The ADVANCEMENT of SCIENCE: 1922

Addresses delivered at the 90th Annual Meeting of

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

HULL, SEPTEMBER 1922

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

OF THE ASSOCIATION: BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON, W.1

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THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

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THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

SOME ASPECTS OF ANIMAL MECHANISM.

BY

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PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

IT is sometimes said that Science lives too much to itself. Once a year it tries to remove that reproach. The British Association meeting is that annual occasion, with its opportunity of talking in wider gatherings about scientific questions and findings. Often the answers are tentative. Commonly questions most difficult are those that can be quite briefly put. Thus, 'Is the living organism a machine?' 'Is life the running of a mechanism?' The answer cannot certainly be as short as the question. But let us, in the hour before us, examine some of the points it raises.

Of course for us the problem is not the why of the living organism but the how of its working. If we put before ourselves some aspects of this working we may judge for ourselves some at least of the contents of the question. It might be thought that the problem is presented at its simplest in the simplest forms of life. Yet it is in certain aspects more seizable in complex animals than it is in simpler forms. And so let us turn thither.

Our own body is full of exquisite mechanism. Many exemplifications could be chosen. There is the mechanism by which the general complex internal medium, the blood, is kept relatively constant in its chemical reaction, despite the variety of the food replenishing it and the fluctuating draft from and input into it from various organs and tissues. In this mechanism the kidney cells and the lung cells form two of the main sub-mechanisms. And one part of the latter is the delicate mechanism linking the condition of the air at the bottom of the lungs with that particular part of the nervous system which manages the ventilation of the lungs. On that ventilation depends the proper respiratory condition of the blood. The nervous centre which manages the rhythmic breathing of the chest is so responsive to the respiratory

state of the blood supplied to itself that, as shown by Drs. Haldane and Priestley some years ago, the very slightest increase in the partial pressure of carbon dioxide at the bottom of the lungs at once suitably increases the ventilation of the chest. And dovetailed in with this mechanism is a further one working for adjustment in the same direction. As the lung is stretched by each inbreath the respiratory condition of the nervous centre, already attuned to the respiratory quality of the air in the lungs, sets the degree to which inspiration shall fill them ere there ensue the opposite movement of outbreath. All this regulation, although the nervous system takes part in it, is a mechanism outside our consciousness. Part of it is operated chemically; part of it is reflex reaction to a stimulus of mechanical kind, though as such unperceived. The example taken has been nervous mechanism. If in the short time at disposal we confine our examples to the nervous system, to do so will have the advantage that in one respect that system presents our problem possibly at its fullest.

To turn therefore to another instance, mainly nervous. Muscles execute our movements; they also maintain our postures. This postural action of muscles is produced by nerve-centres which form a system more or less their own. One posture of great importance thus maintained is that of standing, the erect posture. This involves due co-operation of many separate muscles in many parts. Even in absence of those portions of the brain to which consciousness is adjunct the lower nerve-centres successfully bring about and maintain all this co-operation of muscles which results in the erect posture. For instance, the animal in this condition, if set on its feet, stands. It stands reflexly. More than that, it adjusts its standing posture to required conditions. If the pose of one of the limbs be shifted that shift induces a compensatory shift in the other limbs, so that stability is retained. A turn of the creature's neck sidewise and the body and limbs of themselves take up a fresh attitude appropriate to the side-turned head. Each particular pose of the neck telegraphs off to the limbs and body a particular posture required from them, and that posture is then maintained so long as the neck posture is maintained. Stoop the creature's neck and the forelimbs bend down as if to seek something on the floor. Tilt the muzzle upward and the forelimbs straighten and the hind limbs crouch as if to look up at a shelf. Purely reflex mechanism provides most kinds of ordinary postures.

Mere reflex action provides these harmonies of posture. The nerve-centres evoke for this purpose in the required muscles a mild, steady contraction, with tension largely independent of the muscle length and little susceptible to fatigue. Nerve-fibres run from muscle to nerve-centre. By these each change in tension or length of the muscle is reported to the activating nerve-centre. They say ' tension rising, you

must slacken,' or conversely. There also play a part organs whose stimulation changes with change of their relation to the line of gravity. Thus, a pair of tiny water-filled bags set one in each side of the skull. In each of these a patch of cells endowed with a special nerve. Attached to hairlets of these cells a tiny crystalline stone whose pressure acts as a stimulus through them to the nerve. The nerve of each gravity-bag connects, through chains of nerve-centres, with the muscles of all the limbs and of one side of the neck. In the ordinary erect posture of the head the stimulation by the two bags right and left is equal, because the two gravity-stones then lie symmetrically. The result, then, is a symmetrical muscular effect on the two sides of the body, namely, the normal erect posture. But the right and left bags are mirror pictures of each other. If the head incline to one side the resulting slip, microscopic though it be, of the two stones on their nerve-patches makes the stimulation unequal. And from that slip there results exactly the right unsymmetrical action of the muscles to give the unsymmetrical pose of limbs and neck required for stability. That is the mechanism dealing with limbs and trunk and neck. An additional one postures the head itself on the neck; a second pair of tiny gravity-bags, in which the stones hang rather than press. These, when any cause inclining the head has passed, bring the head back at once to the normal symmetry of the erect posture. And these same bags manage the posturing of the eyes. The eye contributes to our orientation in space; for instance, to perception of the vertical. And for this the eyeball, that is the retina, has to be postured normally. The pair of little gravity-bags in the skull, which act to restore the head posture, act also on the eyeball muscles. Whichever way the head turns, slopes, or is tilted, these adjust the eyeball's posture compensatingly, so that the retina still looks out upon its world from an approximately normal posture, retaining its old verticals and horizontals. As the head twists to the right the eyeball's visual axis untwists from the right. These reactions of head and eyes and body unconsciously take place when a bird wheels or slants in flight or a pilot stalls or banks his aeroplane. And all this works itself involuntarily as a pure mechanism, whose analysis we owe mainly to Prof. Magnus and Dr. de Kleijn, of Utrecht.

True, in such a glimpse of mechanism what we see mainly is how the machinery starts and what finally comes out of it; the intermediate elements of the process we know less of. Each insight into mechanism reveals more mechanism still to know. Thus, hardly was the animal's energy balance in its bearing upon food intake shown comfortably to conform with thermodynamics than came evidence of the so-called 'vitamines.' Unsuspected influence on nutrition by elements of diet taken in quantities so small as to make their mere calorie value quite negligible; thus, for

the growing rat, to quote Professor Harden, a quantity of vitamin A of the order of $\frac{1}{500}$ milligram a day. Again, as regards sex determination, the valued discovery of a visible distinction between the nuclear threads of male and female brings the further complexity that in such cases sex extends throughout the whole body to every dividing cell. Again, the association of hereditary unit-factors, such as body colour or shape of wing, to visible details in the segmenting nucleus seemed to simplify by epitomising. But further insight tends to trace the inherited unit character not to the chromosome itself, but to balance of action between the chromosome group. As with the atom in this heroic age of physicists, the elementary unit assumed simple proves, under further analysis, to be itself complex. Analysis opens a vista of further analysis required. Knowledge of muscle contraction has, from the work of Fletcher and Hopkins on to Hill, Hartree, Meyerhof, and others, advanced recently more than in many decades heretofore. The engineer would find it difficult to make a motive machine out of white of egg, some dissolved salts, and thin membrane. Yet this practically is what Nature has done in muscle, and obtained a machine of high mechanical efficiency. Perhaps human ingenuity can learn from it. One feature in the device is alternate development and removal of acidity. The cycle of contraction and relaxation lies traced to the production of lactic acid from glycogen and its neutralisation chiefly by alkaline proteins; and physically to an admirably direct transition from chemical to mechanical effect. What new steps of mechanism all this now opens! To arrive at one goal is to start for others.

But knowledge, while making for complexity, makes also for simplification. There seems promise of simplification as to the mechanism of reflex action. Reflex action with surprising nicety calls into play just the appropriate muscles, and adjusts them in time and in the suitable grading of their strength of pull. The moderating as well as the driving of muscles is involved. Also the muscles have to pass from the behest of one stimulus to that of another, even though the former stimulus still persist. For these gradings, coadjustments, restraints, and shifts various separate kinds of mechanism were assumed to exist in the nerve-centres, although of the nature of such mechanisms little could be said. Their processes were regarded as peculiar to the nerve-centres and different from anything that the simple fibres of nerve-trunks outside the centres can produce. We owe to Lucas and Adrian the demonstration that without any nerve-centre whatever an excised nerve-trunk with its muscle attached can be brought to yield, besides conduction of nerve impulses, the extinction or attenuation or augmentation of them. That is remarkable, because the impulse is not gradable by grading the strength of the stimulus. Any stimulus of strength sufficient to excite the nerve-fibre at all, excites in it an impulse which

is the fullest which the nerve-fibre can at the time give. The energy of the impulse comes not from the stimulus, but from the fibre itself. Lucas and Adrian have shown it gradable in another way. Though the nerve impulse is a quite brief affair—it lasts about $\frac{1}{1000}$ second at any one point of the nerve—it leaves behind it in the nerve-fibre a short phase during which the fibre cannot develop a second impulse. Then follows rapid but gradual recovery of the strength of impulse obtainable from the fibre. That recovery may swing past normal to super-normal before final return to the old resting state. Hence, by appropriately timing the arrival of a second impulse after a first, that second impulse may be extinguished or reduced or increased or transmitted without alteration. This property of grading impulses promises a complete key to reflex action if taken along with one other. The nervous system, including its centres, consists of nothing but chains of cells and fibres. In these chains the junctions of the links appear to be points across which a large impulse can pass, though a weak one will fail. At these points the grading of impulses by the interference process just outlined can lead, therefore, to narrowing or widening of their further distribution, much as in a railway system the traffic can be blocked or forwarded, condensed or scattered. Thus the distribution and quantity of the muscular effect can be regulated and shifted not only from one muscle to another, but in one and the same muscle can be graded by adding to or subtracting from the number of fibres activated within that muscle. As pointed out by Prof. Alexander Forbes, it may be, therefore, that the nerve impulse is the one and only reaction throughout the whole nervous system, central and peripheral, trains of impulses simply interfering, colliding and over-running as they travel along the inter-connected branches of the conductive network. In this may lie the secret of the co-ordination of reflexes. The nerve-centre seems nothing more than a meeting-place of nerve-fibres, its properties but those of impulses in combination. Fuller knowledge of the mechanism of the nervous impulse, many of whose physical properties are now known, a reaction open to study in the simplest units of the nervous system, thus leads to a view of nervous function throughout that system much simpler than formerly obtained.

Yet for some aspects of nervous mechanism the nerve impulse offers little or no clue. The fibres of nerve-trunks are perhaps of all nerve-structures those that are best known. They constitute, for instance, the motor nerves of muscle and the sensory nerves of the skin. When they are broken the muscle or skin is paralysed. They establish their ties with muscle and skin during embryonic life. These ties they then maintain practically unaltered throughout the individual's existence, and show no further growth. If severed, say, by a wound, they die

for their whole length between the point of severance and the muscle or skin they go to. And then at once the cut ends of the nerve-fibres start re-growing from the point of severance, although for years they have given no sign of growth. The fibre, so to say, tries to grow out to reach to its old far-distant muscle. There are difficulties in its way A multitude of non-nervous repair cells growing in the wound spin scar tissue across the new fibre's path. Between these alien cells the new nerve-fibre threads a tortuous way, avoiding and never joining any of them. This obstruction it may take many days to traverse. Then it reaches a region where the sheath-cells of the old dead nerve-fibres lie altered beyond ordinary recognition. But the growing fibre recognises them. Tunnelling through endless chains of them, it arrives finally, after weeks or months, at the wasted muscle-fibres which seem to have been its goal, for it connects with them at once. It pierces their covering membranes and re-forms with their substance junctions of characteristic pattern resembling the original that had died weeks or months before. Then its growth ceases, abruptly, as it began, and the wasted muscle recovers and the lost function is restored.

