safety, but one did not. He moved only to the side of the tunnel in his attempt to escape, and, fortunately for him, he stood against a post that leaned against the side, thus preventing rocks from pressing against his body. He was covered completely, <sup>but</sup> and was able to breathe and talk. That was a new experience for me, and so I sent a man to the surface to fetch the

Under-manager in case the man did not survive, and proceeded to remove the stones to prevent him from being crushed to death. He was freed just before the official arrived, and was suffering only from fright and cold. He was known to be fond of alcoholic drink, and the fact that remains most vivid in my memory was the way he drank the brandy the official brought. It seemed to make everything right before the man went to the surface for a warm up, after which he was able to walk to his home.

I was soon transferred to the day shift when the work consisted mostly of examining working conditions, and maintaining the movement of waggons to and from the pit bottom. It meant I did not get so tired physically, and was able to stay up later at night to study my books. Nothing eventful happened during the whole of that time except on one occasion my cousin thought it may be an advantage for me to do work at the bottom of the pit that was being sunk lower <sup>to</sup> ~~and~~ another seam of coal. There was much to learn, and while I knew the theory from books, I did not have the practical knowledge that comes with experience. So it was arranged for the Manager, Under-manager, and myself, to go down to work together. And everything was interesting at first, for I had to bore holes for blasting by striking a drill with a heavy hammer, and all the holes had to be made in a definite position and the correct angle. There was a snag however for water was falling all the time, and accumulating about our feet, so that my hands became wet and very cold; and a time came when I was unable to straighten my fingers after using the hammer; so from that moment the work became a cause of misery, and I was relieved more than words can explain when we were lifted back to the surface, and work was finished. I was not asked to take part in such work again, and I suspect the others had enough of it.

I went to work in the pit with great hopes and expectations for I had been studying for a few years, had read widely, and could tackle the Papers that were set for the Second Class Exam at a number of

centres, the Cardiff centre appealing to me the most. I had an advantage too in that I would operate closely with a Manager in the person of my cousin, and that would mean an enlargement in my experience of details of administration. That, in turn, would commend me to the Examiners when the time arrived. I was not unaware however that I was confronted by a new problem in the person of my cousin who for some reason, psychological or other, was unable to detach himself as a man from the class in which he had been reared. The Manager of the pit where I worked formerly was a gentleman, and it was obvious to all who observed him that he fostered a different relation. He was a man who did his work, but he was never completely submerged in it. He moved a level above it, caused others to look up to him as a superior, and appreciated his social status. He was the kind of man who embodied an ideal for any youth who would rise above his class; and it was such as drew out my admiration.

My cousin did not separate in that way. He had studied to pass his Exams as I hoped to do, but what he acquired did not crystallise in to give the mark of a gentleman. He had been a workman all his life and he transferred the outlook to the position to which he was promoted. He was fond of manual labour, and did not hesitate to take part in work that others were doing; in fact he sometimes acted more as workman than others were doing. But I want to be fair to him, for the mine was an old one, and the amount of profit may have left much to be desired, and prudence may appear to indicate that working as he did would be regarded favourably by the owner who was very alert when the amount of profit was under consideration. There appeared to be a friendly relation between the two men. Thus it happened that my cousin had been an ideal to me when we were unknown to each other, the situation changed somewhat when he came under observation, for I was in a position to compare two men who were doing the same kind of work and one was a gentleman while the other was not, and never could be. Thus the conduct of my cousin focussed my attention day and night u

til I began to feel an emergent recoil that withdrew me from one towards the other as human types. It was a recoil that was repressed easily at first because of the demands which effort made upon me. Then intervals between periods of work brought about a withdrawal of thinking to such ideas as emerged from the deeper mind. The interchange continued day after day until degrees of comparative strength was discerned, then a hazy zone that allowed one to affect the other, then the equivalent of a break that allowed one to confront another, then the power to separate and regard separately until comparisons became possible, and finally the question of this or that appeared with an urgency that may not be suppressed. Thus two factors began to activate my mental powers, one was objective and the other subjective as an ideal in the mind, and I realised that I was passing into a state of non-committal having no commanding conception to cause decisive action.

I have studied Psychology since that period was passed, and learned how conduct depends upon concepts in the mind, and that changing concepts change conduct sooner or later. An idea gives intensity and purpose to action, and sustains it over long periods of time, even when action implies strenuous endeavour; but once a concept is dimmed or shown to be lacking in some way, the tempo of effort may slacken to a halt. It leads on to a state of indecision, uncertainty, and a quest for more reliable objectives. It may cause a former concept to become brighter, as a star when a brilliant comet passes into the darkness of night. Its brightness may cast a beam upon present mental conditions to cause an upsurge of feeling. There may be disappointment, frustration, depression, and even despair so that a one-time optimist may descend from the clouds of heaven to wander amid the shades of torment in a region where he is separate from his fellows, and emotionally unable to enjoy the simple pleasures of common life. The impact of conditions may cause disillusionment so that ambition may fold its wings to content itself with walking in common ways

rather than soaring to high altitudes to see the radiance of beatific vision.

I had not arrived at that position entirely, but there was a feeling of crisis, and a thought that the situation was actually bigger than I envisaged. I had been concentrating upon study for years, and doing my utmost as those who strive for a prize, and it meant the utmost to which the prize may be put had not been given enough consideration. I saw myself in the ranks of men who had attained success through hardship, but the nature of the new alignment to life was not clear, and it was that which my cousin's actions served to bring out, for they compelled attention, and thrust the meaning of the position upon me, for if what he did was truly representative it would mean I would have to devote myself exclusively to making profits and interests for owners and shareholders. Profit would have to be my objective, and my work would be judged by my ability to produce a good balance sheet. I may have been too extreme, but age did not allow me to have balanced views, and little by little I perceived the emergence of a gulf that separated me from the members of my class. It again may have been wrong, but it was supported by observation. I realised that I was already on the way to becoming a Tory in politics although my political leanings were in other directions. I had a deep feeling that I did not want to become separated from my class, and that my life's purpose would be fulfilled in some form of service on their behalf. I wanted to do what was right for me to do, for I knew the consequences of decision may strike a hard, even a ruinous blow.

Such was the situation and the elements that were active in it, and my final decision was to give up my position and studies, burn my bridges, and return to manual work at the coal face. There was an Under-manager at a mine about a mile from my home whom I had helped with his arithmetic during the time when he was preparing for his Exam, so I went to him, explained my position, and obtained employment.

My cousin was very upset when he received my notice to terminate my employment, but I explained that I could do no other, and the decision was final. He said that he would be unable to help me again, and that I would regret in time, but I was not impressed. So we parted company, and in a sense I was like Abraham who went out not knowing whither he went. It was clear to me however that I would have to make a fresh adjustment to life; and with that in view I sold my collection of books, and resumed activity as a coal miner.

There was an incident that happened during my student days that is interesting to recall, which arose out of a visit that was made to another pit by students. We went together in a brake that was drawn by horses, and duly arrived at the pit top where we were provided with safety lamps. There was inflammable gas in the mine, and the lamps were oil burners. I felt a little bit uncertain at first because of the gas, but we got on the cage and went down. It was not long however before my lamp went out, and I had to follow others the best way I could. It was not easy for the seam was upside down, and not what I was accustomed to, and I was relieved when we arrived at the pit bottom to return to the surface. In passing my lamp in and explaining why it was extinguished I lost contact with other members of the party, and thought they had gone down to a pit a few hundred yards away, and went there in search of them, but they could not be found. They had gone back to the inn meanwhile where the brake and horses had been left, waited for a time, and finally thought I had gone to relatives or friends, and set off for home. But I had not done that, and when I arrived at the inn it was to realise that I would have to walk the whole distance to my home. It meant a walk of a few miles so that I was made very tired. To make matters worse, my face was covered with smuts, and I had to walk through a town where I was well known. One student overtook me on his cycle, and offered me a lift on the step, but I feared the consequences, and directed my steps towards home. I decided that should be the last students' pilgrimage for me.



It may be an advantage to make a pause here to appreciate the social context in which I was living at that time, and see myself acting under the impression of what made community life what it was. It may raise difficulties for young people in the modern world owing to a proneness to project the present into the past, to form a judgment that is unrelated to the forces and events that made common life what it was at an earlier date. It means therefore that being born in 1888, I was actually within a period of history that is now mostly at an end. One was closer to the origins of Capitalist Society in 1900 AD than they are in 1976, and it means a progression of 75 years of change and progress since that time. And it is what was implied in the forward look of creative thinkers, for it was believed that Capitalism had much to offer, and that its productive capacity could not fail to make money and essential things possible. There would be more money in circulation, a larger assembly of goods in the shops, a greater demand for labour power, and a larger scope for skilled craftsmen. There would be a greater choice in housing, and a standard of home and family life that would be superior to anything the working class had ever known. It was easy to theorise about such matters for a new spirit was abroad, and active in peoples' affairs.

At the same time, being alive in 1900 made one alert to many signs of survival, and things that persisted into the new era that seemed inevitable at the junction of the centuries. Some of them were good, and had served a useful purpose, but it was not a time to be obsessed with survivals so much as it was a time to consider the social structure as a whole, and understand the kind of contribution it was making as a whole. There is discretion in such a judgment, for whereas certain details may be good, and have much latent goodness, the structure as a whole may leave much to be desired, and may be calling

for drastic changes. And it was so in the case of Capitalist Society, for while it offered much scope for enterprise, it produced competitive elements that were very destructive and lacking in pity for those who were victims in a ceaseless war.

I am not concerned here with the Feudal System in this country that gave major privileges to landowners, and those who derived acres of land from them. It was a system of government that served its purpose, and then withdrew into a less prominent place in national affairs. It provided armies for the king, and offered opportunities for the reclamation and tillage of large areas of the country, but increasing population and distribution of power, the evocation of individuality, and concepts of new forms of society, caused changes in the general outlook that had promoted Feudalism but became weak under the pressure of new forces, and concepts of ends. Stability must give place to ferment sooner or later, and much of that is due to the spread of knowledge, and such patterns of thought as bear thinking forward, and cause men to be prophets of a new era.

I shall not make any attempt to be comprehensive here, but rather select what helped to join the Feudal system to society as my late father knew it, and what it meant to him. It is obvious the land in this country never actually belonged to the people. They used it, but it always belonged to a minority who could justify their claim to it. Barons owned the land under the Feudal System as a gift from the king, and while on the one hand men tilled and kept the land for him, he must make the workmen available to support the monarch in his wars. No man could say a portion of land was legally his, indeed, his life was not actually his own.

Conditions changed for the better under the Manorial System when it was possible for a man to have an area, and engage workmen to cultivate some of it for him, while sharing what was available on common land. Arrangements were made for men to have such things as timber, and turn an animal out into common pasture. Men had a system of land

cultivation. Land may be tilled for periods and then rested, and working men fitted into an order that offered certain benefits to them all, and provided a context in which their daily work continued. General thinking focused on it as a form of society that derived from the past, and would continue indefinitely with the development of the state. But, again, the land never belonged to the people who used it, they were never regarded as legal owners, and used it as they did only because they had permission to do so.

Conditions changed to an extent as population increased. There were more men whose labour may be used. Gross products were increased. People became associated in new ways. The formation of groups of workers became evident. Manufacture was adopted on an increasing scale. Manufactures and raw materials were exchanged increasingly. Natural forces such as that of gravity, water, wind currents, were applied to simple devices to increase the rate and amount of production. Working men felt the land had become something new to them, their perspective extended into a future that was being produced by occupation, new skills, surpluses of goods, and the use of common means for the purpose of enlarging the scope of activity, and associating people as members of larger groups. It too gave a picture of a stable society proceeding from earlier conditions, and undergoing such changes as would enable people to refer to the past, and describe how it had been improved by invention, adaptation, and human skills. But notwithstanding the extent of the gains, men felt much more could be accomplished if ~~any~~ an adequate supply of power were made available; and much attention was given to the subject.

Conditions moved forward progressively from day to day, with sons following the profession of their fathers, and thinking of the future in terms of improvement, and more efficient in the possession and use of what the past had made possible. The use of money was restricted, investment was limited, and reserved for selected enterprises. Labour power was scattered over wide areas. Craftsmanship was very skilled,

and power-driven machines were the exception. The pace of common life was slow and measured, and collective labour was mostly futuristic. The whole situation was marked by inertia of one kind or another. Then something took place that resembled the coming of Spring, for new forms of energy were being tried out, factories were being built, railway tracks were being laid down, workers were being concentrated in large aggregates, new machinery was being installed, and preparations were made for the transport of passengers and materials. Banking systems were being introduced, finance assumed a new meaning, investment and credit were adopted increasingly. Not only was it so, for new forms of energy were being sought. Pits were sunk to extract coal from the strata because of its high calorific value, trade and commerce got into stride, and manufactured goods were moved from place to place for sale or exchange. Peoples' attention became detached from the land and centred on factories and industries, and work proceeded until a new rhythm <sup>emerged</sup> under the stimulating desire for gain. Many people were out to make fortunes, or to have more freedom in spending on things for the home. Money acquired a new meaning in Capitalist Society. People invested money to make more of it, the reward for service was cash or cheque, and sometimes business became mutual conflict as Firm set itself against Firm, and different enterprises sought to enter and exploit markets or acquire supplies of raw materials for industry. The attention of many was centred on money. Investments increased with profit. Competing Groups attained much power and influence, and assets increased as productive machinery was set in motion. Working people were caught in the developing aspect of Industrial life, and spoke of a cash nexus that directed and bound human conduct. Deprived people thus waited with a hope their 'ship would come in one day bringing a fortune that had been withheld.

The Capitalist System had at least two distinct features at the time when I was a lad. It was a free society, and as that, offered many opportunities to those people who wished to improve their position.

A free society implied a free contract between employer and workman. The former decided what to pay while the latter agreed to accept terms that would allow him to reach subsistence level as a minimum. He needed money and his employer wanted profit. It had the possibility of a good working arrangement in it provided each side respected the other and behaved justly. But justice was not the rule in Business that was intended to make profit for investors. There were two points of view that were often conflicting, and led finally to a class war in society. It is obvious that a wage arrangement between two men, or one man and many, can be a fair one. There is a limit to what may be paid, and another to what may be requested, and an Agreement that is based upon mutual consent and concord may operate over a long period. But difficulties arise when such a stability is broken up. Not only is it so, for parties to an Agreement may suffer a change in conditions that makes an Agreement inoperative. For example, wage earners may be urged to increase their demand by what is being paid to others, or the value of money may be reduced by inflation. A man who engages labour for a rate of pay may incur losses, is defeated by competition, or have to pay a higher rate of interest for loans. There may be a fall in demand for his goods, even to the extent of a slump. He may therefore desire to change an Agreement, or in a good time he may offer a distribution of bonuses on output. Such things may be regarded as incidental to Business, but an element may appear whose intention is to keep wages at a minimum, or to cut rates to have more cash to collect for those who promote the enterprise. I suppose the most noticeable case of that was the sweat-shop that accompanied the advance of Industry, and left a legacy of bad feeling that has not been forgotten. I recall reading THE HUNGRY FORTIES about seventy years ago, and the impression it made on me. The story of the chain makers at Cradley Heath made a similar impression. There must have been much of that when Industrialism was getting into its stride. It followed therefore that workmen reacted by forming trade unions to protect

wages. A Class war commenced, and became permanent in developing national life. It is true there have been good employers and firms who regarded workers as colleagues, and arranged to have the best conditions and rates of pay that were practicable.

The historical result is very interesting, and relevant to labour relations, for speaking generally, the two sides in Industry have never come together, and a line of cleavage has been extended with the onward movement of generations. Social changes have followed as the position allowed, institutions changed and enlarged as circumstances made it necessary, and family life assumed new meaning; but there was always an awareness of people living on either side of a dividing line. At the same time, it was not a case of separated people indulging in guerrilla tactics, for each side was dependent upon the other to an extent. People who wanted to increase their wealth must use it to provide facilities for the use of those in the lower class, and they in turn waited for wealthy people to give them a chance to work, and pay a price for their labour-power and skill. Conditions existed therefore in which a degree of goodwill was induced, and while there may be a tendency to criticise, there was an knowledge of indebtedness too, for it was the money of the rich that put things on their tables, and supplied essential things for the home. A rich man was often popular for providing the means of livelihood for workers, even when he was preoccupied in making his spending a lucrative investment. Many men have been honoured for making a huge fortune in that way.

But there was a particular way in which the Capitalist Class allowed the infiltration of members of the working class into their ranks to become members of society with them. Advancing money was one thing but useless in itself to achieve the purpose for which it was advanced. It could pay for tools but who would use them? Who could supply the know-how, the skills, techniques, and consent to do the dirty work? Those who supplied the cash could also supply the men to an extent, and educated them for that purpose. But the service was always

theoretical until information had been applied and tested in working conditions. Hence it was thought advisable in the course of time to select workmen, supply them with essential information, and make them responsible for the best use of the investors cash. They would then come between a Company and the work force that was employed. It implied of course that a worker must think as they did, his mind would focus on money, and what he paid in wages would decide the amount of gain that was made by the investment. Such a promoted workman would literally leave his class to share the fortune of those who had wealth to use. Be it to the credit of many of such officials that they tried to be fair, but some were hard on workmen who were exploited. Expenses were kept as low as possible, wage increases were denied, and many workers were very poor. Some of them used the 'Lockout' for the purpose, and men had to accept wage offers or starve.

This process of transfer was well established when I was a lad, and classes were arranged, tuition was given in Colleges and Universities, practical ability was accepted as a commendation for a man who sought an official position, and many manual workers became gentlemen, and members of a higher class. Thus they became new citizens with a different orientation, another individual in Party allegiance, and was ready at times to stand in the front of the battle to defend the rights of property, and the privileges of a wealthy class. The basic question for a wage-earner was therefore 'can I leave my class?' Could he leave people among whom he had grown up? Did not service on their behalf call for the first consideration? It could be a moment of deep heart searching, a time for a candid examination of all the facts. It could be a moment of destiny, for decision would be brought to the attention in old age when all superfluous considerations would be swept aside.

The position is an interesting one, not merely because it is social, but more so in that it reveals the nature of my mind as a thinker. It is essential to repeat here that I had many 2444

schooling, and was not therefore involved primarily in book learning but rather in what facts and events said about themselves. I turned naturally from words to facts, from people to what caused them to say what they did. I listened to descriptions and explanations to turn away to make a personal examination of why people said what they did. Indeed, the whole tendency of thinking was towards independence which became strong and permanent as it was found to have factual support. I may be expected as a consequence to assume a separate attitude, and act in ways that were not approved in popular thinking. I thought then, and still do so, that conclusions ought to emerge from a study of basic facts to the extent of which they may be known; and it implies in some cases going behind what others believe and do, even to factors that have been concealed. Hence when I examined Capitalist Society in my youth, and appreciated its advantages, services, and opportunities to improve one's position economically and socially, I was not wholly carried away by the state that presented itself to me. I could not prevent myself from becoming retrospective to learn the nature of Capitalism from what it had been during the development of industrial life and affairs, and Business in the state. I perceived the roots of it extending to the distant past, sharing the momentum of common life throughout the country, bringing gains and improvements that might not otherwise have been, yet never changing its nature, and continuing to determine its procedures by considerations of profit and loss. The people were divided unfairly by it. There was a perpetual confrontation between classes, and although privileges were offered to the lower class they were joined to greater or new forms of gain. The directing power was the Balance Sheet, and working men and women supplied the goods that changed it to cash, that was divided according to practices that were generally agreed to. It may seem ~~it~~ may appear idiotic to join that to Lyall's GEOLOGY, <sup>or</sup> Darwin's ORIGIN OF SPECIES, but the books were relevant, for both speak of active processes, how a state emerges from that which precedes it, and contains



a power of determination that may affect one stage after another for a very long time; hence the question that preoccupied my mind was whether that power in Capitalism to determine changes, may be controlled or redirected, or whether a substitute may be found that would act as an emergent to form a new social structure. Many thinkers were agreed that it could be found, and stray thoughts went on to become theories; and out of that condition came the utopias that appealed so forcefully to young people at the turn of the century. Needless to say it was a mental atmosphere that met the requirements of my mind, so that I became one in a crusade whose purpose was to substitute a new form of society for that whose defects were disclosed, and which assured working people of a fairer share of the wealth that was being produced mostly by their labours. I use the words 'working people' because it was generally so. Adults had grown up to adapt themselves to conditions that were passed on by their forbears. The system was an accomplished fact, and was observed as one may adjust to a striking clock that indicates when things shall be done. It is a good clock or not, and offers advantages when it gives the correct time of day or night. Coal miners liked a working week of six days, and the more work the better. Labour was given freely if the pay was good, and there was limited sympathy only for those who argued for a new Society.

PART 3.

I am willing to be corrected in what I say about Capitalist society as a whole, for being a coal-miner in a country town whose chief industry was that of coal mining, made it easy for me to extend what I observed to the country as a whole, and to all industries. Our mining area was detached from factories, docks, engineering, and the like, to an extent, and it was not too difficult to come to terms with means of livelihood. Toward the close of the century the case was that of men and pit, with wage Agreements drawn up by a Firm and its men. Wages thus differed from pit to pit, with Firms playing off one another, and keeping payments of cash at a minimum. It was an arrangement that was destined to pass, for miners formed a trade union to bargain for all miners in the coalfield, and similar rates of pay were secured for all. Improvements thus became easier and more frequent, and prepared the way for the more stable and practical relations that I knew, and men wanted to keep. I had a good opportunity to ascertain what adult miners were thinking for I was a colliery official, and talked to them on my rounds. Many were concerned more about what miners were earning rather than amounts that were paid to shareholders, and if men obtained £2 a week they were talked about as though Private Enterprise had paid them a small fortune. Many of them said they were Liberals, and had no wish to change their Party allegiance

There were men in Victoria's reign who introduced their own brand of Capitalism in Rochdale, and became known as the Rochdale Pioneers, who conceived the idea of obtaining commodities and selling them to themselves with an agreed form of profit sharing. Profit received in that way was regarded as Share Capital to be invested in the Business, thus obtaining more profit. The local Group increased to become the Cooperative Movement, with wholesale aspects of trading and finance coming later. It was part of the Business life and activity of the state, and did not intend any break-away action. It would play its part alongside, and as a part of Capitalist society. The

idea of Syndicalism was put forward as a modification of Capitalism in particular industries. Co-partnership and Profit-sharing had advocates also. There was much ferment therefore, but the system of Capitalist Society remained intact, and seemed quite able to continue when I first studied Economics and Industrial History. It did not imply however that embryonic movements were without thrust, for each of them had it, and ways for their union came as Industry, Commerce, and Finance, proceeded on their way. The situation was taken up by creative thinkers in time, and the public became aware of the presence of a rival that would wage war on conditions that caused it to be; and the world of Labour has been in a state of ferment from that time until now.

I recall clearly how the Labour world was divided against itself at the close of the Victorian Era when two main political parties appealed for support. The government of the country was in the hands of Liberals and Tories who followed each other in office. My late father always voted Liberal, for he said they were better for the workers. I knew a man who kept a red coat that was worn to the Polling Booth on Election day. He was a Liberal, and wanted others to know it. The MP for our Division was rich, and his wife displayed her jewelry without reserve when she appeared on the platform with her husband, but no one seemed to mind, for they were Liberals, and most favourable to the workers. It was a case of man and not system. An excursion train was run to their home in North Wales. It was a mansion, but who cared about that. The Miners' Agent took his seat on the platform to support him. One of my teachers in the Bible Class was a Liberal, and proud of it. Many workers addressed public meetings, and did propaganda work. I shall never forget how an intellectual attacked Kier Hardie in question time in the town hall after his speech. And what made matters worse was the evidence of hardship and struggle in Hardie's face that spoke of struggle and suffering that had been his lot. The position was that a reasonable election was expected to vote Liberal for the Party

offered as much as may be expected from Governments.

The Tory Party did not make that impression; and to be known as a Tory was the way to alienation from the working class. Tories were people who were believed to have a lot of money, and invested it freely when the Party was in office. I recall one man who was a Tory because he held an official position, but he was always looked at askance by other men who saw him only as a 'bosses man' who had gone over to their side. They were thought of as being interested in profit and interest as compared with Liberals who stood for Free Trade and the greatest possible distribution of goods. That was the major interest, and in all branches of Industry workers were pressing upon the frontiers of gains and improvements with a hope that conditions would change for the better. It did not imply that something new was demanded as a replacement of Capitalism, but rather that Capitalism may be modified so that working people may have more freedom to spend, and find more pleasure and satisfaction in common life.

It was good so far as it went, but it did not go far enough for many thinkers whose studies reached a deeper level in the mind. They accepted the idea of workers having a better time with more money to spend; but society needed something more than cash to acquire a place in the national life that deserved to be kept, and it was something that was more inclusive, for the thought of gain separates one man from another to make them 'haves' and 'have nots', and there had been more than enough of that already; and it had produced opposing classes. The question was therefore, could any idea be put forward whose effect would be to cause the classes to cohere, and induce a relation that would cause the broad division to disappear. England was a nation yet there were signs of internicene strife everywhere. And the reason was not far to seek. The cause was money and what it could buy. It brought the thought of all to a focus. Its possession and distribution left much to be desired, and yet money was essential for the promotion of Business. It seemed that a problem would be solved if an

adequate substitute could be found, but it must be a single focus that would make many people to become as one. Capitalist Society focused upon each individual who was expected to do the best that was possible for himself. There was a well known saying, 'Each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, and it always had been, and always would be, a major cause of discord.. People were agreed about that, but they went on to ask what may be done to provide a substitute for it, for mere improvement always left the way backward open, and gains had had to be given back, and doors closed against any immediate recoveries. There was a fluctuating market for labour power, and a feeling of Insecurity could be acute.

That was the nature of the economic situation when I went to work in a coal mine in 1900, and it was one that called for clear thinking, and drastic changes in the nature of Society. Many based their hope on a continuation of what existed as they saw it continuing, and said it was wrong to want to change it for what had not been proved. Others were more drastic and argued for reconstruction, and the elimination of non essentials. The result was the workers became divided against themselves, as was stated earlier.

The position is interesting to those who like to trace events in working-class history, but it was something more at the time, for a new concept was needed, and workers were divided about what it should be. There had been utopian pictures of what might be, but they were regarded as pictures rather than concepts that may be put on trial. They appeared to some more like excursions into phantasy. The Fabian Society urged gradualism in change to produce a better state with a minimum of disturbance. Again, workers had been living with Capitalism for a long time during the whole of their working life, which caused them to feel they had a superior wisdom when references were made to it, and when economics was discussed; and they may pre-judge any new system that was being recommended. The new concept of Society appeared in due course as something that would require a different basis for

operations, new relations between people, the elimination of the profit motive, devotion to society, and a re-alignment of the forces of production, distribution, and exchange. The profit motive made cash decisive, but the substitute that was proposed offered the state as an object of devotion and service. It was an attempt to raise the 'sights' of people as members of the community. They were nationals in name, but it was proposed they become national in spirit, and use the means that were in use ~~means that were then in use~~ to benefit people as a whole. I recall reading Macdonald's book on SOCIALISM to find out what the new teaching was. There were numerous pamphlets also. Socialism appeared to be an arrangement of activities on a national and inclusive scale that gave a picture of the state as a whole with every citizen holding an essential place, and making an essential contribution to the whole rather than being a personal recipient of what was possible. Thus every man worked for every other, all shared in gains that were made, and labour was organised and directed to get the best result possible. There would be a classless society that would encouraged every individual to give the best possible with an assurance that all would share the results of what was done.