Can we trace the causes of this beneficent yet so unaccountable reaction? How is it that severance can start the nerve re-growing. How does the nerve-fibre find its lost muscle microscopically miles away? What is the mechanism that drives and guides it? Is it a chemotaxis like that of the antherozooid in the botanical experiment drawn towards the focus of the dissolved malic acid? If so, there must be a marvellously arranged play of intricate sequences of chemically attractive and repellent substances dissolved suitably point to point along the tissue. It has recently been reported that the nerve-fibre growing from a nerve-cell in a nutrient field of graded electrical potential grows strictly by the axis of the gradient. Some argue for the existence of such potential gradients in the growing organism. Certainly nerve regeneration seems a return to the original phase of growth, and pieces of adult tissue removed from the body to artificial nutrient media in the laboratory take on vigorous growth. Professor Champy describes how epithelium that in the body is not growing when thus removed starts growing. If freed from all fibrous tissue its cells not only germinate, but, as they do so, lose their adult specialisation. In nerve regeneration the nerve-sheath cells, and to some extent the muscle-cells which have lost their nerve-fibre, lose likewise their specialised form, and regain it only after touch with the nerve-cell has been re-established. So similarly epithelium and its connective tissue cultivated outside the body together both grow and both retain their specialisation. All seems to argue that the mutual touch between the several cells of the body is decisive of much in their individual shaping and destiny. The severance of a nerve-fibre is an instance of the disloca-

tion of such a touch. It recalls well-known experiments on the segmenting egg. Destruction of one of the two halves produced by the first segmentation of the egg results in a whole embryo from the remaining half-egg. But if the two blastomeres, though ligated, be left side by side, each then produces a half-embryo. Each half-egg *can* yield a whole embryo, but is restrained by the presence of the twin cell to yielding but a half one. The nerve severance seems to break a mutual connection which restrained cell growth and maintained cell differentiation.

It may be said that the nerve-sheath cells degrade because absence of transmission of nerve impulses leaves their fibre functionless. But they do not degrade in the central nerve-piece, although impulses no longer pass along its afferent fibres. This mechanism of reconstruction seems strangely detached from any direct performance of function. The sprouting nerve-fibres of a motor nerve with impulses for muscular contraction can by misadventure take their way to denervated skin instead of muscle. They find the skin-cells whose nerve-fibres have been lost, and on these they bud out twigs, as true sensory fibres would do. Then, seemingly satisfied by so doing, they desist from further growth. The sense-cells, too, after this misunion, regain their normal features. But this joining of motor nerve-fibre with sense-cell is functionless, and must be so because the directions of functional conduction of the two are incompatible.

So similarly a regenerating skin-nerve led down to muscle makes its union with muscle instead of skin, though the union is a functional misfit, and cannot subserve function. Marvellous though nerve regeneration be its mechanism seems blind. Its vehemence is just as great after amputation, when the parts lost can of course never be reached. Its blindness is sadly evident in the suffering caused by the useless nerve-sprouts entangled in the scar of a healing or healed limb-stump.

But there is a great difference between the growth of such regeneration and the growth impulse in pieces of tissue isolated from the body and grown in media outside. With pure cultures of these latter Professor Champy says the growth recalls in several features that of malignant tumours. Multiplication of cells unaccompanied by formation of a specialised adult tissue. A piece of kidney cultivated outside the body de-differentiates, to use his term, into a growing mass unorganised for renal function. But with connective-tissue cells added even breast-cancer epithelium will in cultivation grow in glandular form. New ground is being broken in the experimental control of tissue growth. The report of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund mentions that in cultivation outside the body malignant cells present a difficulty that normal cells do not. To the malignant cells the nutrient soil has to be more frequently renewed, because they seem rapidly to

make the soil in which they grow poisonous to themselves, though not to normal cells. The following of all clues of difference between the mechanism of malignant growth and of normal is fraught with importance which may be practical as well as theoretical.

The regenerating nerve rebuilds to a plan that spells for future function. But throughout all its steps prior to the actual reaching the muscle or skin no actual performance of nerve-function can take place. What is constructed is functionally useless until the whole is complete. So similarly with much of the construction of the embryo in the womb for purposes of a different life after emergence from the womb; with the construction of the butterfly's wing within the chrysalis for future flight; of the lung for air-breathing after birth; of the reflex contraction in the fœtal child of the eyelids to protect the eye long before the two eyelids have been separated, let alone ere hurt or even light can reach it. The nervous system in its repair, as in its original growth, shows us a mechanism working through phases of non-functioning preparation in order to forestall and meet a future function. It is a mechanism against whose seeming prescience is to be set its fallibility and its limitations. The how of its working is at present chiefly traceable to us in the steps of its results rather than in comprehension of its intimate reactions; as to its mechanism, perhaps the point of chief import for us here is that those who are closest students of it still regard it as a mechanism. But if to know be to know the causes we must confess to want of knowledge of how its mechanism is contrived.

And if we knew the whole how of the production of the body from egg to adult, and if we admit that every item of its organic machinery runs on physical and chemical rules as completely as do inorganic systems, will the living animal present no other problematical aspect? The dog, our household friend—do we exhaust its aspects if in assessing its sum-total we omit its mind? A merely reflex pet would please little even the fondest of us. True, our acquaintance with other mind than our own can only be by inference. We may even hold that mind as object of study does not come under the rubric of Natural Science at all. But this Association has its Section of Psychology, and my theme of to-night was partly chosen at the instance of a late member of it, Dr. Rivers, the loss of whom we all deplore. As a biologist he viewed mind as a biological factor. The keeping of mind and body apart for certain analytic purposes must not allow us to forget their being set together when we assess as a whole even a single animal life.

Taking as manifestations of mind those ordinarily received as such, mind does not seem to attach to life, however complex, where there is no nervous system, nor even where that system, though present, is quite scantily developed. Mind becomes more recognisable the more developed the nerve-system. Hence the difficulty of the twilit emer-

gence of mind from no mind, which is repeated even in the individual life history. In the nervous system there is what is termed localisation of function, relegation of different work to the system's different parts. This localisation shows mentality, in the usual acceptation of that term, not distributed broadcast throughout the nervous system, but restricted to certain portions of it. Thus, among vertebrates to what is called the forebrain, and in higher vertebrates to the relatively newer parts of that forebrain. Its chief, perhaps its sole, seat is a comparatively modern nervous structure superposed on the non-mental and more ancient other nervous parts. The so-to-say mental portion of the system is placed so that its commerce with the body and the external world occurs only through the archaic non-mental rest of the system. Simple nerve impulses, their summations and interferences, seem the one uniform office of the nerve-system in its non-mental aspect. To pass from a nerve impulse to a psychical event, a sense-impression, percept, or emotion is, as it were, to step from one world to another and incommensurable one. We might expect, then, that at the places of transition from its non-mental to its mental regions the brain would exhibit some striking change of structure. But no; in the mental parts of the brain still nothing but the same old structural elements, set end to end, suggesting the one function of the transmission and collision of nerve impulses. The structural inter-connections are richer, but that is a merely quantitative change.

I do not want, and do not need, to stress our inability at present to deal with mental actions in terms of nervous actions, or *vice versa*. But facing the relation borne in upon us as existent between them, may we not gain some further appreciation of it by reminding ourselves even briefly of certain points of contact between the two? Familiar as such are I will merely mention rather than dwell upon them.

One is the so-called expression of the emotions. The mental reaction of an emotion is accompanied by a nervous discharge which is more or less characteristic for each several type of emotion, so that the emotion can be read from its bodily expression. This nervous discharge is involuntary, and can affect organs, such as the heart, which the will cannot reach. Then there is the circumstance that the peculiar ways and tricks of the nervous machinery as revealed to us in the study of pure reflex reactions repeat themselves obviously in the working of the machinery to which mental actions are adjunct. The phenomenon of fatigue is common to both, and imposes similar disabilities on both. Nervous exhaustion and mental exhaustion mingle. Then, as offset against this disability, there exists in both the amenability to habit formation, mere repetition within limits rendering a reaction easier and readier. Then, and akin to this, is the oft-remarked trend in both for a reaction to leave behind itself a trace, an engram, a memory, the reflex engram, and the mental memory.

How should inertia and momentum affect non-material reactions? Quick though nervous reactions are, there is always easily observed delay between delivery of stimulus and appearance of the nervous end effect; and there is always the character that a reaction once set in motion does not cease very promptly. Just the same order of lag and overrun, of want of dead-beat character, is met in sense-reactions. The sensation outlives the light which evoked it and for longer the stronger the reaction. Just so the reflex after-discharge persists after the stimulus is withdrawn, and subsides more slowly the stronger the reaction. The times in both are of the same order. Again, a reflex act which contracts one muscle commonly relaxes another. Even so along with rise of sensation in one part of the visual field commonly occurs lapse of sensation in another. And the stoppage is in both by inhibition, that is to say, active. Then again, two lights of opposite colour falling simultaneously and correspondingly on the two retinæ will, according to their balance, fuse to an intermediate tint or see-saw back and forth between the one tint and the other. Just similarly a muscle impelled by two reflexes, one tending to contract it, the other to relax it, will according to the balance of these respond steadily with an intensity, a compromise between the two, or see-saw rhythmically from extreme to extreme of the two opposite influences.

Reflex acts commonly predispose to their opposites. So similarly the visual impression of one colour predisposes to that of its opposite. Again, the *position* of the stimulated sensual point acts on the mind—hence the light seen or the pain felt is referred to some locus in the mind's space-system. Just similarly the reflex machinery directs, for instance, the limb it moves towards the particular spot stimulated. And such spots in the two processes, mental and non-mental, correspond.

Characteristic of the nervous machinery is its arrangement in what Hughlings Jackson called 'levels,' the higher levels standing to the lower not only as drivers but also as restrainers. Hence in disease underaction of one sort is accompanied by overaction of another. Thus in the arm affected by a cerebral stroke, besides loss of willed—that is higher level—power in the finger muscles, there is in other muscles involuntary overaction owing to escape of lower centres from control by the higher which have been destroyed. So similarly with the sensory effects. Of skin sensations some are painful and some not, for instance touch. The seat of the latter is of higher level, cortical; of the former lower, sub-cortical. When cerebral disease breaks the path between the higher and the underlying level a result is impairment of touch sensation but heightening of pain sensation in the affected part. The sensation of touch, as Dr. Head says, restrains that of pain.

Thus features of nervous working resemble over and over again mental. Is it mere metaphor when we speak of mental attitudes as

well as bodily? Is it mere analogy to liken the warped attitude of the mind in a psychoneurotic sufferer to the warped attitude of the body constrained by an internal potential pain? Again, some mental events seem spontaneous; in the nervous system some impulses seem generated automatically from within.

It may be said of all these similarities of time-relation and the rest between the ways of the nervous system and such simpler ways of mind as I here venture on, that they exist because the operations of the mental part of the nervous system communicate with the exterior only through the non-mental part as gateway. That there, then, the features of the nerve-machinery are impressed on the mind's working. But that suggestion forgets that the higher and more complex the mental process, the longer the time-lag, the more incident the fatigue, the more striking the memory character, and so on.

Yet all this similarity does but render more succinct the old enigma as to the nexus between nerve impulse and mental event. In the proof that the working of the animal mechanism conforms with the first law of thermodynamics can one say that psychical events are evaluated in the balance sheet drawn up? And, on the other hand, Mr. Barcroft and his fellow-observers in their recent physiological exploration of life on the Andes at 14,200 ft. noted that, as well as were their muscles, their arithmetic there was at a disadvantage. The low oxygen pressure militated against both. Indeed we all know that in any of us a few minutes without oxygen, or a few more with chloroform, and the psychical and the nervous events will lapse together. The nexus between the two sets of events is strict. But for comprehension of its nature we still require, it seems, comprehension of the unsolved mystery of the how of life itself. A shadowy bridge between them may lie perhaps in the reflection that for the observer himself the physical phenomena he observes are in the last resort psychical.

The practical man has to accept nervous function as a condition for mental function without breaking his heart over ignorance of their connection. The doctor, the lawyer, and we all, accept it. We know that with structural derangement or destruction of certain parts of the brain goes mental derangement or defect, while derangement or destruction of other parts of the nervous system is not so accompanied. Decade by decade the connection becomes more ascertained between certain mental performances and certain cerebral regions. Certain impairments of ideation as shown by forms of incomprehension of language or of familiar objects can help to diagnose for the surgeon as to what part of the brain a tumour is compressing; and the tumour gone the mental disabilities pass. So similarly those who, as Professor Elliott Smith and Sir Arthur Keith, recast the shape of the cerebrum from the cranial remains of prehistoric man can outline for us something

of his mentality from examination of the relative development of the several brain regions, using a true and scientific phrenology.

Could we look quite naively at the question of a seat for the mind within the body we might perhaps suppose it diffused there, not localised in any one particular part at all. That it is localised and that its localisation is in the nervous system—can we attach meaning to that fact? The nervous system is that bodily system whose special office from its earliest appearance onward throughout evolutionary history has been more and more to weld together the body's component parts into one consolidated mechanism reacting as a unity to the changeful world about it. It more than any other system has constructed out of a collection of organs an individual of unified act and experience. It represents the acme of accomplishment of the integration of the animal organism. That it is in this system that mind, as we know it, has had its beginning, and with the progressive development of the system has step for step developed, is surely significant. So is it that in this system the portion to which mind transcendently attaches is exactly that where are carried to their highest pitch the nerve-actions which manage the individual as a whole, especially in his reactions to the external world. There, in the brain, the integrating nervous centres are themselves further compounded, inter-connected, and re-combined for unitary functions. The cortex of the forebrain is the main seat of mind. That cortex with its twin halves corresponding to the two side-halves of the body is really a single organ knitting those halves together by a still further knitting together of the nervous system itself. The animal's great integrating system is there still further integrated. And this supreme integrator is the seat of all that is most clearly inferable as the animal's mind. As such it has spelt biological success to its possessors. From small beginnings it has become steadily a larger and larger feature of the nervous system, until in adult man the whole rest of the system is relatively dwarfed by it. Not without significance, perhaps, is that in man this organ, the brain cortex, bifid as it is, shows unmistakable asymmetry. Man is a tool-using animal, and tools demand asymmetrical, though attentive and therefore unified, acts. A nervous focus unifying such motor function will, in regard to a laterally bipartite organ, tend more to one half or the other. In man's cerebrum the preponderance of one-half, namely, the left, over the other may be a sign of unifying function.

It is to the psychologist that we must turn to learn in full the contribution made to the integration of the animal individual by mind. But each of us can, without being a professed psychologist, yet recognise one achievement in that direction which mental endowment has produced. Made up of myriads of microscopic cell-lives, individually born, feeding and breathing individually within the body, each one

of us nevertheless appears to himself a single entity, a unity experiencing and acting as one individual. In a way the more far-reaching and many-sided the reactions of which a mind is capable the more need, as well as the more scope, for their consolidation to one. True, each one of us is in some sense not one self, but a multiple system of selves. Yet how closely those selves are united and integrated to one personality. Even in those extremes of so-called double personality one of their mystifying features is that the individual seems to himself at any one time wholly either this personality or that, never the two commingled. The view that regards hysteria as a mental dissociation illustrates the integrative trend of the total healthy mind. Circumstances can stress in the individual some perhaps lower instinctive tendency that conflicts with what may be termed his normal personality. This latter, to master the conflicting trend, can judge it in relation to his main self's general ethical ideals and duties to self and the community. Thus intellectualising it, he can destroy it or consciously subordinate it to some aim in harmony with the rest of his personality. By so doing there is gain in power of will and in personal coherence of the individual. But if the morbid situation be too strong or the mental self too weak, instead of thus assimilating the contentious element the mind may shun and, so to say, endeavour to ignore it. That way lies danger. The discordant factor escaped from the sway of the conscious mind produces stress and strain of the conscious self; hence, to use customary terminology, dissociation of the self sets in, bringing in its train those disabilities, mental or nervous or both, which characterise the sufferer from hysteria. The normal action of the mind is to make up from its components one unified personality. When we remember the manifold complexity of composition of the human individual, can we observe a greater instance of solidarity of working of an organism than that presented by the human individual intent and concentrated, as the phrase goes, upon some higher act of strenuous will? Physiologically the supreme development of the brain, psychologically the mental powers attaching thereto, seem to represent from the biological standpoint the very culmination of the integration of the animal organism.

The mental attributes of the nervous system would be, then, the coping-stone of the construction of the individual. Surveyed in their broad biological aspect, we see them carrying integration even further still. They do not stop at the individual; they proceed beyond the individual; they integrate from individuals communities. When we review, as far as we can judge it, the distribution of mind within the range of animal forms, we meet two peaks of its development—one in insect life, the other in the vertebrate, with its acme finally in man. True, in the insect the type of mind is not rational but instinctive, where-

as at the height of its vertebrate development reason is there as well as instinct. Yet in both one outcome seems to be the welding of individuals into societies on a scale of organisation otherwise unattained. The greatest social animal is man; the powers that make him so are mental. Language, tradition, instinct for the preservation of the community, as well as for the preservation of the individual. Reason actuated by emotion and sentiment and controlling and welding egoistic and altruistic instincts into one broadly harmonious, instinctive-rational behaviour. Just as the organisation of the cell-colony into an animal individual receives its highest contribution from the nervous system, so the further combining of animal individuals into a multi-individual organism, a social community, merging the interests of the individual in the interests of the group, is due to the nervous system's crowning attributes, the mental. That this integration is still in process, still developing, is obvious from the whole course of human pre-history and history. The biological study of it is essentially psychological; it is the scope and ambit of social psychology. Not the least important form of social psychology is that relatively new one, of which the President of the Psychology Section at this meeting is a foremost authority and exponent, namely, that dealing with the stresses and demands that organised industry makes upon the individual as a unit in the community of our day, and with the readjustments it asks from that community.

To resume, then, we may I think conclude that in some of its aspects animal life presents to us mechanism the how of which, despite many gaps in our knowledge, is fairly explicable. Of not a few of the processes of the living body, such as muscular contraction, the circulation of the blood, the respiratory intake and output by the lungs, the nervous impulse and its journeyings, we may fairly feel from what we know of them already that further application of physics and chemistry will furnish a competent key. We may suppose that in the same sense as we can claim to-day that the principles of working of a gas-engine or an electro-motor are comprehensible to us, so will the bodily working in such mechanisms be understood by us, and indeed are largely so already. It may well be possible to understand the principle of a mechanism which we have not the means or skill ourselves to construct. We cannot construct the atoms of a gas-engine. But, turning to other aspects of animal mechanism, such as the shaping of the animal body, the conspiring of its structural units to compass later functional ends, the predetermination of specific growth from egg to adult, the predetermined natural term of existence, these, and their intimate mechanism, we are, it seems to me, despite many brilliant inquiries and inquirers, still at a loss to understand. The steps of the results are known, but the springs

of action still lie hidden. Then again, the how of the mind's connection with its bodily place seems still utterly enigma. Similarity or identity in time-relations and in certain other ways between mental and nervous processes does not enlighten us as to the actual nature of the connection existent between the two. Advance in biological science does but serve to stress further the strictness of the nexus between the two.

Great differences of difficulty therefore confront our understanding of different aspects of animal life. Yet the living creature is fundamentally a unity. In trying to make the how of an animal existence intelligible to our imperfect knowledge we have for purposes of study to separate its whole into part-aspects and part-mechanisms, but that separation is artificial. It is as a whole, a single entity, that the animal, or for that matter the plant, has finally and essentially to be envisaged. We cannot really understand its one part without its other. Can we suppose a unified entity which is part mechanism and part not? One privilege open to the human intellect is to attempt to comprehend, not leaving out of account any of its properties, the how of the living creature as a whole. The problem is ambitious, but its importance and its reward are all the greater if we seize and we attempt the full width of its scope. In the biological synthesis of the individual it regards mind. It includes examination of man himself as acting under a biological trend and process which is combining individuals into a multi-individual organisation, a social organism surely new in the history of the planet. For this biological trend and process is constructing a social organism whose cohesion depends mainly on a property developed so specifically in man as to be, broadly speaking, his alone, namely, a mind actuated by instincts but instrumented with reason. Man, often Nature's rebel, as Sir Ray Lankester has luminously said, can, viewing this great supra-individual process, shape even as individual his course conformably with it, feeling that in this instance to rebel would be to sink lower rather than to continue his own evolution upward.

THE THEORY OF NUMBERS.

ADDRESS BY

PROFESSOR G. H. HARDY, M.A., F.R.S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

I FIND myself to-day in the same embarrassing position in which a predecessor of mine at Oxford found himself at Bradford in 1875, the President of a Section which is probably the largest and most heterogeneous in the Association, and which is absorbed by a multitude of divergent professional interests, none of which agree with his or mine.

There are two courses possible in such circumstances. One is to take refuge, as Professor Henry Smith, with visible reluctance, did then, in a series of general propositions to which mathematicians, physicists, and astronomers may all be expected to return a polite assent. The importance of science and scientific method, the need for better organisation of scientific education and research, are all topics on which I could no doubt say something without undue strain either on my own honesty or on your credulity. That there is no finer education and discipline than natural science; that it is, as Dr. Campbell has said, 'the noblest of the arts'; that the crowning achievements of science lie in those directions with which this Section is professionally concerned: all this I could say with complete sincerity, and, if I were the head of a deputation approaching a Government Department, I suppose that I would not shirk even so unprofitable a task.

It is unfortunate that these essential and edifying truths, important as it is that they should be repeated as loudly as possible from time to time, are, to the man whose interest in life lies in scientific work and not in propaganda, unexciting, and in fact quite intolerably dull. I could, if I chose, say all these things, but, even if I wanted to, I should hardly increase your respect for mathematics and mathematicians by repeating to you what you have said yourselves, or read in the newspapers, a hundred times already. I shall say them all some day; the time will come when we shall none of us have anything more interesting to say. We need not anticipate our inevitable end.

I propose therefore to adopt the alternative course suggested by my predecessor, and to try to say something to you about something about which I have something to say. There is only one subject about which I have anything to say, and that is pure mathematics. It happens, by a fortunate accident, that the particular subject which I love the most, and which presents most of the problems which occupy my own researches, is by no means overwhelmingly recondite or obscure, and indeed is sharply distinguished from almost every other branch of pure mathematics, in that it makes a direct, popular, and almost irresistible appeal to the heart of the ordinary man.

There is, however, one preliminary remark which I cannot resist the temptation of making. The present is a particularly happy moment for a pure mathematician, since it has been marked by one of the greatest recorded triumphs of pure mathematics. This triumph is the work, as it happens, of a man who would probably not describe himself as a mathematician, but who has done more than any mathematician to vindicate the dignity of mathematics, and to put that obscure and perplexing construction, commonly described as 'physical reality', in its proper place.