Both the analysis and synthesis appealed to me as a thinker, and I felt encouraged to give it my support; indeed, I actually made a speech on Socialism at a public meeting in the schoolroom in the village when I was 23.

It did not mean that I made a clean break from what was being said and believed during the period that is being reviewed. It would have been difficult in any case, but more so when a mental attitude possessed a strong momentum, and had formed the outlook of most citizens. People were not preoccupied with devising substitutes but rather with devising ways and means by which they may improve their position within an acceptable form of society. Most of them were alert to the defects that abounded, but they were more like imperfections that may be omitted from a more efficient form of society that would not lose its

identity with what was past. For example, the spirit of enterprise may be given a new role, initiative may be provided with a wider context, cooperation may be enhanced, and the human mind may be improved in financial transactions. Each change would allow Capitalism to remain active, yet cause it to have a better effect. Not only was it so, but many people would have preserved Capitalism in order to allow either of such factors to function. Thus people would be better off in particular ways. And here was more gain, for people would be so enthused by what appealed to them that they would make it a basis for devoted service. The society would be identical with what was changed, and many would serve it through what they had selected from the whole. Advantages would balance the defects, and allow each to participate more fully in the total effort that was made.

It was an opinion that I held at the time, and I did not hesitate to act decisively when an opportunity presented itself to me. The matter became very real to me when I returned from my work in the pit after a walk of two miles under and above ground. I was having a bath in front of the fire when an Insurance Agent arrived on his round for the day. He was an agent for the Prudential Insurance Company who would retire when a replacement could be found. He had nothing but praise for the work, and spoke most highly of the help he had been able to give people who had paid their weekly premium. Earnings too were appreciable. So I listened intently, for he seemed to be opening a door through which I may pass to a more active life in the service of my class. There was also the thought of giving up pit work for what was cleaner and less strenuous. I felt sure I would do right in accepting such a position, and applied for the post after a few days. I was accepted, and informed I may commence my duties at the end of the month.

Things might have gone better than they did had it not been for the fact the Insurance Companies were permitted to transact National Health business which they were not to do for the present.



contact with homes and people, and the possibility of new business. That was where the first difficulty arose, for the position was contrary to what had been envisaged and desired. I hoped to enlarge my sphere of public work, but Insurance activity actually reduced my time and energy for it, for I soon realised I was thinking about money all the time, and when and how I could get new business. There was a sense in which I was a collector of cash for a Firm, and it tended to cause my prospect to pass into an eclipse. So I did the work for three months only, when I returned to my former work in a coal mine. The agent whom I succeeded was content with that pattern of ~~work~~ life, but our lives were cast in different moulds, and what was possible to one was impossible to another. The position was interesting for, in a sense, it resembled that which caused me to break from my cousin.

That was not the only case in which I made an attempt to modify the routine of my daily life, for it did conform to a pattern that extended from one Sunday to the next with each day following a definite order. ~~pattern~~ There was a sense in which I was controlled by what had to be done. I had no choice, and had to accept a compulsion that was renewed each day. I was one among millions in behaving after that manner. At the same time, the compulsion was not absolute and complete but restricted to a period of time each day. Indeed, it was essential for us to have a period of free time during which we may act as we wished to do. It was to be expected therefore that I would desire to adopt forms of action that may be assumed freely. It was a period for hobbies, and at one time I had a strong desire to learn to play an instrument. I began with a concertina, then took up the melodian, and finally decided to buy a piano. I knew a teacher of the pianoforte who lived at the farm near to my home, but moved elsewhere before the instrument was bought. I saw an advert that offered an instrument for £16, and took a rail journey to London to buy it from a Sunday School Union collection. It arrived in a van, was carried upstairs to my bedroom, and there I did my scales and Exercises, and learned to play

my Exercises, and a few easy tunes. I do not know what noises I made, or what my rate of progress was, but I was not a little comforted when my teacher likened me to a snail gliding along the keyboard cover. The speed was slow, but I would reach the end of the journey one day. I wanted to learn to play to give pleasure to people, but my thinking was too cumbered. I wanted to linger on a note which was fatal to rapid movement, and I asked the teacher finally to help me with hymn tunes. I have found a small amount of ability <sup>very</sup> useful, especially when I learned songs to entertain mental patients at a Social Club I carried on. I was helped also to an understanding of good music that might have been drab without it. The subject interested me, for I discovered there was a musical potential in me that resembled the vibrations of a bell that swell out when the bell is struck, and the two sets of vibrations may unite and involve me in their double power to reverberate as feeling in the inner life. I think I have read somewhere of a buried organ whose music became audible when a tide swept over it; and it has been so in the case of many people whose musical talent was repressed and confined.

I want now to write briefly about my excursion into education, and some of the things that were done to promote it among adults. I was unfortunate in not having had a good education at the elementary school in a neighbouring town that was run by one of the old School Boards, and might have had to pay for it weekly, as my brothers did. I might have been ordered back to school when the Law raised the school leaving age to 13 years, but I was permitted to remain in my work. All my teachers were good from the Infants' Class upward, and such curriculum as were in use were offered to me. Mine was a record of progress up to standard 6 when I might have taken a scholarship exam; indeed, the Master thought I had done very well, and he hoped to add my name to the list of scholarship winners that hung on a wall. I was bad enough at times to deserve the cane, but I rarely received it. I and other lads were reprimanded at times for being late after a

walk of a mile and a half, and we discussed how the severity of pain might be minimised. But it was one thing to have the good opinion of a Master and another to know what one actually was; and I knew I did not have essentials for the making of a good scholar. There was nothing in my parents to help me, my memory had not been encouraged, and there were no books in the home. I spoke only with other lads who were not interested in learning, who wished to earn rather than learn, and I seemed the least likely to benefit from what was done or said by teachers. And that meant an absence of mental reaction to what was done. There was an inability to grasp, and store away, any additional information, or any new understanding of what had been considered. It was grievous when things had to be learned by rote, and excessive time was spent that could have been used to acquire a wider range of knowledge. I felt it acutely when I passed into Standard 6 when much memory work had to be done; hence it was a relief to me when I was informed I may leave school, and I did not conceal my pleasure when I went for my Labour Certificate on my way home for the last time.

I found conditions that were different when I left the school to take a place in coal mining operations. They were not only different physically but mentally to a greater extent, for whereas I had been able to regard the pursuit of knowledge as something optional, and was finished when I left the school yard in the afternoon, my attention was forced when I began to think about the conditions of employment. For example, I had to learn a pattern of action that must be carried forward into the future. It would have to be repeated, for things were done that way. In any case an act was explained only once, therefore it must be borne in mind as something that was essential to livelihood. I made a further discovery in the experience that doing a thing leaves an impression on one that brings mental powers into action. No one knew what that mental entity was, but it was called mind, and an impact on it causes a reaction that may reveal much variety. It is strong or weak, vivid or faint, and it meant that I was caught as it

ere between two forces, that which made an impact and reactions that ere made to it. Different forms of work set up different reactions, nd so could similar work in different conditions. My attention was hus brought to a focus again and again, causing an increase in know- edgethat had to be carried forward to promote an outlook that was ased on experience. Thus doing things taught me how they may be done n a way that blackboard work never can, and it meant that I began to earn as I had not been able to do in lessons at school. I do <sup>not</sup> <sup>W</sup> know <sup>^</sup> hat the mental experience of others has been but that is the modus perandi of my mind, and all through life I have been taught under the nfluence of reactions, allowing them to indicate what reality may be. t was a single reaction, or a concourse of them, active within a com- ass, and succeeded each other as one gave place to another. It joined y mind to reality as instruction may not do, for words may lack mean- ng as they are unrelated to experience, and are allowed to pass with- out more attention.

It followed therefore that I became interested in things accord- ing to the impression they drew from me, and there were occasions hen reactions were so strong and clear that they were regarded as a criterion of truth. I recall a book prize that I received at the Sun- day School whose title was, JACK AND HIS OSTRICH. It was clearly a book of fiction, as many other books on Africa have been, but it could not be to me. Jack must have been a real lad of flesh and blood, and his bird took him where he wished to go. My thinking must arise from the context of common life and experience, and I went on to fit into different situations what had come to me in that way. Fur- thermore, I saw contexts in society into which I may place my related thoughts, and thus attain a synthesis that may not be shaken easily out of position easily. I recall much later in life that Society was an organism; and there is much evidence to support it. It explains why I took up the study of Mining Engineering that gave a picture of operations on a national scale, that was divided into particular

spheres where coal mining operations were carried on, hence a student may become active or productive to feel that he and others were operating together in carrying on the Mining Industry of Great Britain. A man may appear swollen headed, but that is what is actually implied. But there is more, for in progressing after that manner a student actually finds a ladder that may be climbed to attain a higher status, and become a higher human type in Society, thus fulfilling a desire to get to the highest that is possible. It may explain the <sup>origin</sup> existence of ladders in Capitalist Society.

Thus the pattern of my thinking began to shape itself when I left school for the mine, but it did not accelerate very fast until much time had gone. There were four years during which I was prompted by repetition and copying what was seen to be done until the whole position became as a living object, springing up and lying low, becoming luminous and passing into shadows, propulsive and restraining, prepared to extend itself into an distant future and hesitate to commit itself. It was clear that something was forming in me that I may commit to Society one day, and be able to give much help as my outlook joined with that of other people; hence the re-emergence of a desire to do something for the common good, and make my service have a collective rather than a personal effect. But I am thinking now about my effort to transmit the idea to educational work that was being done on behalf of society.

I proceeded to do that by trying to persuade people to think about facts, for I <sup>find</sup> found that most of them are not concerned about facts as much as they think they are, for while having minds that are capable of independent thinking, they fail to use them in the conduct of life and affairs. People make the discovery sooner or later that they grow up in a Society that is active as a whole. There are names for everything, ways in which things are done, forms of speech that are understood by most, and patterns of conduct that enable people to

exist in groups, and in one inclusive Society that is the state. It has been pointed out that is a product of history and a result of historic changes, and relations between past and present are such that human life and activity must continue by penetrating a future that is more or less unknown. I use the word future in the sense of extension of time that is entered under the accumulated pressure of such energies as have been released. No one is quite sure what the future will be, but they know human life will continue, and the only effective course is to carry patterns of conduct forward to make such modifications as may be called for. It means therefore the need for a zone at the extremities of life in which changes may be made, and new forms of conduct may be put together to operate as a whole in a future that is pending, and thus provide a framework in which modifications may be stabilised. There may indeed be a new life possessing an urge that causes a pressure upon people until a break from the past is made. Unfortunately it is not so, for present operations may give so much satisfaction to people who want to preserve them, so they resist changes that are proposed, and instead of being an orderly procession the state is that of mutual strife, and the preservation of what is effective no longer. Not only is it so, for things that are superseded may be a rallying point where people set up a flag for a final stand, and energies are wasted rather than used in a progressive way.

It is a position that must exist at all times and everywhere to an extent, for things may have a permanent use, others must be retained in the interest of efficiency, and many are needed to produce an identity of outlook that is essential to the integration of society. It means therefore people may make a choice for the conduct of affairs and decide the point where they will enter the larger life of the community. Human life may thus be an organic whole, with people acting their part to cause it to be progressive, bringing the new to displace the old, and evoking a feeling the new is better.

Living a human life implies the existence of such tensions. It is

a condition in which life must go on, and people may require patterns of conduct to enable them to fit into society, and join with others in what is done. But every human life has two parts, a physical and mental, and while the physical may have definite patterns of behaviour, the mind is an expanding entity that may be affected in ways that are additional to what is required to obtain a means of livelihood. A woman may look up from the garment she sews to observe children playing on the lawn, and a similar act of detachment may extend to many things that are done by following definite patterns of conduct. There is an order of necessity, the physical being first, but the second is never far away, and may be followed exclusively over periods of time. Their effects may be compared, and make an appeal according to the nature of the individual. The second is what is evident in education, for its nature is to expand, and every new expansion appeals for more knowledge whose possession gives advantages to a learner, and induces pleasures that are not found in physical work. That again is basic in any analysis that is made.

A man is therefore an individual existing in a world that is made up of his reactions to what makes an impression on him. Anything that is known makes its own response that may be seen in a whole. One reaction may be very different from another, but what it reveals is gathered into a totality of knowledge that increases with the advance of life from one experience to another. That, in turn, induces the feeling that more may be known, and what is attained may need to be exchanged for a new conclusion. The process continues all the time one is conscious, and a reaction may be repeated so frequently that it is regarded as the truth about that which made an impression. The mind tends therefore to become self-enfolded, and occupied in supplying itself with information for decisive action.

That is one frontier, but it extends itself very much as contact is made with similar powers in the minds of others, for comparisons are made. checks are introduced, another's conclusions may be prefer

or it may confirm a conclusion that has been reached. There is therefore a coming together of individuals who may form a group, who are like minded, and particular forms of thinking may set up a strong power-drive in collective thinking. It is an interesting mental development in that it becomes a mental characteristic, for each seeks affirmations in that way, and waits for the approval of ideas that have been put forward. Thus many people are assured they are right if others agree with them.

There is in addition to these actions, such efforts as are made to acquire what others think for it may be necessary to action that one wants to adopt. One goes to a teacher to learn about Science, Books. Gardening, Baking, Business, and so forth, and statements are received and kept for use when something has to be done. Some people who are equipped with knowledge are employed to impart it, schools are set up to which students may go to increase their knowledge, and books may be read to become acquainted with what is taught about a subject. It is how education must have originated and developed until the appearance of Colleges and Universities together with a demand for universal education. It does not follow the movement is automatic and continuous, for many people are content with elementary education, others are satisfied when they know enough to earn a livelihood, and others regard education as a constant quest because of the pleasure it gives, it satisfies the deeper urges in the mind, and gives an outlook that is most favourable to expansive thinking.

Many people make up a class who feel the mind is an instrument for knowing, an entity apart, and may be engaged in many pursuits until it is unable to make any more reactions. They select subjects they want to know more about, and encourage the mental powers to enquire, analyse, and add to what is gathered from other students of the subject. Thus a man who is a baker gives spare time to the study of music, and a female nurse is interested in sport. One is necessary as a means of livelihood and the other is optional, and taken up in



one's spare time.

There are thousands of people who make that mental adjustment, and may become learned in a subject that has nothing to do with their means of livelihood. It became clear to me in my early twenties, and caused me to become interested in Extra Mural Education that took the form of classes for adults to which College and University tutors came to lecture on subjects that were selected. Each session lasted two hours, one for the lecturing and the second for questions and discussion. I was not satisfied with the number of manual workers who attended, but we always welcomed teachers from the local schools, for they brought knowledge and quality to the discussions, and increased the confidence of others in themselves. We had a Branch of the Workers' Educational Association in town for a number of years, and Courses of lectures on Economics, Psychology, Government, Great Oratorios, etc. There was a special course of 72 lectures on Human Geography. Then there were Summer Schools at Bristol University, and at Penscot on the Mendips. I acted as Branch Secretary for a number of years. There was a Literary Society where much help was given by people from Downside College.

Words fail to explain what that meant to me, and how I was assisted intellectually on the threshold of adult life.

next sheet

I do not know what the promotion of this educational experiment hoped to attain, or the extent to which it was hoped the national outlook may be affected. There was no doubt about the good work that was done, and the large number of people who benefitted as I did, but it was probably clear from the beginning that it could become a minority movement only, having an appeal for people who were inclined that way. Society must always be divided into a section that is contented with what is inherited, and another that wants to go beyond it to what is produced by themselves. People in the first section incline to conform <sup>to</sup> an order, and indulge in repetition, and find satisfaction as routine is successful. They operate that part of the mind that inclines to follow the line of least resistance, and an accepted pattern offers a way forward.

I am not clear about <sup>the origin of</sup> that type of mental action, whether it is something that is essential to survival, or a form of action that is as an escape mechanism to induce a feeling of ease, or reduce the amount of strain thinking implies, but the two factors may always be found, and both have phases of movement that consist of expansion and withdrawal; and both of them provide a basic element that allows grouping to take place until what is discerned in an individual is manifest in a group-adjustment, or a movement that operates among other forces in the community and state. One of these attitudes is responsible for orthodoxy, and the other is seen in heterodoxy. The two react as their forces meet in Society, and produce the conflict that is seen so often in human affairs.

It is useful to have an analysis of Society in that form, for it shows the inclinations and mental tendencies of people as they advance to adulthood and beyond it. It reveals to an extent why many things happen as they do, and why people find themselves in definite intellectual positions, for human behaviour is not always due to the nature of the position in which they find themselves, in a definite intellectual position, but to the nature of the mind as it has been

influenced by its responses. One response may have little continuing effect, but the effect of a number of a definite kind tend to produce a fixation that invites or prompts behaviour when action is called for. There may be a preference for a situation because of a feeling <sup>of</sup> welcome that attaches to it. People may desire to increase a feeling, to be seen agreeing with others, and share each others confirmations. Thus when life is in a state of freedom it is drawn to something, or prefers something or people, and goes on until a state of rest is found. Life may be full of action, or thrust, but a motion is not sustained after such a condition is known, for it moves progressively to the centre of thought, causing action to extend to it, and then becomes integrated with others whose mind follows a similar tendency that is the <sup>nature</sup> ~~state~~ of mind that is revealed, and it can be a formidable barrier that arrests progress when any pioneering act is undertaken. A response to an appeal can be immediate, and encourage hope, but the mind may pass into a state of repression, and be submerged by what others feel and think. Thrust weakens, movement ceases, and the final result may be a deliberate breakaway to regain an initial freedom that promised improvement, and even perfection. Human thinking is full of such stabilities, attitudes may be more difficult to remove than battlements, and an enormous amount of energy may be needed to get things off the ground.

I select the word battlement here because it can be so unlike barriers that are formed in the human mind. A battlement may break, as it did under the old battering ram, but it never reacts. There is no volition, and it must be hammered until it breaks. It is not so however with mental barriers that have been referred to, for an impact on them may cause them to disintegrate until instead of there being one resistant only, reaction may arise from every single factor that is freed, thus making resistance more formidable, and opening the way for new combinations, that may come into action when a form of coordinated resistance has ended. There is something resem-

bling a swimmer forcing himself through a small wave only to find himself in a choppy sea, that sometimes draws him forward, and sometimes pushes him backward, until he feels no progress is being made. Thus swimmers have had to be lifted out of the water, and an attempt to cover a distance has been abandoned.

The reference is not completely unreal for human combinations are facts, preferences are often collective, a single attack may give rise to a large scale defence, and people who seek to promote a new feature in government, in a new fashion, a method to replace another, or a reform of some kind, are surprised at the amount of opposition that is met, or the long delays before any real progress is registered.

It was made very clear to me when interested people tried to popularise Extra Mural Education, for it had to be done in a form of society that was operational and widely established; indeed, it was regarded as something that was permanent in the national life. Its basis was the willingness of people of all classes to use their knowledge and skill to keep every part of it in motion. It could be seen as a whole, with an identity which nationals sought to preserve, and the primary concern of most of the people was to find a place in the whole where service may be given for money that was received. And it was not idealistic thinking, but essential for the upkeep of the home and rearing of the family; hence individuals were affected almost inevitably by changes that were attempted.

Educational changes were not exempted from this general situation, but they differed much from a general point of view because much of the result of educational action did not extend beyond the individual, and such private spheres in which he or she operated. One may like reading good books, another may like the study of a Subject, another seeks know-how, or wants to learn about other countries, languages, pictures, music, and so forth. Other people are not affec-

ted directly, therefore there need not be any reaction to what is done. There must be many thousands of students who seek knowledge in such ways, and for personal ends; and it may appear that would offer scope for study on a national scale, and that every home may be expected to have its own little library. I was very pleased with my well lined shelves that increased to number over a thousand volumes. People thus making up a community may be grouped into those who follow patterns of conduct for the purposes of livelihood, others who use spare time in the pursuit of knowledge because of the pleasure it gives, or the helps and improvements it brings to home and family life; and they do not object to depriving themselves of things that others must have in order to expand their minds, and satisfy their quest for more knowledge. It is the Group the Workers' Educational Association set out to assist, and we provided lecture material and scope for discussion having that end in view. I cannot state categorically the Movement was a success or not. A correct judgment needs a larger perspective than I possess, but there can be no doubt about the help that was made available. I do know that people who needed an extension of education most were not present to the extent to which they were expected, and in too many cases it was like offering them something for which they had no need. It makes me feel sad at times to listen to so-called justifications of what is given in the Press, and presented by Radio. There is an admission of its poor quality, but an assertion it is what people want to see and hear, and they are by their consent, encouraged to remain at <sup>an</sup> intellectual level that leaves much to be desired.

It is helpful to realise that community life is a result of many changes and experiments that have been made from time to time. A change may be a modification of a form of action that has been followed for many years, or of new knowledge, or something that has been made necessary by a new situation that has arisen. Normal life may have been broken up, and hopes transferred to new methods and tech-

niques, and the general result may be a period of turbulence and uncertainty. At the same time, what a change brings is never entirely new, but joined to its past to such an extent that something of the power of the past persists in the present, and may cause the present to yield to it; indeed, the resemblance between past and present may be such that an individual passes on to the new almost unconsciously. Or it may seem such an improvement on the past that people are eager to adopt it, and allow the past to fade in the memory. There may be resistance at first and acceptance afterwards as an increasing pressure is felt. Again, people may want to be in the front line of advance, and appeal for the support and patronage of those who prefer to have what is new. It is all that many people ask for in many instances of change. The past thus advances in spite of its losses, and gains by such additions that are made. But that is not so apparent to the younger members of the community whose experiences of the past are limited, and derive most of their knowledge from books, therefore they are at a disadvantage when comparisons have to be made. Material may not be available for such comparisons to be made, when a pattern<sup>of</sup> Society may appear to exist as a self-existent whole having a power of motivation that propels it forward. Looking at what is done may thus be exclusive, and there is little attention to what old people relate about former times. They are not wholly to blame for the absence of that appreciation; indeed, their failure is not so great as that of older people who ought to be alert to changes when they are not, and go on from day to day as a farmer may milk his cows, being aware only of any gain that is coming to him. But even that type of individual is not wholly <sup>blameworthy</sup> blameless, for the general situation may be mostly responsible for it. A youth arrives at the 'Teen age when questions must not be directed to the past too much but the present, that is observed as a self-contained whole. He may enquire what came before in a historical sequence, but he must come to terms with the present for he wants to do the best for himself.

been taken off the rails may not interest him if he has to make a rapid journey from London to Penzance. He orders a bag of the best coal and does not concern himself about miners riding in the shaft hooked to a chain as they did years ago. He wants a parlour-type house and not a mere shack. He does not ask a doctor if he has any leeches but asks for prepared medicine. Attention is focused on the present, he draws support from the present, and allows himself a limited time to make his achievements. All the parts make up a whole, promote a psychological outlook, and he may search anywhere in the whole for what is needed for particular patterns of action. A quest may not be so varied or extensive, however, for an individual may have few major interests that give all that he requires, and may not be interested in what others do, or the life interest of millions of fellow nationals, and Extra Mural Education was new in that it was an attempt to extend education beyond the point where a youth identified himself with what was selected in community life.

I have been in the world for many years, and I cannot say truthfully that I have found a large scale demand for education as such. There has been an increasing demand for it, but it was joined to something to be done, a form of employment, or a situation that was sought. Things may not be done unless the essential information was available, and it was sought as a preliminary stage. The original intention of popular education was to equip young people for duties that were part of Industrial and Commercial life. People who had capital invested it in different ways, and workmen provided the labour power to make capitalistic machinery productive. Thus subjects were taught in schools that made a higher type of worker available; and many were elevated above their class, thus acquiring a higher status as officials. Education served its purpose in both cases, but it meant much more to one class than it did to another; and the process never ceased. Capitalism underwent changes while retaining its original identity, so that, in our time, the two factors may be seen

in context, namely, the effort to obtain essential knowledge, and the satisfaction that is found in its use. A youth passes an examination in a certain subject, applies for a situation, and may be contented for a long time. The sphere of contentment increases as more take up work for which they have been instructed, and all together may form a stabilising tendency in society as a whole, and even resist many changes that seem to menace the security of their position. Thus there is a threefold division in Capitalist Society in investors at the top, officials and clerical staffs in the middle, and the general body of workers who are more or less contented with what they do; indeed, a single enterprise may be wholly <sup>concerted</sup> connected in that way. There is a relation of togetherness, cooperation, and common interest in success.

It is the picture that is made by Capitalist Society, and many have seen a possibility of continuance in it, with such reforms and developments as would make it more acceptable, and ensure a greater future. That may seem not to have any relation to Extra Mural Education, yet no two things can be related more intimately; and the effect of one on the other can be most discouraging for those who want to carry the work of education further among adults.

It must be realised clearly that education is one thing, and obtaining a means of livelihood is another, and both can be preoccupations at certain times. The human body needs support, and also such organic units as the family. There must be adequate income to meet such expenses as are incurred. That, of course, is undertaken by parents up to the wage earning stage, and the work is done by institutions if children are separated from parents. The need remains all through life, but education is a basic need before any form of work is taken up. The education may be limited, for work may be simple, and consist mostly of imitation. It can be highly specialised also, and demand special courses of instruction. But the two do not remain as basic needs indefinitely for a worker knows how to do his work,



and all that remains is the need for a form, and amount of work, for which cash or a cheque is paid; and having reached that point, a home and family may be self-contained, and self-dependent. Indeed, it can be so to the extent of automatic movement with regularity of employment, and a mode of family life that is mostly regular, so that an appreciable outlook upon the future may be encouraged.

That is the point that is vital for further education, for the automatic nature of daily work may induce opposition to the thought of getting more education, or work that is done to obtain a livelihood may not leave any surplus energy to read books or listen to lectures. I know from experience how real that position can be. And it is why so many people turn aside from further studies to forms of relaxation such as sport, hobbies, casual talk, gardening, and even another form of education occupation. Thus what develops after education for work ends becomes opposed to the suggestion of resuming education to go on to higher forms; hence an adult does not want to attend class for he has done enough for the day, needs a rest, and may prefer a form of enjoyment. Few working people attended our class in town, and the general impression was they did not want to force themselves to think for the daily routine excluded it. Thus an offer of further education separates people; and it has to be made very attractive in some cases to cause adults to adopt it as a habit of mind.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION .

## The Co-operative Movement.

One of the advantages in growing to old age is to be able to see and examine what has stood the test of time, and realise how things that are introduced may survive also. The adoption of something new can be so simple and easy, and consist mostly of casting a vote at a public meeting. It is then something that is conceived in the mind, a picture, succession of events; and futuristic. At the same time, there must be some form of pattern to be fitted into the framework of Society, when its initial difficulties begin, and changes may have to be made in the form to make it acceptable. There is something more than the submission of a plan, for it is joined to people who commend it, and it means that while an intention or purpose may be supported, differences among people may cause others to oppose it until its incorporation is no longer possible. Thus a plan may be still-born, ahead of its time, and regarded as unacceptable. Something may be regarded as a white elephant, that is invariably a cause of regret.

It is not what a thing is that determines survival, but rather what people think of it, and express themselves in words and deeds. The position is interesting because the national life is full of activity as supporters work to secure the permanence of what has been adopted. One concept may be adopted with eagerness, a proposal may be applied at once, and a new pattern may fit into the social structure as though a place had been made for it. But there are many failures as attempts are made to introduce what is different, and there can be great losses in cash. It is obvious therefore that people will be affected in different ways by success and failure, and those who have been successful in action may extend their feeling and appreciation to other peoples' success, and unite with them in spirit as they see their efforts being continued from one success to another. It does not imply that progress is continuous, for there may be lapses and

losses, but success may arrive in time, plans are carried out, and hopes are fulfilled.