There is probably less difference between the methods of a physicist and a mathematician than is generally supposed. The most striking among them seems to me to be this, that the mathematician is in much more direct contact with reality. This may perhaps seem to you a paradox, since it is the physicist who deals with the subject-matter to which the epithet 'real' is commonly applied. But a very little reflexion will show that the 'reality' of the physicist, whatever it may be (and it is extraordinarily difficult to say), has few or none of the attributes which common-sense instinctively marks as real. A chair may be a collection of whirling atoms, or an idea in the mind of God. It is not my business to suggest that one account of it is obviously more plausible than the other. Whatever the merits of either of them may be, neither draws its inspiration from the suggestions of common-sense.

Neither the philosophers, nor the physicists themselves, have ever put forward any very convincing account of what physical reality is, or of how the physicist passes, from the confused mass of fact or sensation from which he starts, to the construction of the objects which he classifies as real. We cannot be said, therefore, to know what the subject-matter of physics is; but this need not prevent us from understanding the task which a physicist is trying to perform. That, clearly, is to correlate the incoherent body of facts confronting him with some definite and orderly scheme of abstract relations, the kind of scheme, in short, which he can only borrow from mathematics.

A mathematician, on the other hand, fortunately for him, is not concerned with this physical reality at all. It is impossible to prove, by mathematical reasoning, any proposition whatsoever concerning the physical world, and only a mathematical crank would be likely now to imagine it his function to do so. There is plainly one way only of ascertaining the facts of experience, and that is by observation. It is not the business of a mathematician to suggest one view of the universe or another, but merely to supply the physicists with a collection of abstract schemes, which it is for them to select from, and to adopt or discard at their pleasure.

The most obvious example is to be found in the science of geometry. Mathematicians have constructed a very large number of different systems of geometry, Euclidean or non-Euclidean, of one, two, three, or any number of dimensions. All these systems are of complete and equal validity. They embody the results of mathematicians' observations of *their* reality, a reality far more intense and far more rigid than the dubious and elusive reality of physics. The old-fashioned geometry of Euclid, the entertaining seven-point geometry of Veblen, the space-

times of Minkowski and Einstein, are all absolutely and equally real. When a mathematician has constructed, or, to be more accurate, when he has observed them, his professional interest in the matter ends. It may be the seven-point geometry that fits the facts the best, for anything that mathematicians have to say. There may be three dimensions in this room and five next door. As a professional mathematician, I have no idea; I can only ask the Secretary, or some other competent physicist, to instruct me in the facts.

The function of a mathematician, then, is simply to observe the facts about his own hard and intricate system of reality, that astonishingly beautiful complex of logical relations which forms the subject-matter of his science, as if he were an explorer looking at a distant range of mountains, and to record the results of his observations in a series of maps, each of which is a branch of pure mathematics. Many of these maps have been completed, while in others, and these, naturally, the most interesting, there are vast uncharted regions. Some, it seems, have some relevance to the structure of the physical world, while others have no such tangible application. Among them there is perhaps none quite so fascinating, with quite the same astonishing contrasts of sharp outline and mysterious shade, as that which constitutes the theory of numbers.

The number system of arithmetic is, as we know too well, not without its applications to the sensible world. The currency systems of Europe, for example, conform to it approximately; west of the Vistula, two and two make something approaching four. The practical applications of arithmetic, however, are tedious beyond words. One must probe a little deeper into the subject if one wishes to interest the ordinary man, whose taste in such matters is astonishingly correct, and who turns with joy from the routine of common life to anything strange and odd, like the fourth dimension, or imaginary time, or the theory of the representation of integers by sums of squares or cubes.

It is impossible for me to give you, in the time at my command, any general account of the problems of the theory of numbers, or of the progress that has been made towards their solution even during the last twenty years. I must adopt a much simpler method. I will merely state to you, with a few words of comment, three or four isolated questions, selected in a quite haphazard way. They are seemingly simple questions, and it is not necessary to be anything of a mathematician to understand them; and I have chosen them for no better reason than that I happen to be interested in them myself. There is no one of them to which I know the answer, nor, so far as I know, does any mathematician in the world; and there is no one of them, with one exception which I have included deliberately, the answer to which any one of us would not make almost any sacrifice to know.

1. *When is a number the sum of two cubes, and what is the number of its representations?* This is my first question, and first of all I will elucidate it by some examples. The numbers $2 = 1^3 + 1^3$ and $9 = 2^3 + 1^3$ are sums of two cubes, while 3 and 4 are not: it is exceptional for a number to be of this particular form. The number of cubes up to 1000000 is 100, and the number of numbers, up to this limit and of the form required, cannot exceed 10000, one-hundredth of

the whole. The density of the distribution of such numbers tends to zero as the number tend to infinity. Is there, I am asking, any simple criterion by which such numbers can be distinguished?

Again, 2 and 9 are sums of two cubes, and can be expressed in this form in one way only. There are numbers so expressible in a variety of different ways. The least such number is 1729, which is 12^3+1^3 and also 10^3+9^3. It is more difficult to find a number with *three* representations; the least such number is

$$175{,}959{,}000 = 560^3 + 70^3 = 552^3 + 198^3 = 525^3 + 315^3.$$

One number at any rate is known with *four* representations, viz.

$$19 \times 363510^3$$

(a number of 18 digits), but I am not prepared to assert that it is the least. No number has been calculated, so far as I know, with more than four, but theory, running ahead of computation, shows that numbers exist with five representations, or six, or any number.

A distinguished physicist has argued that the possible number of isotopes of an element is probably limited because, among the ninety or so elements at present under observation, there is none which has more isotopes than six. I dare not criticise a physicist in his own field; but the figures I have quoted may suggest to you than an arithmetical generalisation, based on a corresponding volume of evidence, would be more than a little rash.

There are similar questions, of course, for squares, but the answers to these were found long ago by Euler and by Gauss, and belong to the classical mathematics. Suppose, for simplicity of statement, that the number in question is *prime*. Then, if it is of the form $4m+1$, it is a sum of squares, and in one way only, while if it is of the form $4m+3$ it is not so expressible; and this simple rule may readily be generalised so as to apply to numbers of any form. But there is no similar solution for our actual problem, nor, I need hardly say, for the analogous problems for fourth, fifth, or higher powers. The smallest number known to be expressible in two ways by two biquadrates is

$$635318657 = 158^4 + 59^4 = 134^4 + 133^4;$$

and I do not believe that any number is known expressible in three. Nor, to my knowledge, has the bare existence of such a number yet been proved. When we come to fifth powers, nothing is known at all. The field for future research is unlimited and practically untrodden.

2. I pass to another question, again about cubes, but of a somewhat different kind. *Is every large number* (every number, that is to say, from a definite point onwards) *the sum of five cubes*? This is another exceptionally difficult problem. It is known that every number, without exception, is the sum of nine cubes; two numbers, 23 (which is $2.2^3+7.1^3$) and 239, actually require so many. It seems that there are just fifteen numbers, the largest being 454, which need eight, and 121 numbers, the largest being 8042, which need seven; and the evidence suggests forcibly that the six-cube numbers also ultimately disappear. In a lecture which I delivered on this subject at Oxford I stated, on the authority of Dr. Ruckle, that there were two numbers, in the

immediate neighbourhood of 1000000, which could not be resolved into fewer cubes than six; but Dr. A. E. Western has refuted this assertion by resolving each of them into five, and is of opinion, I believe, that the six-cube numbers have disappeared entirely considerably before this point. It is conceivable that the five-cube numbers also disappear, but this, if it be so, is in depths where computation is helpless. The four-cube numbers must certainly persist for ever, for it is impossible that a number $9n+4$ or $9n+5$ should be the sum of three.

I need hardly add that there is a similar problem for every higher power. For fourth powers the critical number is 16. There is no case, except the simple case of squares, in which the solution is in any sense complete. About the squares there is no mystery; every number is the sum of four, and there are infinitely many which cannot be expressed by fewer.

3. I will next raise the question *whether the number* $2^{137}-1$ *is prime*. I said that I would include one question which did not interest me particularly, and I should like to explain to you the kind of reasons which damp down my interest in this one. I do not know the answer, and I do not care greatly what it is.

The problem belongs to the theory of the so-called 'perfect' numbers, which has exercised mathematicians since the times of the Greeks. A number is perfect if, like 6 or 28, it is the sum of all its divisors, unity included. Euclid proved that the number

$$2^m\,(2^{m+1}-1)$$

is perfect if the second factor is prime; and Euler, 2,000 years later, that all *even* perfect numbers are of Euclid's form. It is still unknown whether a perfect number can be odd.

It would obviously be most interesting to know generally in what circumstances a number 2^n-1 is prime. It is plain that this can only be so if n itself is prime, as otherwise the number has obvious factors; and the 137 of my question happens to be the least value of n for which the answer is still in doubt. You may perhaps be surprised that a question apparently so fascinating should fail to arouse me more.

It was asserted by Mersenne in 1644 that the only values of n, up to 257, for which 2^n-1 is prime are

$$2,\ 3,\ 5,\ 7,\ 13,\ 17,\ 19,\ 31,\ 67,\ 127,\ 257;$$

and an enormous amount of labour has been expended on attempts to verify this assertion. There are no simple general tests by which the primality of a number chosen at random can be determined, and the amount of computation required in any particular case may be quite appalling. It has, however, been imagined that Mersenne perhaps knew something which later mathematicians have failed to rediscover. The idea is a little fantastic, but there is no doubt that, so long as the possibility remained, arithmeticians were justified in their determination to ascertain the facts at all costs. 'The riddle as to how Mersenne's numbers were discovered remains unsolved,' wrote Mr. Rouse Ball in 1891. Mersenne, he observes, was a good mathematician, but not an Euler or a Gauss, and he inclines to attribute the discovery to the exceptional genius of Fermat, the only mathematician

of the age whom anyone could suspect of being hundreds of years ahead of his time.

These speculations appear extremely fanciful now, for the bubble has at last been pricked. It seems now that Mersenne's assertion, so far from hiding unplumbed depths of mathematical profundity, was a conjecture based on inadequate empirical evidence, and a rather unhappy one at that. It is now known that there are at least four numbers about which Mersenne is definitely wrong; he should have included at any rate 61, 89, and 107, and he should have left out 67. The mistake as regards 61 and 67 was discovered as long ago as 1886, but could be explained with some plausibility, so long as it stood alone, as a merely clerical error. But when Mr. R. E. Powers, in 1911 and 1914, proved that Mersenne was also wrong about 89 and 107, this line of defence collapsed, and it ceased to be possible to take Mersenne's assertion seriously.

The facts may be summed up as follows. Mersenne makes fifty-five assertions, for the fifty-five primes from 2 to 257. Of these assertions forty are true, four false, and eleven still doubtful. Not a bad result, you may think; but there is more to be said. Of the forty correct assertions many, half at least, are trivial, either because the numbers in question are comparatively small, or because they possess quite small and easily detected divisors. The test cases are those in which Mersenne asserts the numbers in question to be prime; there are only four of these cases which are difficult and in which the truth is known; and in these Mersenne is wrong in every case but one.

It seems to me, then, that we must regard Mersenne's assertion as exploded; and for my part it interests me no longer. If he is wrong about 89 and 107, I do not care greatly whether he is wrong about 137 as well or not, and I should regard the computations necessary to decide as very largely wasted. There are so many much more profitable calculations which a computer could undertake.