Again, the time factor is very important in many cases, for the national life is full of change of one kind and another. Peoples' thinking undergoes great changes, and sometimes conclusions alter from day to day, and it sets up a succession of concepts in the mind that may not extend themselves outside; and they may extend themselves to the limits of conduct. A person may as a consequence step outside of society to think, or form patterns of action whose acceptance by Society is hoped for. It does not follow they will, but thinking and observation may be so correct that proposals are received with a minimum of resistance. It may be only the luck of the draw, or a man may be shrewd and make a correct decision. On the other hand the effect of what is proposed may not be a personal matter because of the extent and rapidity of change in the context of life. The time may be opportune, circumstances may be favourable, and something of a decisive nature may intrude itself from outside. It is not advisable therefore to regard something that is proposed or done as being joined to success, for a situation can be very uncertain, and there may have to be an experimental venture before the nature of the future can be known. There is such a great difference between planning the use of material objects and doing things that depend upon human reactions, for one may undertake a work that takes years to accomplish. A plan for a church building may be completed after many years, a new Building Estate may be developed, a motor-way is laid down, and the ideas of plan and context are combined to continue in action as far as the foreseeable future. Viaducts and bridges show generations being left behind in a forward movement. Old monuments and temples are impressive cases of survival. At the same time, survival is not change, but persistence only, and I am thinking of that when I refer to the Co-OP Movement in Great Britain to which I gave much voluntary service during the early years of our married life. There is a great

difference between a building and a Movement in that the former is completed within a period of time, and is accepted or not, while a Movement is something that exists within a greater, and survives only as it is able to gather support from contemporary society to become incorporated in it.

There was a time when workers were able to obtain what they had cash to buy. There were shops that were stocked with goods, and the use of cash in making purchases was part of a pattern that enclosed the whole population. Goods may have been provided by employers or tradesmen apart from what was obtainable at markets and fairs, and the practice was carried into the Co-operative method of doing business where cash was accepted as the basis of operations. There was a difference however, for whereas goods had been sold to workers by tradesmen, the former conceived the idea of collective purchases and selling to themselves. Any savings that were made in that way may be paid to members of a Society, who may spend it, or allow it to remain ~~in a Society~~ as Share Capital on which interest was paid. Thus there was a compact system of trading that co-existed with others in the trading community. The founders of the Movement could not be other than pioneers, and they acquired that historical distinction. Needless to state, the Movement gained much support, and made much progress. One Branch was formed after another in towns and cities, went on to the stage of integration, and attained the status of a huge Wholesale Movement that produced its own goods, did farming on a large scale, had international relations, and such properties and buildings as were needed for the supply of goods to Branch shops. It did not imply a Branch losing its identity as such, for the Movement was motivated by a spirit of independence; and men who differed in politics stood together in joint efforts to promote what had been introduced to improve their economic position.

The prospect of a nation united in such a way appealed to my general outlook upon life, for there was a tendency to pass from the

particular to the universal, from the local to the distant, and the small to the great. The idea of expansion appealed to me, and breaking through barriers was exciting. I think it must have derived from the sense of mental expansion, that challenged the mental powers to set barriers aside in a quest for the universal where destiny may be found. Again, there was a mutual stimulus that quickened both, and caused kinetic action to be, so that I was always aware of being in a movement whose extension could be immeasurable, and a help to break from the pettiness and parochialism of early life.

I have always been an admirer of pioneers, the people who have everything to gain and nothing to lose except their hope and faith; and it was especially so after reading SELF HELP by Samuel Smiles. I learned the stories of people whose outlook in some things was wholly futuristic. Their thought was projected to something other, there was a transition from facts to ideas in them, yet they saw how the future may be caused to spring from the present at some time, and they worked for their objective even when no help was forthcoming. I read about the Rochdale Pioneers, but their story was located in the past, and belonged to the history of the English speaking people. But it was the record of an adventure that took its place among events to find the means of survival, and having become integrated in common life, it went on to gather support, extended geographically, and became a vigorous Movement by the end of the Victorian Era. All contributors entering the Movement from that time extended what existed already, and made it irresistible to the pressures of Capitalist Society. I became an active force in that sense as many others have been. I am old enough however to have known the founders of the Co-op in the town a mile away. They were men whose hardihood had been accumulated during storm, they had minds that refused to be controlled, they were so accustomed to work that they laboured beyond the point of fatigue, and believed the child of their adoption would be made to succeed in the town. Some of those pioneers were religious stalwarts

and devotees, who believed their religious duty pointed the way it did, and they went on to celebrate their victories, and regard any thought of failure with defiance.

The result of their work and devotion was an inheritance that I may share, and I joined the Movement, became a trading member, and made my contribution in service. My interest was objective in the first place. There was a shop that bore a name. There were activities that were similar to others that were followed by tradesmen and Firms. There was something different however that indicated the separate nature of Co-operative trading, and I soon became aware of the extent to which that trading was carried on, for goods had names on them that made me familiar with factories, areas of land, trades, markets, etc, from whence the goods on the counter came. I learned how the Movement was going forward, increasing its share capital, its property and rolling stock, and farms. I learned also how the term shareholder became something new in the thought of members, many of whom were able to put a little money aside for a rainy day, and have a say in what was being done by the Society. A young man of my mental type could not fail to be interested, and it increased until I wanted to be active in a Movement that had such a strong potential.

I mention my mental type because there were members and members, and while all could be regarded as promoting a new form of society, a large number may be looked upon as people who did business at the Co-op shop rather than embodied a new idealism that had been introduced into trading. They preferred a kind of fresh butter, a form of delivery, the site of a shop, a greater variety of goods, and so forth, with dividend added at the end of the quarter. Any person might have been attracted by similar advantages who would not publicise the idea of membership too freely. They obtained certain goods from the Co-op, and regarded themselves as belonging. They were not present at Quarterly Meetings where the trading position of the society may be reviewed, and acquaint themselves with what was being done.

I suppose a similar division of loyalty may always be found, for some are content to allow others to form the patterns that make up the total Society activity, while they in contrast cannot do enough to make business successful.

I am glad that I reached that stage of membership, for I was elected to the Management Committee by the quarterly Meeting, and it meant attending meetings on Mondays and Thursdays. I was elected to the Finance Committee also. There was a central block of premises, and several Branch shops that had to be visited. The Society owned a small farm in the country also, and supplied milk, <sup>and</sup> meat for the counter. There was a Model Bakery, a Refrigerating plant for milk, and general deliveries over a wide area. Educational classes were held weekly. Thus the Society may be seen as an organic whole, with interests extended beyond the limits of trading; and its annual turnover was considerable. A good number of members met in the Victoria Hall in the town each quarter when a Report was given by the Chairman, and then discussed. Special meetings were held from time to time so that members may be fully informed about what was being done in their name. The people running the Business were therefore divided into workers and staff, and the Management Committee whose business was to attain as high a degree of efficiency as was possible, and provide members with such goods as were in demand, for they were not merely willing to buy because they were members, <sup>and</sup> for private traders were always ready to supply what was asked for if it was in their power to do so. Dividend of 3/- in the pound was paid on all purchases, and the day of the pay-out was always welcome.

Thus it may be seen how a member may serve on Committees, and acquire detailed knowledge of activities, and have something equivalent to a major interest. It meant more work in addition ~~in addition~~ to what was done in the coal mine, and much time and home life were given to help the business to go forward, but I am glad I took



part in it, and thus helped members to have a feeling of independence and self sufficiency.

The Business is now prominent in town and country after sixty years, and my wife and I are still satisfied when we think of ourselves as members, and successors of those in Victoria's day who did so much to bring the Movement into existence. I was privileged to know some of them, and I respect their memory.

THE BROTHERHOOD MOVEMENT .

I have explained at some length that the distinguishing mark of Capitalist Society is competition, the state being regarded as an open sphere in which every individual may play a part, and fulfil a plan of life that is related to himself first of all. Each acts as he or she has ability and opportunity to do, and it makes a great difference between one life and another in the whole. One man is strong, and he may use the advantage for himself alone. Another has spare cash, so he may invest it for gain. Another man has knowledge which may be used to benefit himself alone. The freedom is permitted and encouraged, and in theory at least he is part of a scheme of things that offers him all that he can get, thus assuring him of satisfaction and happiness. The scheme is egocentric, notwithstanding, and must be very defective as each life is directed from its own centre in that way. At the same time, it can make an interesting picture of human life in action, in that each citizen can be engaged in efforts to improve his or her position. The rich may become richer, the lower may rise higher, the weak may become strong, and the ignorant become learned. Not only is it so, for any who succeed may assist those who do not or cannot, and a large amount of goodwill may be shown in such contributions as are made. These are all inherent <sup>in</sup> the Society, and much good has been done with surplus cash, bequests have been made, endowments have been handed on, buildings have made much good work possible, schools have been provided, and many other things may be noted to show that Capitalism implies much more than trade and Balance Sheets.

It must be remembered however that a Society whose basic principles are good may not perpetuate a state of feeling that existed at the beginning, for a rivalry always develops between a principle and what is produced by it in actual practices. Every deed has an effect that is considered apart. It is compared with what was

expected in the first instance, and there is a tendency for the effect to decide whether or not, or how much, a similar thing may be done. Again, the state of mind of an individual may not remain constant until an original act assumes a permanent form, and modification of structure may take place, in fact, an original deed may become something other as new conditions reach normality. Thus an original may be transmitted in particular cases as Society as a whole makes a different impression. Idealism recedes as pragmatism intrudes, and things are not so good for posterity as was hoped or promised.

It was possible, of course, for a Capitalist form of Society to develop a number of defects that would evoke criticism, and even cause people to feel that something better might have been introduced. There was a wide open field that invited experiment at the beginning of the Industrial Era, but the country had what was finally decided upon. And there were defects enough, but the most prominent among them arose from the nature of the new pattern that was tried out, and hoped to succeed. Capitalism stood for free enterprise, and the production of wealth; and there is nothing essentially wrong in that for it is a pattern that every individual is expected to adopt. There is a sense in which each individual acts for himself to attain security, and provide for his needs, but to make that a motive force in industrial <sup>operations</sup> relations depends upon a degree of curtailment if it is to become generally acceptable; and that is not what Capitalism did, or the course it followed. The temptation to make gain and profit became strong enough to acquire the direction of effort until it became an extreme form of selfishness that reduced regard for others below what is essential to a good Society. The division of profit set one man against another, war and strife abounded in Industry, the exploitation of men by man became rampant, and the imperfections of the Business world thrust themselves upon the attention. As a matter of fact the effect of

Capitalism brought it face to face with a rival that emerged from the Christian tradition in this country, and was traceable to the teaching of Jesus Christ who discerned how all people may be part of a total Society, whose wellbeing depended upon the contributions of each. Humanity is essentially one as the feeling that unites is dominant, and such differences as exist in the whole suggest that all may share, and be mutually helpful. There may be much argument about the being and nature of God, but the concept of him as one, and creator, enabled the mind to form a concept of him as Father, and all humans to be seen as his offspring; hence the idea of the Brotherhood of Man and Fatherhood of God as a unified system conception.

But it was not all, for the need of raw materials and markets had caused Capitalist Society to extend beyond its frontiers to other lands where native people were able to see it on its practical side, and proceed with its assimilation so far as circumstances allowed and Leaders deemed it advisable. The final result was a new focus, and concepts of a future that was believed to be possible. Thus a new trend commenced in world politics that presented mankind in many divisions with local loyalties, ideals, and forms of culture. It was found that each division could root itself, and be part of a general configuration of states that drew the attention of people over wide areas of territory, whose business was to create a culture within their own borders. That also was a concept that was good as such, but it was defective as Capitalism had been in motivating practices, for the result was not unity in diversity but intense conflict, and war between the large Powers whose aim was to exploit them. It was the time of an uprising of a spirit that saw humans as opponents, and self-aggrandisement as the better course to adopt.

It was no wonder therefore that people sought for a concept of collective living that would bring the defects down to a minimum; hence the presentation of Universal Brotherhood as a practical idea that may be adopted by all to secure the best interest of all.

118

But thinking extended beyond that point, for informed people knew there had been wars throughout the whole of the historic period, millions of men had been slain in battle, and the cries of suffering women and children had appealed to heaven in vain. The passing generations showed how people yearned for peace on the one hand, and some men had deliberately promoted war on the other; and the common people suffered the most. It does not follow that nothing was done to end it. It was attempted by treaties, by a Balance of Power, arrangements like the Congress of Vienna, and a Judicial Panel that the Hague Tribunal was. None of them solved the problem, war was not abolished, and it even assumed a more menacing form as the Victorian Era ended. People became more disunited, behaved more unlike brothers, and left men and women in a state of fear as they thought about the future.

It would have been strange if I had not been drawn into the Brotherhood Movement as an active member, for I was very interested in matters that had to do with human nature and the destiny of Man. I was not concerned about the Organisation so much as I was the active elements in it that would produce a new human relation or not. Brotherhood could be a mere concept that cannot find enough support to become dynamic in Society, or it may lead to something that is supported because it deserves to be. Which was it to be? Could it be another dream of a Golden Age that fades in the light of reality? Many people did not think so, and were inclined to believe the pressure of human need would insist upon it being tried.

The idea of human beings forming a Brotherhood was not something new in the action of the mind; indeed, it is the mind's nature to form ideals. There is a kind of mechanical action that takes place at the level of the unconscious that brings certain essentials together, arranges them in an order, and presents them in pictorial form at the conscious level. The mind then has a pattern on which conduct may be based, and an outline on which conduct may

proceed. But it should be remembered that an ideal is a picture only. It reveals what is possible, not what is inevitable, profitable or durable. It resemble a sketch in perspective of a building it is proposed to erect. It too may pass from marks on paper to a picture of a design in the mind where it is held until it is exhibited in terms of solid material like bricks and concrete, and timber cut into shape. Thus one man may have a picture of a design in the mind, and a number of men may have a similar picture, and all make their contribution to a substantial form that agrees with it. No one knows exactly how that takes place, or when. It is something we become alert to in the course of time, and has a very important part to play in those regions beyond conceptual thought where there is no effective guidance in the building up of patterns of conduct. Many men have said, 'I see something in my mind that might be tried out in the circumstances'; and a way of advance may be found.

It is not always remembered however that what is seen mentally is made up by the action of mental powers that have been selected for a purpose, and it does not follow that an ideal is without defect, or have an element in it that may cause its dissolution. A queen bee makes cells that build the honeycomb, that are filled and stored afterwards. It may seem that Nature had given a native ability to produce a suitable form that may go into construction. But that seems to be an entirely mechanical action, and therefore perfect as many natural actions are. The human mind operates at a ~~high~~ higher level because other mental powers are concerted in it. But that is not always the advantage it seems, for an increase in the active powers means a greater likelihood of disunity. It resembles having more members on a General Committee as compared with a small Executive that gets work done rather than waste time in debating what shall be done first. The analogy is not quite correct for members of a Committee can be seen and counted, but no one can tell if this or that power will intrude into action, or any construction

that has been made. It may be entirely absent in one condition, and fully active when a situation changes; and it may operate for better or worse. A newly married relation may seem to have the promise of a long extension in it, but things may be different when a year has passed. There may be a different situation that favours the emergence of a power whose effect is not so good. A husband may say he loves his wife dearly, but will he be the same as she convalesces after a long illness ?

Here, it seems to me, we come up against the first difficulty in the study of pure idealism such as the Brotherhood of Man was in its earliest presentation. It was a compact pattern that was offered to the Public with a belief it would alter human relations, and so repress forces that were alien to it that the pattern would be assimilated, and act in such a way that copies of itself would be formed that would expand by uniting until it became an overall pattern for human life and its operations. It was simply a case of adoption and expansion, and time would bring the desired result. It would be supported by the results it brought, and become as a pattern that was originated in heaven and transferred to earth as the Laws of Moses were said to have been. It was not a surprise therefore when theorists launched their Campaign of propaganda, and spoke as though a Golden Age was about to dawn. I was drawn into the Movement, and went here and there making speeches, acting as though I knew nothing about human nature, or the dynamic forces that are active in conduct. All seemed to go well for a time, for a great power-drive issued from common life that was being animated as it can be only in a time of crisis. The idea of change was welcome, the concept of a new Social Order was encouraged, and peoples' minds were receptive to such arguments as were put forward in propaganda. Those elements existed at the time, for people were listening, and thinking too, and active mental forces were perpetuating the national life of today and tomorrow. The threefold division



each, until it seemed the world would be a permanent battleground rather than a sphere for the display of brotherly feeling.

Wars were followed by periods of peace. Peace Treaties were signed with due formality, and people felt they may then breathe more freely, and look forward to a better future, but the feeling was always mistaken, for war conditions and personal deprivation caused the attention to withdraw from what had become an obsession to what had to be done, and readjustments that had to be made. Conditions had been borne, applications had been kept back in the national interest, a <sup>e</sup> ~~b~~rief had prevailed that present sacrifice meant future reward, and people of all classes began to reflect upon the whole situation, and examine conditions to find out if there were any signs of fulfilment. But they were always informed that what they expected could not be provided until the devastation of war had been repaired. Much money would have to be spent to restore the nation and its former activities, and in all too many cases citizens were expected to deny themselves as they had done during the conflict. But the advice omitted the important fact that the danger had passed, and the need to unite for the purpose of protection, so that little by little thought withdrew to its personal centre in the human mind where powers were most active that were the mind's response to what made an impression on it. Needless to say there were many things that caused a similar reaction, and these emerging from contact of one person to another, induced a general feeling, a common desire, and resolve that present conditions must not be permitted to continue.

Weeks and months passed, and the people who believed in Brotherhood continued to make their appeal for support. People like myself continued to address meetings in our neighbourhood, men of national repute addressed large rallies in towns and cities. Much

there was no rising surge of enthusiasm a-

exist at all times, and what happens is a result of their alignment. It means in fact that human conduct must occur in phases thus causing one to give place to another.

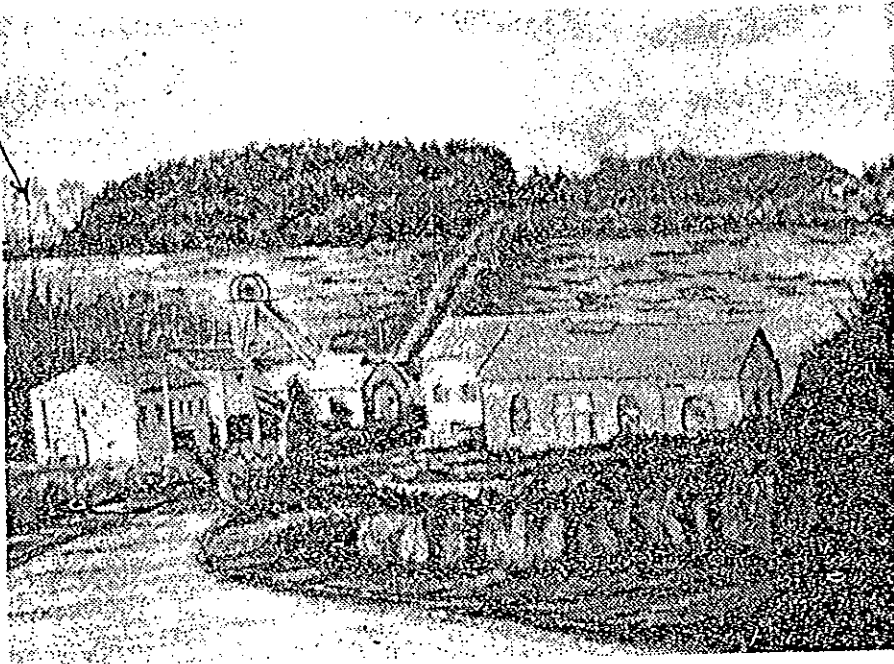
It is seen on a small scale in the conduct of an individual where actions may be joined to other powers in the mind. It may be the result of feeling, intellect or will, but it is one of them, and circumstances may be such as to cause a rapid interchange between <sup>one</sup> and another. At the same time, there is much mental action that is common to all people because they are human, and personal ~~relations~~ reactions may join to form a group mind, or collective thinking that may help or hinder what is in motion in the life and affairs of a community. The effect of a common fear is well known, a common hope may be exploited, and a selfish spirit may unite thousands of people in action. The presentation of an ideal therefore can have the effect of a cat among pigeons, for only a few may welcome it, and many may oppose it, and the majority may reject it. Anyone who submits a new proposal therefore must expect a complex of responses, and must wait for a period for its effect to be known, and it may be favourable and rapid so that a thing catches on. It may reveal little visible result when people are indifferent, or set up a recoil when people that causes people to be hostile. It is always one of three.

The idea of humanity as an International Brotherhood made a powerful appeal when it was first presented as a state to be attained. It was something to live for, and even to die for. Wars had taken their toll in human life throughout the centuries until it seemed they would never be abolished. War had become increasingly brutal in spite of what some men said to glorify it. Each left its legacy of hate, ruin, and frustration; and although millions of good people prayed for an abiding peace, there must have been

that was being propagated whose emotional accompaniment subsided into the general state that continued from day to day. Not only was it so, for the state of feeling that accompanied and followed war was much more powerful in that more mental powers were evoked to resist any ideal that was offered.

Analysing the position as I do now, I see the emergence of two kinds of feeling, one of which was the mind's response to an ideal relation, and the other was a response of the collective mind to conditions in which life must be lived, and work be done, and it was much stronger and more pervasive. Thus the position was made ready for the decline of enthusiasm for the Brotherhood ideal which became too weak for other than normal expressions. Thus it takes its place with other ideals that have been offered, including that of the Kingdom of God as proclaimed by Jesus Christ; and it is seldom spoken about in our time.

Where I lived on the hillside for 22 years



1, the Princess Competition Services. Miss Florence show in which a member

The pit where I commenced work at 12 years of age  
in 1900.

I now want to recall some of my experience that arose from the nation's preoccupation with war, for I realise on reflection that one has followed another during the whole of my life. It is brought home to me by the fact that my oldest brother married the daughter of a man who lived near to us who fought in the Indian Mutiny. I was too young to follow that, of course, in the daily reports that were circulated, but the man had a son who was nearer to me in age, and he told me stories of events that were related in the home by his father. I recall the man very clearly, and the way he walked when he was dressed in his Sunday best, with a medal prominently displayed. I have referred to him in the Section on childhood in these Memoirs, and the way the boy took all that he said quite literally. He made India to appear just around the corner, and said it may be seen on a clear day; indeed, the boy pointed to some haystacks on a hillside across the valley, and said they were Indians' dwellings, and was not a little surprised when I told him I was unable to see any Indians.

I was influenced more by the Boer War, for it was the time when the living picture was first shown on the screen. We were not left as boys to make our own mental picture, but saw troops in action. We saw Kruger, De Witt, Smuts, and other Boer Leaders. Observed men fighting to defend their homes, processions of waggons, great feats of horsemanship, the use of barricades, hand to hand encounters. We thought the Boers were funny men, and actually laughed to see them killed; and ours was part of a general reaction to news that was available, which made Boers our enemies, and caused us to join in the singing of patriotic songs as were popular among the people. It mattered not to us that the land belonged to the people. Boers, it was their homeland, the British invaders were imperial-  
benefit to any great extent from what Tommy

Atkins did. And so the people sang, 'Were the soldiers of the Queen my lads'. 'Well make them remember Majuba Hill, and the sixty six they slew'. 'Goodbye Dolly I must leave you'. 'Sweet Rosie O Grady, my beautiful Rose. Rule Brittania.' The British lion was roused to action, and our Generals would defeat the enemy in battle.

The War ended as the old century passed, and it was the end of a period of 1900 years of wars and mutual slaughter, together with all the wars that were fought in the Pre-Christian era. History left no doubt in peoples' minds that war had always been encouraged, and resorted to, to obtain results that were desired. Men thought of peace as being a good thing while making preparation to make what gains they could from a state of war. They built monuments to the dead, glorified those who fought successfully, and made it appear a glorious thing to die for one's country. It does not follow that no scheme for keeping peace was put forward. There were plenty of them, the latest and greatest of which was based on a Balance of Power arrangement for Europe, and the Hague Tribunal. There were Power Blocks, and the aim was to make one so strong that it may not be challenged by another; thus peace was ensured for as long as the Balance was effective.

Human affairs proceeded under the shadow of that umbrella, and millions of people must have had a deep assurance that it would fulfil its promises, and promote the peace of the world; but it did not abolish war, but only made great wars less possible, and minor ones took place from time to time with less disastrous consequences. The Balance of Power failed because the will to promote peace was not powerful enough to restrain other factors that led to the adoption of war as a means to attain what could not be attained otherwise. So it was that people were told about the resurgence of militarism in the west. Prussian militarism sprang into action, the country and sphere of influence in the

man who must be restrained. The cry went out for more fighting men in all branches of the Fighting Services. More attention must be given to armaments. The Navy must be made more effective. Fighting. Fighting speeches were made. War became a necessity. The Church gave its blessing to patriotic duty, and the dark clouds of war hung heavily over the western world. Not only was it so, for the country's mode of life was in peril, and it was a time when king and country needed men who could not be terrified by sword or gun, and people would die to make the world safe for democracy. People hoped the new century would bring a new era of permanent peace, but war broke out before fourteen years of it had passed. It was a case of farewell for the Balance of Power and the Hague Tribunal as it was intended to be, and the belligerents went on to reckon up the cost in money, the numbers of dead and injured, devastated buildings, and what the Treaty of Versailles<sup>1</sup> pretended to give.

It was the first World War in history, and when war clouds began to gather at a later time statesmen said it must never happen again. It did occur however in 1939 when Leaders said, 'Give us the tools and we will finish the job this time'. And that is what the Nazis set out to do, for they were resolved to make the Agreement<sup>1</sup> inoperative that was signed at Versailles but was exploited by militarists to remove the restraints upon German expansion. The League of Nations was an integral part of that Treaty, and consisted of an Assembly, Council, and Secretariat, a trio of provisions that outlawed war, and offered a means of settling matters that were in dispute amicably. It seemed to leave nothing undesired, so that people thought it was the dawning of a new day in the life of mankind, for what had been impractical for thousands of years had then come into existence. Many people felt that if nothing more had come as a result of war, that was a most encouraging result, and prayer for the peace of the world had become substance. I gave the matter

much time and thought, and consented to serve as Secretary of the local Branch of the League of Nations Union that was formed to explain the meaning and purpose of the League. I addressed many public meetings on week evenings, and persuaded people to join the Union; and there was an assurance wherever we went that met the world's greatest need.

The prospect seemed fair, but it must not be forgotten the Peace Treaty was forced upon the enemy who resorted to every device and stratagem to force the Allies to yield, and it meant a legacy of bad feeling that was never ended. The Treaty and its various clauses were entered into books and handed to both sides, but each had a different effect. It gave satisfaction to the Allies in reminding them of a victory that was won with tremendous cost, and it meant bitterness for enemies who recalled their disappointment and revulsion as a sign of defeat; and people on both sides continued to be affected in such ways. It was not all, for people in the Allied camp may now relax to give their attention to home affairs, and the duties and problems of common life. It was essential in any case, but it calls for great watchfulness, for attention to normal affairs induces a spirit that may increase in intensity to suppress attitudes that were caused by the memory of earlier events, including disasters such as a war can be. It may not always <sup>be</sup> expedient to think of what happened in war, other things were given priority, and vivid memories were doomed to fade as they entered the ~~the~~ receding background of the past. People were often asked during the War of 1914 - 18, 'Don't you know there is a war on?' Afterwards the question was, 'Don't you know there has been a war?' Many people were like a farmer who drove straying cattle back into a field, and fastened the gate so that he need not worry any more. The case was different however on the side of those who were defeated in war, for defeat meant an emotional state that was not favourable to the Allies, that was revived when the end of the War was recalled, and it may



be exploited by any new Leader who sought a means to gain power. It united one man to another, especially when they all spoke of justice being on their side, and a so called denial of their national rights. The feeling imparted a colour to the history of events. incited a desire for revenge, and made a renewal of conflict only a matter of time. Thus twenty years passed, new warriors appeared and a new flag, and Hitler led the Germans in a new war to end the Treaty of Versailles. They brought out the most destructive weapons ever invented, and again they lost the War for which they had done so much to win.