I hope that you will not infer that I regard the problem of perfect numbers as uninteresting in itself; that would be very far from the truth. There are at least two intensely interesting problems. The first is the old problem, which so many mathematicians have failed to solve, whether a perfect number can be odd. The second is whether the number of perfect numbers is infinite or not. If we assume that all perfect numbers are infinite, we can state this problem in a still more arresting form. *Are there infinitely many primes of the form* $2^n - 1$? I find it hard to imagine a problem more fascinating or more terribly difficult than that. It is plain, though, that this is a question which computation can never decide, and it is very unlikely that it can ever give us any data of serious value. And the problem itself really belongs to a different chapter of the theory, to which I should like next to direct your attention.

4. *Are there infinitely many primes of the form* n^2+1? Let me first remind you of some well-known facts in regard to the distribution of primes.

There are infinitely many primes; their density decreases as the numbers increase, and tends to zero when the numbers tend to infinity

More accurately, the number of primes less than x is, to a first approximation,

$$\frac{x}{\log x}.$$

The chance that a large number n, selected at random, should be prime is, we may say, about $\frac{1}{\log n}$. Still more precisely, the 'logarithm-integral'

$$\mathrm{Li}\, x = \int_2^x \frac{dt}{\log t}$$

gives a very good approximation to the number of primes. This number differs from Li x by a function of x which oscillates continually, as Mr. Littlewood, in defiance of all empirical evidence to the contrary, has shown, between positive and negative values, and is sometimes large, of the order of magnitude $\sqrt{x}$ or thereabouts, but always small in comparison with the logarithm-integral itself.

Except for one lacuna, which I must pass over in silence now, this problem of the general distribution of primes, the first and central problem of the theory, is in all essentials solved. But a variety of most exciting problems remain as to the distribution of primes among numbers of special forms. The first and simplest of these is that of the arithmetical progressions: *How are the primes distributed among all possible arithmetical progressions* $an+b$? We may leave out of account the case in which a and b have a common factor; this case is trivial, since $an+b$ is then obviously not prime.

The first step towards a solution was made by Dirichlet, who proved for the first time, in 1837, that any such arithmetical progression contains an infinity of primes. It has since been shown that the primes are, to a first approximation at any rate, distributed evenly among all the arithmetical progressions. When we pursue the analysis further differences appear; there are on the average, for example, more primes $4n+3$ than primes $4n+1$, though it is not true, as the evidence of statistics has led some mathematicians to conclude too hastily, that there is always an excess to whatever point the enumeration is carried.

The problem of the arithmetical progressions, then, may also be regarded as solved; and the same is true of the problem of the primes of a given quadratic form, say $am^2+2bmn+cn^2$, homogeneous in the two variables m and n. To take, for instance, the simplest and most striking case, there is the natural and obvious number of primes m^2+n^2. A prime is of this form, as I have mentioned already, if and only if it is of the form $4k+1$. The quadratic problem reduces here to a particular case of the problem of the arithmetical progression.

When we pass to cubic forms, or forms of higher degree, we come to the region of the unknown. This, however, is not the field of inquiry which I wish now to commend to your attention. The quadratic forms of which I have spoken are forms in two independent variables m and n; the form n^2+1 of my question is a non-homogeneous form in a single variable n, the simplest case of the general form $an^2+2bn+c$. It is clear that one may ask the same question for forms of any degree:

Are there, for example, infinitely many primes n^3+2 or n^4+1? I do not choose n^3+1, naturally, because of the obvious factor $n+1$.

This problem is one in which computation can still play an important part. You will remember that I stated the same problem for perfect numbers. There a computer is helpless. For the numbers 2^n-1, which dominate the theory, increase with quite unmanageable rapidity, and the data collected by the computers appear, so far as one can judge, to be almost devoid of value. Here the data are ample, and, though the question is still unanswered, there is really strong statistical evidence for supposing a particular answer to be true. It seems that the answer is affirmative, and that there is a definite approximate formula for the number of primes in question. This formula is

$$\tfrac{1}{2}\mathrm{Li}\sqrt{x}\times\left(1+\frac{1}{3}\right)\left(1-\frac{1}{5}\right)\left(1+\frac{1}{7}\right)\left(1+\frac{1}{11}\right)\ldots\ldots,$$

where the product extends over all primes p, and the positive sign is chosen when p is of the form $4n+3$. Dr. A. E. Western has submitted this formula to a most exhaustive numerical check. It so happens that Colonel Cunningham some years ago computed a table of primes n^2+1 up to the value 15,000 of n, a limit altogether beyond the range of the standard factor tables, and Cunningham's table has made practicable an unusually comprehensive test. The actual number of primes is 1199, while the number predicted is 1219. The error, less than 1 in 50, is much less than one could reasonably expect. The formula stands its test triumphantly, but I should be deluding you if I pretended to see any immediate prospect of an accurate proof.

5. The last problem I shall state to you is this: *Are there infinitely many prime-pairs p, $p+2$?* One may put the problem more generally: *Does any group of primes, with assigned and possible differences, recur indefinitely, and what is the law of its recurrence?*

I must first explain what I mean by a 'possible' group of primes. It is possible that p and $p+2$ should both be prime, like 3, 5, or 101, 103. It is not possible (unless p is 3) that p, $p+2$ and $p+4$ should *all* be prime, for one of them must be a multiple of 3: but p, $p+2$, $p+6$ or p, $p+4$, $p+6$ are possible triplets of primes. Similarly

$$p,\ p+2,\ p+6,\ p+8,\ p+12$$

can all be prime, so far as any elementary test of divisibility shows, and in fact 5, 7, 11, 13 and 17 satisfy the conditions. It is easy to define precisely what we understand by a 'possible' group. We mean a group whose differences, like 0, 2, 6, have at least one missing residue to every possible modulus. The 'impossible' group 0, 2, 4 does not satisfy the condition, for the remainders after division by 3 are 0, 2, 1, a complete set of residues to modulus 3. There is no difficulty in specifying possible groups of any length we please.

We define in this manner, then, a 'possible' group of primes, and we put the questions: Do all possible groups of primes actually occur, do they recur indefinitely often, and how often on the average do they recur? And here again it would seem that the answers are affirmative, that all possible groups occur, and continue to occur for ever, and with a frequency whose law can be assigned. The order of magnitude

of the number of prime-pairs, p, $p+2$, or p, $p+4$, or p, $p+6$, both of whose members are less than a large number x, is, it appears,

$$\frac{x}{(\log x)^2}.$$

The order of magnitude of the corresponding number of triplets, of any possible type, is

$$\frac{x}{(\log x)^3},$$

and so on generally. Further, we can assign the relative frequencies of pairs or triplets of different types; there are, for example, about twice as many pairs whose difference is 6 as pairs whose difference is 2. All these results have been tested by actual enumeration from the factor tables of the first million numbers; and a physicist would probably regard them as proved, though we of course know very well that they are not.

There is a great deal of mathematics the purport of which is quite impossible for any amateur to grasp, and which, however beautiful and important it may be, must always remain the possession of a narrow circle of experts. It is the peculiarity of the theory of numbers that much of it could be published broadcast, and would win new readers for the *Daily Mail*. The positive integers do not lie, like the logical foundations of mathematics, in the hardly visible distance, nor in the uncomfortably tangled foreground, like the immediate data of the physical world, but at a decent middle distance, where the outlines are clear and yet some element of mystery remains. There is no one so blind that he does not see them, and no one so sharp-sighted that his vision does not fail; they stand there a continual and inevitable challenge to the curiosity of every healthy mind. I have merely directed your attention for a moment to a few of the less immediately conspicuous features of the landscape, in the hope that I might sharpen your curiosity a little, and that some of you perhaps might feel tempted to walk a little nearer and take a rather closer view.

PART I. THE ORGANISATION OF RESEARCH.

ADDRESS BY

PRINCIPAL J. C. IRVINE, C.B.E., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

I AM deeply sensible of the honour done to me in electing me to this chair, and am well aware of my own unworthiness to occupy the position. Nevertheless, I feel that there is something appropriate in the choice which brings once more into close relationship the University of St. Andrews and the British Association. You will forgive me if, for the moment, my thoughts are focussed not so much on the subject assigned to our Section as on the origin and nature of this annual gathering of scientists.

The British Association was the product of an age rather than the inspiration of any one man, yet of those who first gave practical effect to the movement which has spread scientific learning and has bound its devotees in a goodly fellowship there was no more eager spirit than Sir David Brewster. It is not an exaggerated claim that it was he who founded the British Association. One may trace his enlightened action to a desire to combat the apathy and distrust shown by the Government of his day towards scientific work and even scientific men. Only in the historical sense can I claim any relationship with Brewster. It is my privilege to occupy the Principalship he once held, and I cannot escape from the thought that the daily tasks now mine were once his.

It is thus inevitable that to-day a name often in my mind should spring once more into recollection, especially as my distinguished predecessor was present at the first Hull meeting in 1853, when he contributed two papers to Section A. Chemists should be among the first to pay grateful tribute to Brewster's efforts on behalf of science, and I propose, therefore, to include in my address a review of the position scientific chemistry has won since his day in public and official estimation. Moreover, at the express suggestion of some of our members whose opinions cannot be disregarded, I am induced to add the consideration of the new responsibilities chemists have incurred now that so many of Brewster's hopes have been realised. These were recently submitted by me to another audience and, through the medium of an article in 'Nature,' are possibly known to you already, but I agree with my advisers that their importance warrants further elaboration and wider discussion.

It would be idle to recall the lowly position of chemistry as an educative force in this country, or to reconstruct the difficulties with which the scientific chemist was confronted during the first thirty years

of the nineteenth century. Present difficulties are serious enough, and press for all our attention, without dwelling unduly on troubles of the past. But we must at least remember that in the early days of the British Association 'schools' of chemistry were in their infancy, and that systematic instruction in the science was difficult to obtain. Another point of fundamental importance which has to be borne in mind is that the masters of the subject were then for the most part solitary workers.

It is difficult for us, looking back through the years, to realise what it must have meant to search for truth under conditions which were discouraging, if not actually hostile. Yet, although his labours were often thankless and unrewarded, the chemist of the time was probably a riper philosopher and a finer enthusiast than his successor of to-day. He pursued his inquiries amidst fewer distractions, and in many ways his lot must have been happy, save when tormented by the thought that a subject so potent as chemistry in developing the intellectual and material welfare of the community should remain neglected to an extent which to us seems incredible.

Public sympathy was lacking, Government support was negligible or grudgingly bestowed, and there was little or no co-operation between scientific chemistry and industry. As an unaided enthusiast the chemist was left to pursue his way without the stimulus, now happily ours, which comes from the feeling that work is supported by educated and enlightened appreciation.

Let me quote from one of Faraday's letters now in my possession and, so far as I can trace, unpublished. Writing to a friend immediately before the foundation of the British Association, he relates that a manufacturer had adopted a process developed in the course of an investigation carried out in the Royal Institution. The letter continues: 'He' (the manufacturer) 'writes me word that, having repeated our experiments, he finds the product very good, and as our information was given openly to the world he, as a matter of compliment, has presented me with some pairs of razors to give away.' If ever there was a compliment which could be described as empty, surely this was one; yet the letter gives the impression that Faraday himself was quite content with his reward.

It is perhaps unfair to quote Faraday as a type, for few men are blessed with his transparent simplicity of character, but there is obviously a great gulf fixed between the present day and a time when a debt of honour could be cancelled in such a manner. A little reflection will show that the British Association has played a useful part in discrediting the idea that because so much scientific discovery is given 'openly to the world,' those who profit by such discoveries should be absolved from their reasonable obligations. Even where scientific workers do not expect or desire personal reward, the institutions which provide them with their facilities are often sorely in need. The recognition, not yet complete, but more adequate than once was the case, that the labourer is worthy of his hire represents only one minor change which the years have brought.