The so-called winners of the War settled down to a post war outlook with mixed feelings. There was general rejoicing when the bells rang out the Treaty had been signed, but feelings soon began to sort themselves out as major and minor forces in the national life. There were people who had made large sums of money by making and selling war materials, weapons, or other things that were essential for carrying on the struggle, and they were naturally interested in improved bank balances. There were those whose homes had been destroyed, whose premises had been demolished, and whose means of livelihood had been placed in jeopardy. But there were others who must go into mourning all their days, for husbands, sons, daughters, and fathers, had died before their time. They did not enter the door of the house again, did not bring wages to buy essentials, and millions could not restrain their recollections as the dead provided images for their thought. There were many unpleasant reminders that war takes its toll of human lives, and it is the best who are called to the colours. There were many more who were fortunate to survive, but they lost limbs, others their mental balance, and many survived only to return home to die. My sister's husband was one of the best but not after Gallipoli, and he left a wife and two children. Such cases may be multiplied.

changed situation, and each of them was capable of liberating feeling that moved as an undercurrent in the national life, so that people spoke according to their war experiences, phases of fear and peril they had come through, and the way in which their position had changed. Making wars may demand great skill, the sight of soldiers on the march may thrill the young, prospects may be fair for many, many are prompted to self-sacrifice as never before, and glowing poetry may describe deeds of valour. People assemble in churches where God is brought in to approve what is being done. There is all that, and more, but thought <sup>reverts</sup> ~~reveals~~ to the individual mind as peace arrangements are made, and a personal reaction may prompt an individual to hate the whole thing, and those who make the wars.

That is the negative aspect of the subject as it affects the thinking of the individual. The war is over, normal activities are resumed as much as possible, and people hope it will be the last. But the situation is not so simple as it may appear, for people are assuming a negative attitude to something that has acquired a positive status in the new relations that have been formed. Results always persist, but they do more in extend<sup>ing</sup> their effect beyond the limits of normal action. Some forms of conduct cannot be resumed, or must be curtailed. People say, 'We would do that but for the War'. People become more alert to what and who they have lost; and in the case of defeat there are reparations to pay. Items such as these exist in their own right. Each causes its own emotion, and mingle and unite in their own way to affect people as they think about other things; indeed, there are moments when such background mental actions become so strong in their unions that they exclude ideas about general conduct to cause people to feel very antagonistic, and even curse the men whose incompetance hinders them in abolishing something that has become a curse to mankind. That is good so

people are removed by death, the control of society passes to younger people who take over the operation of trade and industry with thoughts that are focused upon the present and future. A gap is made between past and present, with the latter closing in upon itself. Thus the modern situation is ready to make its own reaction to what affects it from without, and a decision may be made in favour of war just as though the last one had not taken place. I met a woman in her twenties recently who said that another war was necessary, and it made me wonder what kind of a world I was living in. It was the nature of things for 1914 to be followed by 1939, and the process will continue unless something really effective is done; and it is very obvious in 1976.

The time has been long overdue when a new attitude to war must be adopted. It may be seen in the context of antiquity when tribal war was a feature of common life, and much was said and done to exhibit warriors as heroes, and defenders of communities; but the situation has changed since that time, and a new appraisal of the whole situation is called for; indeed, one that extends to the rise of the Hebrew people, and conceptions of God they passed to the Christian Church in the West. One is inclined to think war is a good thing when reading the historical Books of the Old Testament where God is portrayed as fighting with, and for, the Hebrew tribes, being known as a God of battles, who had territorial designs which the Hebrews were used to fulfil. The reader is informed that God destroyed people without mercy because they were listed as enemies, and people did what they could to ensure that God was on their side. Joshua was a fighting man, and army officers were regarded as the saviours of the people. One may read the details of such events in the Bible that is accepted as a Sacred Book even today, and there is never a protest against militancy which those records support. It is no wonder that Crusades were fought in the name of God, that

churches allied themselves to regiments, blessed soldiers as they went out to fight, and preserved their flags and banners until they could be unfurled in the next display of power. Valorous deeds were recited in verse, military and other affairs were memorialised in statues and monuments, and music revived its recurring martial note. I am not stating it was all, but Hebrew religion and the Church in the West have always assumed that favourable attitude to certain acts of war, and when a demand for the abolition of war is made, it has the effect of bringing such inherited ideas into action, and often induces resistance; and it was evident in the opposition to Pacifism whose aim was to abolish what the Church had blessed. A similar attitude was assumed towards the Conscientious Objector in both World Wars when men were sent to prison because they would not kill others who had been blacklisted as the country's enemies. Writing in this way may appear as a small rivulet of words, but it is joined to the unconscious that is awakened when war clouds gather, and patriotic speeches insist that men must join up and march into battle.

I use the phrase 'march into battle' because it relates to an era of warfare that preceded our own, an era when there was more hand to hand combat, and a widespread use of horses, and implements that were used by the hands. It was a natural expression of the combative instinct that always has, and will, cause certain forms of action to take place; but great changes have been made since the advent of Science, and the means of making war have been altered. The aim now is to destroy the maximum number of the enemy with a minimum of loss to the aggressor.

In reviewing the history of war, as one may do, it becomes clear that one of the most significant decisions in the life of mankind was the collection and valuation of what had been used in the struggle. They were the means that had enabled men to continue fighting until the end. But they were not a collection only but so

much potential that may be evaluated with a view to their being used again. There used to be a well known saying that ran, 'Trust in God and keep your powder dry'. The powder must not be abolished, and it was true of certain weapons and tactics. It may have appeared as a necessary precaution, but the act was one in a succession that belonged to a general succession that included all movement everywhere and in everything, and it meant changes may arrive in the course of time that called for a re-examination of what had been set aside, and kept with a view to deciding whether or not it was adequate at a later time. It never has been since the ending of tribal war; hence what was as a mere deposit in the past instance became a subject for study that went forward with the advance of the human race, passing into the control of experts who evolved the fighting weaponry and techniques that were essential to the conduct of war as cases arose. It meant the existence of men who were interested in war as a priority, a large section of the population had their means of livelihood bound up with it, and a force was always available for one Government to exert pressure on another, and threaten another if demands were not granted. Each war gave an impetus to that in some way until the modern Age arrived with a threat of total annihilation with the use of nuclear and other forms of destruction; and millions of families where adults worked in weapon production, who would be redundant if war preparations were slowed down. It has been a most interesting progression, but it has produced the world's biggest problem in that the movement cannot be arrested, and thus makes the future to appear like total annihilation. It is how the situation arose and continues, and how it became the menace it is to modern civilisation.

The nature of the position became apparent after World War I when belief in the abolition of war reached its peak. There seemed to be a universal approval for the idea. The other items in the Peace Treaty were different, especially among the aggressor nations who

disliked the Reparations demand most unwillingly. But the Treaty made a milestone as a whole, for it had been realised the historic way of settling national disputes was leading to ruin, and it could not convince people it could abolish war that was the greatest demand of all. The idea of nations joining to form a League to abolish war marked the commencement of a new era, and could not fail if national Leaders were sincere and frank with each other. The late President Wilson stood with the relevant Clause in his hand pointing to a better future, and appeared as an angel of peace to many people. At the same time, they ignored the fact would have to be active in an atmosphere that was dominated to a large extent by the effects of what had gone before, as every new proposal must always do, and it was restrained first of all, then repressed, then ignored, and finally made ineffective when the moment for decisive action arrived. There were more declarations of war, troops gathered for battle, factories sped up the production of war materials, war strategy was agreed to, Statesmen sought to prove their cause was just, many declared that war had its good aspect, and much more, until people began to realise that war was no more impossible in 1939 than it had been in 1914. And not only was it so, but continuous efforts were made after the War by victorious Powers to prepare means that would make the next war even more destructive, and found satisfaction in the idea that large centres of population could be decimated, and people on the spot never see the enemy who fired the missiles at them. More money is spent on the production of war material than ever before in the history of mankind, colossal means of destruction are kept ready for use, minor wars are excused, and the concept of universal peace is only a memory that is carried forward by people who now accept the possibility of it.

Thus the position presents itself historically as something that commanded attention when it emerged from the stream of international affairs, to call out much active support by those who

worked in, and through, the League of Nations Union until the time when it was seldom mentioned; and in time all reference to it was at an end. So far as the abolition of war is concerned, the world is back where it was in 1918 when the so-called war to end war was concluded; indeed, the situation is even worse because the extent of devastation that is envisaged is much greater than it was in 1914.

It may appear a little strange that after giving up my position as a pit Bailiff under my cousin I wanted to accept an official position on the staff at the pit to which I went. My resignation appeared as a break, from that aspect of the System to a complete identification with men and boys who worked underground, for whom I would work in my spare time. It may not amount to much in the improvement of the miners' position, but I would be on their side at least, and it would provide a more congenial context for my mental action. I became a breaker who worked at the face of the seam. I was stripped to the waist, and my body would be as black as the face and hands of a chimney sweep. It became necessary therefore to divest myself of working clothes to have a good bath in front of the kitchen fire, and regain some of my respectability I had lost. Not only was it so, for the pit to which I went was more than a mile distant from my home; and there was a long walk underground to the place where my actual work was done. Again, miners went down the pit to earn as much cash as they could, and little time was wasted in commencing work that was continued until the last moment. That was the productive army I joined, and my pattern of life was soon to become one among many that were common to men in that pit.

It seems a long time in my review of the period, but the varied picture is an interesting one, for each pit had its period for lowering miners and bringing them to the surface. Our time was 5-6 am, and I presented myself at the pit-top about 5.30 am, where I was given five tallow candles, that were put in a clip singly, and worn in my cap; and all did likewise for the hands to be free to use tools. My late father and a few others always arrived at the pit before lowering time and had a little chat. It would mean also that he would be able to return to the surface on the first cage

The picture is therefore that of men and boys



making their way to the pit where they worked, in all kinds of weather, and whatever the distance. Most of them walked, but a few rode bicycles, thus completing the journey much quicker and easier. I was fortunate in having a machine, the only disadvantage being a steep hill had to be climbed both coming and going. The picture of the men and boys going to the pit becomes vivid, for their meeting point was the pit-top, and they were lowered in a cage as they arrived until scores of them had disappeared without a trace. The position was reversed at the end of the shift when men stepped off the cage to make their way home. Carting boys were brought up when they had put extracted coal into waggons, which meant that some of them did not reach the surface until 4pm. They differed from the men in at least one thing, for their trousers were damp with perspiration, that was not very congenial when it was cold on the surface. The operations at each pit were organised efficiently, with coal being extracted from the seam, taken along the roadways in trams, and finally up the pit, and on to the screens and trucks. There was a general movement therefore with trams moving to and from the pit, with each breaker and carting boy taking a deep interest in the weight of coal that was marked up in chalk under their number on a board. The total tonnage, after essential deductions, was ready for salesmen who went out to obtain orders, and thus collected money with which all workers were paid, and shareholders obtained their profit to make the pit, or pits, a viable Business.

It is not necessary for me to state that all miners possessed a degree of skill for their job, and it was recognised. They gave much attention to the matter of safety, and did what was needed to reduce the risk of accident to a minimum. At the same time, the thought of output could displace that of safety occasionally, except where a worker was wilfully neglectful. Other operations made it possible to have appropriate Regulations that were the basis

tions were observed went with that, and they were appointed to act between the Management on the one hand and the workmen on the other. They had quite a degree of personal authority in making sure the Regulations were effective. For example, they could prevent work being done in a place that was unsafe. Men must be withdrawn if gas accumulated. If there were a shortage of timber posts the work may be stopped. They operated always with General and Special Regulations in mind, and a Report had to be entered in a book each day; and that had to be submitted to the Manager each day. Thus the official had a legal status that was expected to be neutral so far as management was concerned.

It was the theoretical position of the men who were concerned with Regulations, but it was not always practical, for Officials did not want to appear as critics of the Management of the colliery, and entries were made that covered up what should have been brought to light. Some Managers expected the men to use the same words each day. I had an experience of that one day when I had to report on the presence of gas, if any. I felt a little conscientious one day, and entered the words 'Not enough to constitute a danger' in the space that was reserved for gas. There was carbonic gas present, and it ought to be referred to, but I was informed by the Manager that I must report ventilation good; and refusing an order could mean the loss of my job as an Examiner. The case must have been one among many, and far too much reporting was done mechanically. Men of independence were not protected by HM Inspector of Mines, and much was lacking in the status of men on the spot. Furthermore, Officials were appointed and paid by the Colliery Company, and it was natural for decisions to favour the Firm rather than demand conditions of safety. There were three grades of Official -- Shotfirers, Examiners, and Bailiffs, but the second grade was joined more closely to the Coal Mines Regulation Act and Special Rules. Bailiffs assisted more with work that was being done, and Shotfirers used explosives for

tunnelling and extracting coal from the seam.

A day arrived when I was appointed as Shotfirer at the pit where I worked, and I took a great interest in Officials from that time. There were about twenty pits in the coalfield, some of which were new, and some had been operating for a very long time. But looking at the position of Officials as some of us did, we were alerted to the fact that much improvement was necessary and possible, so it was decided to join them all in one, as far as that was possible, with a view to having conditions that were uniform and equal, and all pledging their loyalty and support. I recall a meeting that was held for that purpose, when it was decided to form an Examiners' and Shotfirers Association. A skeleton Committee was set up, and a decision to organise was made. A provisional Secretary was appointed and I was chosen later to act permanently in that capacity. I was thus confronted with a new sphere of activity, and a programme that took shape as we went forward.