An even greater contrast, embodying more important principles, is

found in the changed attitude of the State towards scientific education and discovery. Remember Brewster's fond hope that, by means of our Association, the whole status of science would be raised, and that a greater measure of support and encouragement would be received from the Government. How eagerly the venerable physicist must have listened to the Presidential Address delivered at the twenty-third meeting of the Association assembled in Hull for the first time. It dealt with many problems familiar to him. No doubt he followed with keen interest the account of the observations on Nebulæ made with Lord Rosse's telescope, and appreciated the references to the work of Joule and Thomson. The address was a masterly synopsis of scientific progress, but from time to time a new note steals in. There is a significant reference to a consultation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, another to a conversation with Mr. Gladstone, and a third to a working arrangement concluded with the Admiralty. These would fall sweetly on Brewster's ear, and he would cordially approve of the report of our Parliamentary Committee which had established sympathetic contact with the House of Commons. He could not fail to be impressed with the changes a few years had brought.

Let us bridge the further gap of sixty-nine years which separates us from that day. The contrast is amazing, and once more we can trace the steady, persistent influence of the British Association in bringing about what is practically a revolution in public and official opinion. We have learned many lessons. The change has come suddenly, but it was not spontaneous. Many years had to be spent in disseminating the idea that research is a vital necessity, and toward this end Presidents of our Association have not hesitated, year after year, to add the weight of their influence and eloquence. It was courageous of them to do so. I would refer you particularly to the forcible appeals made by Sir James Dewar at Belfast and Sir Norman Lockyer at Southport, when the plea for more research was laid before the Association, and thus found its way by the most direct channel to the Press and to the public. No doubt many other factors have played a part in creating a research atmosphere in this country, but the steady pressure exerted by the British Association is not the least important of these influences.

The principles of science are to-day widely spread; systematic scientific training has found an honourable place in the schools and in the colleges; above all, there is the realisation that much of human progress is based on scientific inquiry, and at last this is fostered, and, in part, financed as a definite unit of national educational policy. Public funds are devoted to provide facilities for those who are competent to pursue scientific investigations, and in this way the State, acting through the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, has assumed the double responsibility of providing for the advancement of knowledge and for the application of scientific methods to industry. Scientists have been given the opportunities they desired, and it remains for us to justify all that has been done. We have this morning glanced briefly at the painful toil and long years of preparation; now it falls to us to sow the first crop and reap the first harvest.

Thanks to the wisdom and foresight of others, it has been possible to frame the Government policy in the light of the experience gained with pre-existing research organisations. The pioneer scheme of the kind is that administered by the Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition, who since 1890 have awarded research scholarships to selected graduates. When in 1901 Mr. Carnegie's benefaction was applied to the Scottish Universities the trustees wisely determined to devote part of the revenues to the provision of research awards which take the form of Scholarships, Fellowships, and Research Lectureships. These have proved an immense boon to Scottish graduates, and the success of the venture is sufficiently testified by the fact that the Government Research scheme was largely modelled on that of the Carnegie Trust.

In each of these organisations chemistry bulks largely, and the future of our subject is intimately connected with their success or failure. The issue lies largely in our hands. We must not forget that we are only at the beginning of a great movement, and that fresh duties now devolve upon us. It was my privilege for some years to direct the work of a Chemistry Institute, where research was organised on lines which the operation of the Government scheme will make general. If, from the very nature of things, my experience cannot be lengthy it is at least intimate, and I may perhaps be allowed to lay before you my impressions of the problems we have to face.

Two main objectives lie before us: the expansion of useful learning and the diffusion of research experience among a selected class. This class in itself will form a new unit in the scientific community, and from it will emerge the 'exceptional man' to whom, quoting Sir James Dewar, 'we owe our reputation and no small part of our prosperity.' When these words were uttered in 1902 it was a true saying that 'for such men we have to wait upon the will of Heaven.' It is still true, but there is no longer the same risk that the exceptional man will fall by the way through lack of means. Many types of the exceptional man will be forthcoming, and you must not imagine that I am regarding him merely as one who will occupy a University Chair. He will be found more frequently in industry, where his function will be to hand on the ideas inspired by his genius to the ordinary investigator.

I have no intention of wearying you by elaborating my views on the training required to produce these different types. My task is greatly simplified if you will agree that the first step must be systematic experience in pure and disinterested research, without any reference to the more complicated problems of applied science. This is necessary, for if our technical research is to progress on sound lines the foundations must be truly laid. I have no doubt as to the prosperity of scientific industries in this country so long as we avoid hasty and premature specialisation in those who control them. We may take it that in the future the great majority of expert chemists will pass through a stage in which they make their first acquaintance with the methods of research under supervision and guidance. The movement is already in progress. The Government grants are awarded generously and widely. The conditions attached are moderate and reasonable, and there is a rush to chemical research in our colleges. Here, then, I

issue my first note of warning, and it is to the professors. It is an easy matter to nominate a research student; a research laboratory comfortably filled with workers is an inspiring sight, but there are few more harassing duties than those which involve the direction of young research chemists. No matter how great their enthusiasm and abilities, these pupils have to be trained, guided, inspired, and this help can come only from the man of mature years and experience. I am well aware that scorn has been poured on the idea that research requires training. No doubt the word is an expression of intellectual freedom, but I have seen too many good investigators spoiled and discouraged through lack of this help to hold any other opinion than that training is necessary. I remember, too, years when I wandered more or less aimlessly down the by-paths of pointless inquiries, and I then learned to realise the necessity of economising the time and effort of others.

The duties of such a supervisor cannot be light. He must possess versatility; for although a 'research school' will doubtless preserve one particular type of problem as its main feature, there must be a sufficient variety of topics if narrow specialisation is to be avoided. Remember, also, that there can be no formal course of instruction suitable for groups of students, no common course applicable to all pupils and all inquiries. Individual attention is the first necessity, and the educative value of early researches is largely derived from the daily consultations at the laboratory bench or in the library. The responsibility of becoming a research supervisor is great, and, even with the best of good will, many find it difficult to enter sympathetically into the mental position of the beginner. An unexpected result is obtained, an analysis fails to agree, and the supervisor, out of his long experience, can explain the anomaly at once, and generally does so. If the pupil is to derive any real benefit from his difficulties, his adviser must for the moment place himself in the position of one equally puzzled, and must lead his collaborator to sum up the evidence and arrive at the correct conclusion for himself. The policy thus outlined is, I believe, sound, but it makes severe demands on patience, sympathy, and, above all, time.

Research supervision, if conscientiously given, involves the complete absorption of the director's energy and leisure. There is a rich reward in seeing pupils develop as independent thinkers and workers, but the supervisor has to pay the price of seeing his own research output fade away. He will have more conjoint papers, but fewer individual publications, and limitations will be placed on the nature of his work by the restricted technique of his pupils.

I have defined a high standard, almost an ideal, but there is, of course, the easy alternative to use the technical skill of the graduate to carry out the more laborious and mechanical parts of one's own researches, to regard these young workers as so many extra pairs of hands. I need not elaborate the outcome of such a policy.

There is another temptation, and that, in an institution of university rank, is for the professor to leave research training in the hands of his lecturers, selecting as his collaborators only those workers who have passed the apprenticeship stage. This, I am convinced, is a

mistake. Nothing consolidates a research school more firmly than the feeling that all who labour in its interests are recognised by having assigned to them collaborators of real ability.

I am not yet done with the professor and his staff, for they will have other matters to attend to if research schools are to justify their existence and to do more than add to the bulk of our journals. In many cases it will be found that the most gifted of the young workers under their care lack what, for want of a better expression, is known as 'general culture.' Remember, these graduates have just emerged from a period of intensive study in which chemistry and the allied sciences have absorbed most of their attention. For their own sake and in the interests of our subject, they must be protected from the criticism that a scientific education is limited in outlook and leads to a narrow specialism. The research years are plastic years, and many opportunities may be found in the course of the daily consultations 'to impress upon the student that there is literature other than the records of scientific papers, and music beyond the range of student songs.' I mention only two of the many things which may be added to elevate and refine the research student's life. Others will at once occur to you, but I turn to an entirely different feature of research training, for which I make a special plea: I refer to the inculcation of business-like methods. You will not accuse me, I hope, of departing from the spirit of scholarship or of descending into petty detail, but my experience has been that research students require firm handling. Emancipated as they are from the restrictions of undergraduate study, the idea seems to prevail that these workers ought to be excused the rules which usually govern a teaching laboratory, and may therefore work in any manner they choose. It requires, in fact, the force of a personal example to demonstrate to them that research work can be carried out with all the neatness and care demanded by quantitative analysis. Again, in the exercise of their new freedom young collaborators are inclined to neglect recording their results in a manner which secures a permanent record and is of use to the senior collaborator. As a rule, the compilation of results for publication is not done by the experimenter, and a somewhat elaborate system of records has to be devised. It should be possible, twenty years after the work has been done, to quote the reasons which led to the initiation of each experiment, and to trace the source and history of each specimen analysed, or upon which standard physical constants have been determined. I need not enter into detail in this connection beyond stating that, although a system which secures these objects has for many years been adopted in St. Andrews, constant effort is required to maintain the standard.

One of the greatest anxieties of the research supervisor is, however, the avoidance of extravagance and waste. The student is sometimes inclined to assume a lordly attitude and to regard such matters as the systematic recovery of solvents beneath his notice. My view is that, as a matter of discipline as much as in the interests of economy, extravagant working should not be tolerated. There is naturally an economic limit where the time spent in such economies exceeds in

value the materials saved, and a correct balance must be adjusted. It is often instructive to lay before a research worker an estimate of the cost of an investigation in which these factors of time and material are taken into account. As a general rule it will be found that the saving of material is of greater moment than the loss of time. The point may not be vitally important in the academic laboratory, but in the factory, to which most of these workers eventually migrate, they will soon have the lesson thrust upon them that their time and salary bear a small proportion to costs of production.

You will see I have changed my warning from the professor to the student. A student generation is short. In a few years, when almost as a matter of course the best of young chemists will qualify for the Doctor of Philosophy degree, it will be forgotten that these facilities have come to us, not as a right, but as a privilege. Those who reap the advantages of these privileges must prove that the efforts made on their behalf have been worth while.

Looking at the position broadly, if one may criticise the research schemes of to-day, it is in the sense that the main bulk of support is afforded to the research apprentice, and the situation has become infinitely harder for the supervisor in that new and onerous tasks are imposed upon him. To expect him to undertake his normal duties and, as a voluntary act, the additional burden of research training is to force him into the devastation of late hours and overwork. The question is at once raised—Are we using our mature research material to the best advantage, and is our policy sufficiently focussed on the requirements of the experienced investigator? I think it will generally be agreed that members of the professor or lecturer class who join in the movement must be relieved in great measure of teaching and administrative work. I am decidedly of the opinion that the research supervisor must be a teacher, and must mingle freely with undergraduates, so as to recognise at the earliest possible stage the potential investigators of the future and guide their studies. To meet this necessity universities and colleges must realise that their curriculum has been extended and that staffs must be enlarged accordingly. There could then be definite periods of freedom from official duties for those who undertake research training as an added task. Opportunities must also be given to these 'exceptional men' to travel occasionally to other centres and refresh themselves in the company of kindred workers. It is evident that our universities are called upon to share the financial burden involved in a National Research scheme to a much greater extent than possibly they know.