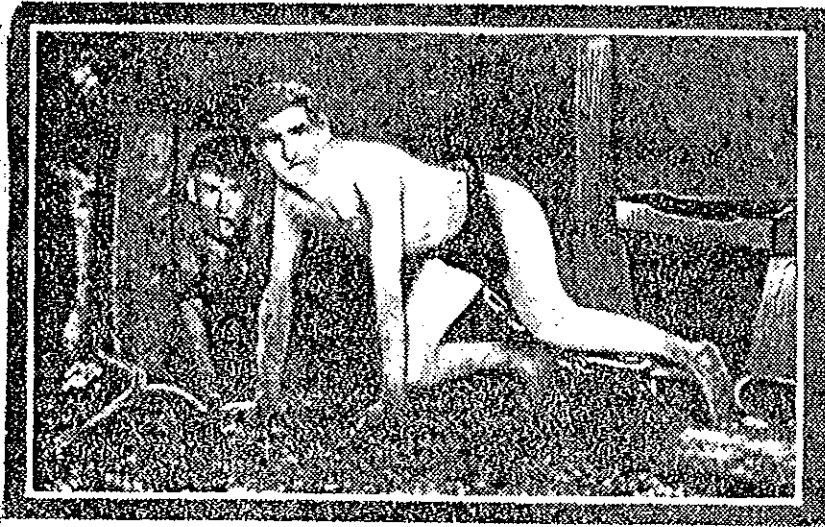
Our first duty was to bring the Officials together to create a Group mentality, for the thought of each had been centred on a pit where he worked. Each pit was a separate unit, the result of investments by people who had capital to spare, and who wanted to have more for spending. There was a coalfield in Somerset but only in the sense of coal seams extending over an area. Each pit was independent of others, and competed for the purpose of trade. It meant therefore the operations at each pit were carried on within an enclosure that was formed by thinking. They resembled localities within a Parish that may not be familiar to all, and visited only occasionally if at all. There were such in the landscape I knew, and people who lived in certain places may be identified by their speech. There had been a similar difficulty when the coalminers in the area were being organised into a Union, but the task was more difficult psychologically in the case of Officials for they felt a strong tendency to think of themselves as being on the side of the Coal Owners, espec-

ially the Bailiffs. The idea developed a feeling of superiority when comparisons were made with men who extracted coal from the seam, who stripped to the waist and got very dirty. A similar feeling existed among members of the clerical staff. The nature of my task was apparent therefore, for it was necessary to organise in such a way as to preserve that relation in a come-between position that would foster a feeling of status, and promote one of independence that enabled the Officials to carry out their duties, and retain the goodwill of those above and below them in the matter of duties; thus the Officials were known to be independent but friendly and helpful.

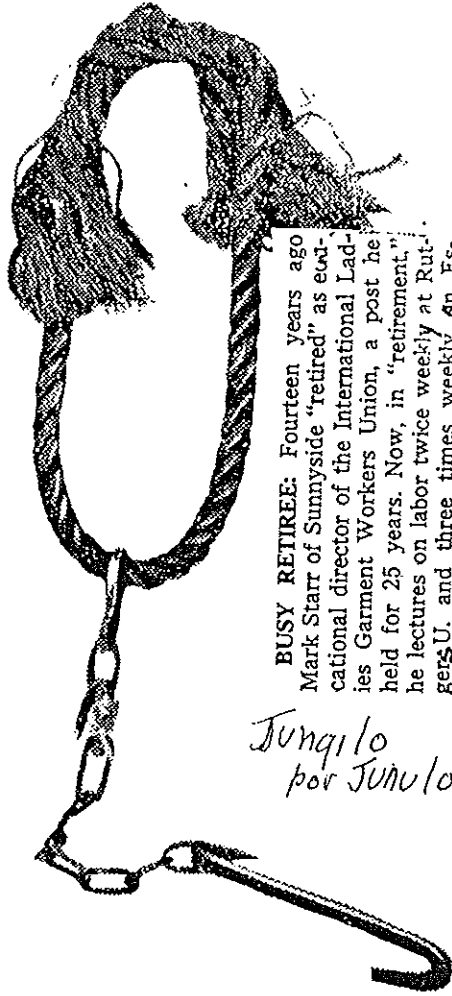
It was fortunate for us that organising work had been done in other coalfields, and a General Federation of Colliery Deputies had been formed, having a Secretary who was free to help in setting up new organisations, and his service and experience elsewhere were available for our use. There was a limit however in what he was able to do, and most of the constructive and development work had to be done by local Union Officials. I visited pits to obtain names, men were encouraged to meet in groups for discussion. General meetings were held to foster a Group spirit and relation, and the Union became more inclusive until most of the Officials were enrolled. Monthly meetings of delegates were held for the discussion of local business. I reported on meetings I had attended, interviews were given in detail, wage applications were approved, and the wheels of progress turned slowly until we had a successful and compact organisation. Again, we did not minimise our importance as a Branch, and I was sent to Conferences of the Federation to speak on behalf of the Committee, and was thus able to link up. I attended meetings at Blackpool, Barnsley, Cardiff, London, and other places. I went to London frequently during 1914 - 18, and first-hand experience did me much good, and added much information about events in other coal fields. Local Managers formed themselves into a Group, and we met them as a Committee to discuss wages and other important matters. Officials withdrew from the Miners Union to that we had formed.

I did not remain on the night shift for many months, for I was transferred to the day shift to work at the bottom of an incline where trams of coal were lowered by gravity as empties were drawn up. Another boy and I unfastened the full trams from the rope and replaced them with empties. Young men worked at the coal face at ~~the~~ that time, and wore a rope around the body called a 'Gus' that was a piece of hemp with its ends tucked in, and had a short length of chain attached. There was an iron crook also so that a youth could go along on his hands and knees and pull like a horse, having the chain between his legs. It was a devilish thing to use, but lads regarded themselves as grown-ups if they wore it. So it happened one day that the other boy and I put on a 'Gus' and hooked each of them to trams that were waiting to be drawn to the top of the incline. He sat on the floor behind the trams, and I stood in the front one with one leg over the side. Thus we pulled against each other; and then, without any warning, the trams began to move as they were pulled by full ones that were being pushed over the top of the incline. There was no time for decision, and the other boy was dragged along the floor, and I had my leg caught between the tram and the side of the tunnel. Fortunately the front tram was pulled off the rails, and the man at the top of the incline who operated a machine suspected something was wrong, and applied the brakes to prevent any further movement. We shouted at the top of our voices until men ran to see what had gone wrong, and then detached us from the empty trams. It was a miraculous escape for the other boy might have been crushed to death, and I might have lost my leg from the knee. The thought of it makes my nerves twitch, as do many other things that happened to me as I worked in the mine.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.



Working in the seam  
Somerset boys wore trauzets.  
Height, 2 ft and under



Jungilo  
por Junulo!

BUSY RETIREE: Fourteen years ago Mark Starr of Sunnyside "retired" as educational director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, a post he held for 25 years. Now, in "retirement," he lectures on labor twice weekly at Rutgers U. and three times weekly on Esperanto, the international language at sev-

GUS and Crooks

(2)

In Somerset

These pictures are dated 1842 when women and children worked in coalmines. In the Somerset coalfield at the Writhlington Colliery, I used the gus-and-crook as late as 1913 and its use continued into the 1920's. Oldtimers will remember the swollen painful "carting boy's knee" and the hernia, additional to the normal dangers of the mine. I escaped, with only a head scar, two blue cut marks and a <sup>left</sup>stiff bent fore-finger. In 1913

Instead of the leather harness shown, a length of tarred rope was made into a waist-belt and passed through the top link of a chain. This could be hooked to the car (or sled) by a 12-inch iron rod with a crook at both ends. The carting boy stripped to the waist, with tallow candle stuck in his cap, hitched himself on and pulled on all fours.

In the thin 20-30 inch seams of Somerset, this crude harness was mostly used at the coalface itself to pull the sleds/puts to the roadway or "heading" which by the method of "long wall advancing" served 15 to 20 yards on either side. This roadway was blasted 5-6 feet high and the dislodged stone with thin seams of shale (which usually had to be hacked off the seam to free the coal) <sup>was used</sup> to fill up the waste space left by the removal of the coal. If the "gob" was well packed, it lessened the subsidence of the roof <sup>was</sup> <sup>used</sup> temporarily by wooden props.

Sometimes after the hewers (usually in couples) had under or over-cut and freed the coal, the carting boy ~~XXX~~ could hardly kneel upright to load his sled and haul to the roadway. When the coal was then loaded into small wooden trams (tubs), the gus-and-crook was used to haul it up an incline, or to slow it down to reinforce the sprags in the heels in case of a sharp downward incline and also to lift derailed trams. Usually the single tram would ~~join others~~ <sup>join others</sup> would be linked to others at the top of a self-acting incline (the full cars pulling up the empties) and be assembled in a larger "journey" to be hauled by horses to the shaft bottom and caged to the surface. (Modern mines use electric cutters, conveyers, motors and hoists.) Each team had its number marked on its trams because it worked on piecework and paid according to the ton. It took a nation-wide stoppage before the miner secured a basic minimum wage to protect him against special difficulties of his "place" or stall.

I have no tonnage rates <sup>to cite</sup> but if a carting boy earned two pounds <sup>(£)</sup> a week, he was the talk of the pit. Young men well below 21 years are no longer harnessed and sent into the places too small for the pit ponies. The gus-and-crook is now a museum piece from the "good old days" now happily left behind.

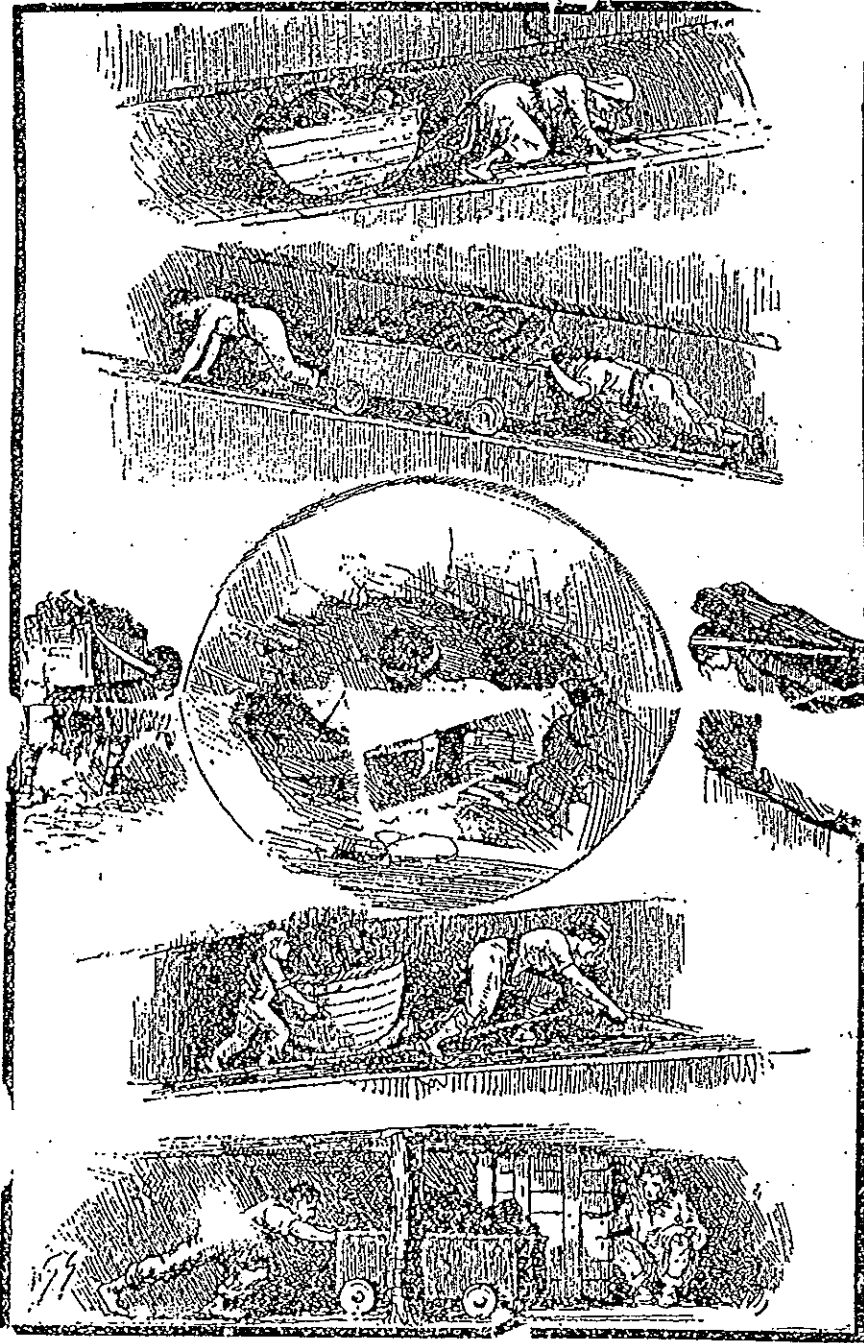
Mark Starr

MARK STARR  
39-40 47TH ST  
LONG IS CY NY 11104



HOW SOCIAL REBELS WERE MADE

THE GUS AND CROOK IN SOMERSET, ENGLAND



Pictures, top to bottom

- 1) Woman pulling tub of coal on boardway, with gus from back
- 2) Gus and crook with connecting chain through legs pulling tram on wheels up steep incline and getting aid from two pushers.
- 3) Broken pictures of coalface and women carrying loads on back.
- 4) Tub being pulled and pushed on runners with rope to assist.
- 5) Loaded tram on wheels passing door used for ventilation. Keir Hardie, pioneer and Labor M.P., when a door-boy, used the smooth side stones as his copy-book.