I may perhaps summarise some of the conclusions I have reached in thinking over these questions. The first and most important is that in each institution there should be a Board or Standing Committee entrusted with the supervision of research. The functions of such a body would be widely varied and would include:—

1. The allocation of money voted specifically from university or college funds for research expenses.

2. The power to recommend additions to the Teaching Staff in departments actively engaged in research.

3. The recommendation of promotions on the basis of research achievement.

4. The supervision of regulations governing higher degrees.

Among the more specific problems which confront this Board are the following:—

1. The creation of Research Libraries where reference works can be consulted immediately.

2. The provision of publication grants, so that where no periodical literature is available the work will not remain buried or obscure.

3. The allocation of travelling grants to enable workers to visit libraries, to inspect manufacturing processes, and to attend meetings of the scientific societies.

I have dealt merely with the fringe of the question, but would add that there is one thing which a Research Board should avoid.

It is, I am convinced, a mistake for a governing body to call for an annual list of publications from research laboratories. Nothing could be more injurious to the true atmosphere of research than the feeling of pressure that papers must be published or the Department will be discredited.

What I have said so far may seem largely a recital of new difficulties, but they are not insurmountable, and to overcome them adds a zest to life. It would have taken too long to go more fully into details and I have tried to avoid making my address a research syllabus, merely giving in general terms the impressions gained during the twenty years in which the St. Andrews Research Laboratories have been in existence.

Save for the fact that I realise my audience is not confined to university teachers I would have liked to speak on some such points as these: The choice of a research student, the selection of a research subject, the writing of scientific papers. Each would demand a lengthy discussion, as would also the painful situation created when a research topic fails or a research worker proves disappointing.

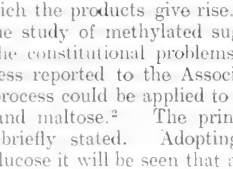
I have confined myself to the first stage in the research development of the chemist. His future path may lead him either to the factory or to the lecture-room, and in the end the exceptional man will be found in the director's laboratory or in the professor's chair. However difficult these roads may prove, I feel that with the financial aid now available, supported by the self-sacrificing labours of those who devote themselves to furthering this work, he has the opportunity to reach the goal. It is the beginning of a new scientific age, and we may look forward confidently to the time when there will be no lack of trained scientific intellects to lead our policy and direct our efforts in all that concerns the welfare of the country.

PART II.—SOME RESEARCH PROBLEMS IN THE CARBOHYDRATES.

CELLULOSE, STARCH, AND INULIN.

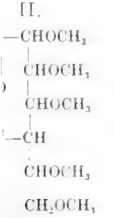
In submitting at this stage an account of the researches upon which my co-workers are at present engaged, I am impressed by the recollection that the first paper on the alkylation of sugars was read to Section B twenty years ago. The communication[1] dealt merely with the progressive methylation of methylglucoside and with the trimethyl and tetramethyl glucoses to which the products give rise. Even at that time it was recognised that the study of methylated sugars opened up a new method of attacking the constitutional problems of the carbohydrates, and the further progress reported to the Association in the following year showed how the process could be applied to determine, in part, the structure of sucrose and maltose.[2] The principle underlying these studies may be very briefly stated. Adopting for the moment the accepted formula for glucose it will be seen that a hexose sugar contains five hydroxyl groups:—

I.

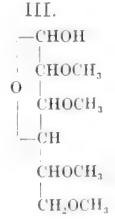


It is to be noted that one of these groups differs from the remaining four in that, although it may be replaced by a methyl group, this is easily removed by acid hydrolysis. On the other hand, when methyl groups are introduced into the remaining positions (numbered 2, 3, 5, and 6 in the formula), they are exceedingly resistent to hydrolytic action. It follows, therefore, that a fully methylated glucoside (II.) when heated with acid will be converted into a tetramethyl glucose (III.).

II.



III.



Similar reactions are impossible with acetyl or benzoyl derivatives of sugars owing to the ease with which the substituting groups are eliminated. In order to illustrate the utility of methylation in determining structure, we may ascribe to any sugar derivative the general formula S—G, where S is a sugar residue and G the group with which it is condensed. Complete methylation may be effected, according to the solubilities involved, by silver oxide and methyl iodide or, alternatively, by methyl sulphate and alkali. The compound obtained will yield, on hydrolysis, at least two products, one of which is a methylated sugar. Determination of the number and distribution of the methyl groups in each of the cleavage products gives the structure of the parent compound, as the mode of attachment of the constituents is thereby known.

In the special case where the group G is also a sugar residue the general formula of the complex may be written S—S_1. The compound would thus be a disaccharide, and precisely the same structural study can be applied to it. The method is equally applicable to trisaccharides, S—S_1—S_2, and finally to polysaccharides S . . . . . S_n.

The development of this line of research has demanded the preparation of a large variety of methylated sugars, which play the part of reference compounds in that the position of the alkyl groups in them is known.

As I wish to deal particularly with the constitutional problems of polysaccharides, I shall make no attempt to summarise the results which have been obtained in the study of the simple sugars, the glucosides, or the disaccharides, but turn at once to the case presented by cellulose.

Cellulose.

(With Dr. W. S. Denham *and* Dr. E. L. Hirst.)

The extensive literature which has grown up on the constitution of cellulose affords little satisfaction to the organic chemist. Despite the complications involved and the many liabilities to error, it seems impossible for workers on cellulose to resist the temptation to ascribe a molecular formula to the compound. The difficulties which stand in the way are too numerous to mention, but the marked stability of cellulose under some conditions and its curious reactivity under others, coupled with its limited solubility and lack of volatility, are outstanding obstacles. As a result, many divergent and even conflicting suggestions have been put forward to represent the polysaccharide structurally, and the views of chemists both within and without the large circle of workers in this field are chaotic. The confusion is increased by the fact that many formulæ for the compound are published in haste to be corrected at leisure, and this unhappy state of affairs was never more pronounced than to-day. I would refer you to an article by Hans Pringsheim,[3] in which he classifies the mentality of investigators and puts forward a plea that, if sure progress is to be made, the chemistry of polysaccharides must be pursued slowly step by step. Impetuous and hasty theorising does infinite harm.

The first essential in arriving at a satisfactory formula for cellulose

is to ascertain if the aggregate $(C_6H_{10}O_5)_n$ is composed entirely of glucose units, as even this fundamental point has been disputed. To obtain the necessary evidence is not so simple as might appear, and many of the ' proofs ' which have been offered do not carry conviction to those familiar with the detailed chemistry of the simple sugars. By converting cellulose into the triacetate and thereafter decomposing this product so as to give methylglucoside, we have recently obtained data which leave no doubt that glucose alone is the basis of cellulose.[4] The yield of pure crystalline methylglucoside thus isolated amounts to more than 95 per cent. of the theoretical yield calculated on the basis of the equation :—

$$(C_6H_{10}O_5)_x + x\ H_2O \longrightarrow x\ C_6H_{12}O_6.$$

This result applies only to cotton cellulose, and further discussion is therefore restricted to this particular variety. Disregarding structures which are not based upon glucose, the numerous formulæ proposed for cellulose may be approximately divided into two classes :—

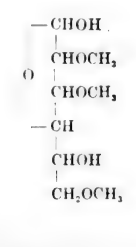
1. Constitutions modelled on that of the glucosides, involving the addition of numerous glucose residues by mutual condensation. According to this view, cellulose consists of large molecules.

2. The unit of cellulose may be regarded as a simple anhydro-glucose, $C_6H_{10}O_5$, highly polymerised.

As pointed out, the situation alters almost from day to day, but for the moment a compromise between the above classes is supported, and some authorities prefer to regard cellulose as a simple anhydro-*n*-saccharide (where n is a small multiple) polymerised in unknown numbers.

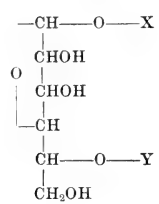
Twelve years ago, after developing the methylation process into a trustworthy method for determining the linkages of sugar complexes, we turned our attention to the constitution of cellulose. The work was undertaken by Dr. W. S. Denham,[5] who, using methyl sulphate and sodium hydroxide as the alkylating reagents, obtained a methylated cellulose in which the methoxyl content was 25 per cent. This value is lower than that required for a dimethyl cellulose (32.6 per cent.), and it followed that, on hydrolysing the product, a mixture of methylated glucoses resulted. From the mixture one definite sugar was isolated, and this Denham[6] proved to be 2,3,6-trimethyl glucose (IV.), which was then isolated for the first time.

IV.



Denham's work thus gave the the first clear evidence as to the linkage of part of the cellulose molecule, and is one of the most important contributions made to the structural study of complex carbohydrates. Cellulose must contain the unit

V.



but as an incompletely methylated cellulose was employed in the hydrolysis the research left unexplained the nature of the residues X and Y.

The investigation was therefore continued with the object of completing the methylation of cellulose and providing answers to the following questions:—

(*a*) does trimethyl cellulose give, on hydrolysis, a mixture of methylated glucoses in which the average methoxyl content is three groups per C_6 unit,

or alternatively,

(*b*) if trimethyl cellulose gives trimethyl glucose alone, is this sugar a single individual or a mixture of isomerides?

The War interfered with the progress of the work, but other authors have not hesitated to propose formulæ for cellulose based on Denham's results before he had an opportunity to complete his researches and provide answers to the fundamental questions raised above.

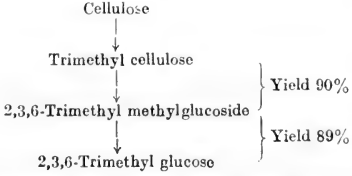
In consultation with Dr. Denham we have repeated his experiments, and amplified them, so that we are now in a position to propose a structure for the cellulose unit which is based on secure evidence. We find that the exhaustive methylation of the polysaccharide, when repeated twenty times, gives a product containing 43.0 per cent. of methoxyl in place of the 45.6 per cent. required for a trimethyl derivative. The carbon and hydrogen values also agree with the formula $(C_6H_7O_2(OMe)_3)_n$ and as the material preserved a fibrous structure there seems little likelihood that profound molecular alteration had taken place. The trimethyl cellulose was heated with a large excess of methyl alcohol containing 1 per cent. of hydrogen chloride for fifty hours at 125-130°. This treatment effected depolymerisation, hydrolysis, and conversion of the scission products into the corresponding methylglucosides. These were distilled in a high vacuum, the total yield obtained being 90 per cent. of the theoretical amount. The following fractions were collected:—

A. Trimethyl methylglucoside.
B. Trimethyl methylglucoside.
C. Trimethyl methylglucoside containing a small proportion of dimethyl methylglucoside.

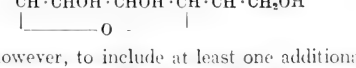
All the fractions were analysed, and in this way it was shown that the small quantity of dimethyl methylglucoside in fraction C agreed exactly with the deficiency of 2.6 per cent. in the methoxyl content of the trimethyl cellulose used. *No trace of tetramethyl methylglucoside was present.* Moreover, the physical constants of the trimethyl methylglucoside agreed exactly with those recently established for this compound by Irvine and Hirst.[7] On hydrolysis of fractions A and B an 89 per cent. yield of crystalline 2,3,6-trimethyl glucose was obtained. The identity of this product was confirmed by analysis, by mixed melting-point with an authentic specimen, and by the mutarotation in aqueous solution

$$[\alpha]_D +108^\circ \longrightarrow +67.0^\circ.$$

No isomeric trimethyl glucose was present; higher and lower methylated glucoses were absent. We thus reach the conclusion that trimethyl cellulose gives 2,3,6-trimethyl glucose as the only product. The reactions involved in the research are shown below, and, considering the nature of the operations involved, the yields may be claimed to be quantitative.

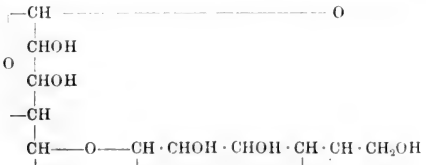


The scheme affords a proof that all the glucose residues in α-cellulose are identical in structure, and the simplest possible formula which will satisfy this condition is that of a 1,5-anhydro-glucose.



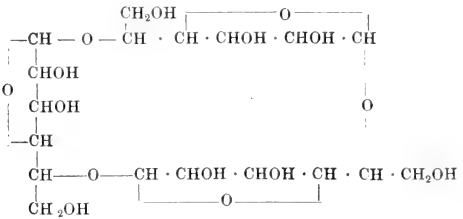
VI.

It is necessary, however, to include at least one additional glucose unit to account for the formation of cellobiose,[8] and this is fulfilled by the formula



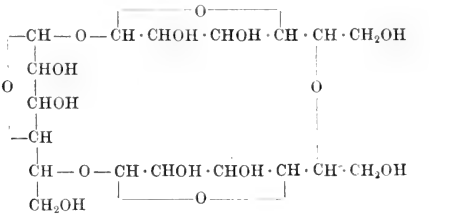
VII.

In terms of the above structure, 100 parts of cellulose should give 105.5 parts of cellobiose, and here the difficulty is encountered that the yields of this disaccharide are extremely variable, and rarely exceed 35 per cent. The highest claimed is of the order 50-60 per cent., and in the meantime it is prudent to select a formula for cellulose which will give a result only slightly higher than this figure. We therefore propose the symmetrical tri-1,5-anhydro-glucose (VIII.) for the unit of cellulose, on the ground that this structure would give a 70 per cent. yield of cellobiose as the theoretical maximum.



VIII.

There is, however, an alternative method of coupling the glucose residues, and this gives the structure shown in Formula IX.

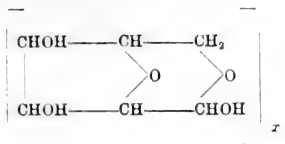


IX.

Taking into account the fact that it can yield only one disaccharide, we prefer Formula VIII. to the above structure. The essential properties of cellulose, so far as they are displayed in chemical reactions, are accounted for by both formulæ. Further, the structures are not inconsistent with the production of bromomethyl furfuraldehyde [9] from cellulose, and indicate that the normal yield of this derivative involves the reaction of one-third of the total unit.

The various formulæ which, in the past, have been proposed for cellulose have been summarised by Hibbert.[10] With the exception of a structure suggested by this author, and in supporting which he prematurely assumed that only one form of trimethyl glucose could be obtained from cellulose, the structures he tabulates do not in any case agree with the evidence we now produce. Typical examples are quoted:—

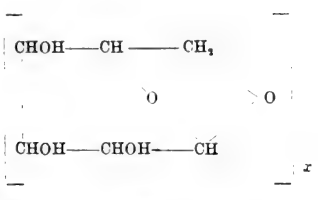
Green's formula [11]:—



X.

would give a trimethyl cellulose which on hydrolysis would lose one methyl group and be converted into 3,4-dimethyl glucose of the amylene-oxide type.

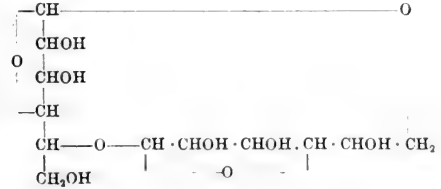
Vignon's formula [12]:—



XI.

is equally unsatisfactory in that the final product should then be 2,3,4-trimethyl glucose of the amylene-oxide type.

The formulæ proposed by Tollens,[13] Cross and Bevan,[14] Bartelemy,[15] and Pictet [16] may be deleted for similar reasons. It is also possible to dispose of Karrer's [17] formula, which is that of an anhydro-cellobiose (termed ' cellosan ')



XII.

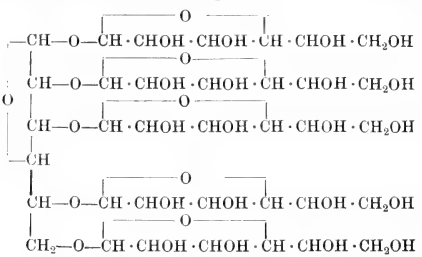
A compound possessing this structure would yield, on methylation and hydrolysis,

1 molecule of 2,3,5-trimethyl glucose
and 1 molecule of 2,3,6-trimethyl glucose.

Our experimental evidence is completely opposed to this view.

An entirely different type of cellulose formula may now be tested. Hess proposes [18] a glucosidic structure which bears a general resemblance to Fischer's constitution for tannins. Space does not

permit of these formulæ being given in full, but the general form will be evident from the simplest example:—



XIII.

Variations are introduced by lengthening the sugar chains until finally a molecule is obtained with eighteen glucose residues ($C_{108}H_{182}O_{91}$). The feature common to all these glucosidic formulæ is that the hydroxyl groups are not symmetrically distributed in the glucose residues. The simplest structure suggested by Hess would give by our processes five molecules of 2,3,5,6-tetramethyl glucose and one molecule of glucose, while his more elaborate molecules would also result in these compounds together with trimethyl glucose. The reactions of trimethyl cellulose exclude all formulæ of this nature.

Starch.

[With Mr. John Macdonald M.A., B.Sc.]

Turning to the problem of the constitution of starch, we encounter very much the same difficulties as have already been referred to under the heading of cellulose. The importance of the compound, its manifold technical applications, and the special appeal its study makes to the biologist have alike combined to produce a voluminous and somewhat scattered literature. If, however, we eliminate unsupported or contradictory results the following evidence as to structure emerges. Starch, when purified from constituents containing nitrogen and phosphorus, possesses the formula $(C_6H_{10}O_5)_x$, and the molecule consists entirely of glucose units. Further, three hydroxyl groups are present for every six carbon atoms, but, as in the case of cellulose, this does not necessarily imply that each glucose residue contains three unsubstituted hydroxyl groups, or that their distribution is symmetrical. The primary reaction of starch, which must be accommodated by a structural formula, is the production of maltose by the action of diastase.

The first essential is the identification of the unit of which the starch molecule is composed, and here, as in the case of other polysaccharides, molecular weight determinations give results of doubtful value. At the present time there is little tendency to regard starch as a highly complex glucoside in which a large number of hexose residues are mutually condensed together, and the view prevails that the polysaccharide is derived from a comparatively simple anhydro-sugar by profound polymerisation. Attention may be focussed on three formulæ based on such ideas.

The unit of starch has been claimed to be:—

1. β-glucosan . . . (Pictet)[19]
2. anhydro-maltose . . (Karrer)[20]
3. triamylose . . . (Pringsheim)[21]

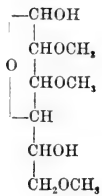
It is possible to test these views by the methylation method.

The first successful methylation of starch was effected by Denham and Woodhouse,[22] and the reaction was afterwards adopted by Karrer.[23] He was, however, unable to complete the alkylation, the substitution being arrested, as we ascertained many years ago, when the methoxyl content was of the order 35 per cent. This value is slightly higher than that demanded for a dimethyl starch, but is considerably lower than that calculated for a trimethyl derivative. It is significant that Pringsheim encountered similar difficulty in methylating the amyloses, diamylose giving a tetramethyl compound, whilst α-tetramylose was converted into the corresponding octamethyl derivative. Pringsheim's combined results lead him to the conclusion that the molecule of starch is built up of not more than 4-6 glucose residues, and, on the whole, he is disposed to retain triamylose as the basis of the polysaccharide.

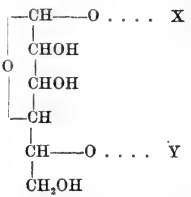
On the other hand, Karrer's view that starch is a polymerised anhydro-maltose rests upon very insecure evidence. The claim that the action of acetyl bromide on the amyloses gives practically quantitative yields of heptacetyl bromo-maltose has been adequately repudiated by Pringsheim. It is, moreover, possible to dispose completely of Karrer's formula for starch by the results now submitted.

When the polysaccharide is methylated repeatedly by the methyl sulphate method, the reaction ceases when the methoxyl content is 37 per cent. It is to be noted that this maximum is not reached when the silver oxide and methyl iodide reaction is employed, as the substitution then stops definitely at the dimethyl stage. Now, the higher value for methoxyl corresponds exactly with the theoretical amount calculated on the basis that one hexose residue has acquired three methyl groups, while four are shared by two glucose residues. Ultimate analysis is also in agreement with this view. Hydrolysis of the methylated starch has shown that this is not a fortuitous coincidence, and we thus obtain a direct clue to the magnitude of the unit which goes to form the starch molecule. When digested with methyl alcohol containing hydrogen chloride the methylated polysaccharide was converted into trimethyl methylglucoside and dimethyl methylglucoside. These were purified by distillation in a high vacuum, and thereafter hydrolysed to give the parent sugars. A totally unexpected result was encountered in that the trimethyl glucose actually isolated proved to be the crystalline form in which the methyl groups occupy the 2,3,6-positions. This sugar has been shown to have the constitution given in Formula XIV., and the linkage of one glucose unit in the starch molecule is thus established (Formula XV.). It is to be noted that this particular type of structure is not present in maltose, but is characteristic of cellobiose and lactose.

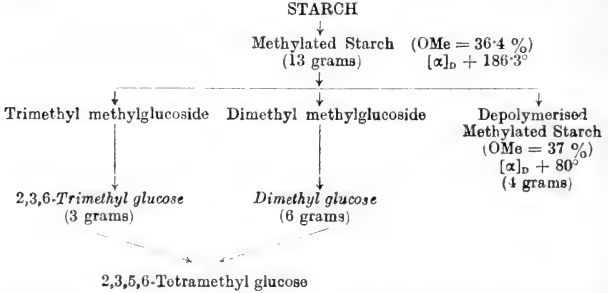
XIV.



XV.

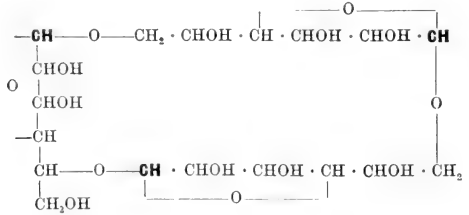


In order to accommodate the formation of maltose from starch either one or two additional glucose residues must be present at X and Y in the unit. Before developing a formula which will fulfil the above conditions an outline of the reactions involved may be given:—

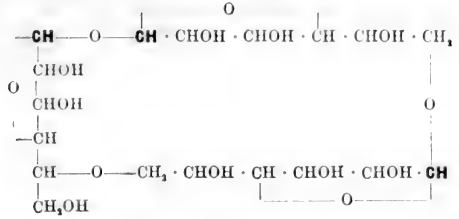


It will be seen that the removal of trimethyl glucose and dimethyl glucose in the molecular ratio of 1:2 is effected without alteration in the *composition* of any methylated starch which survives hydrolysis. The result is striking confirmation of the view that starch is based on an anhydro-trisaccharide in which two hexose residues are linked in a different fashion from the third. One of these is constituted as in Formula XV., and the remaining two must be added in such a way that at least one pair displays the essential structure of maltose.[24]

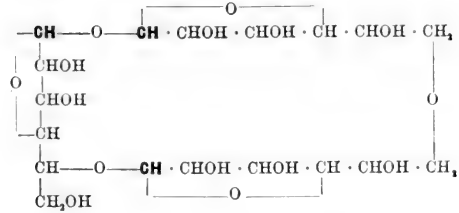
Four different structures may be built up to accommodate these factors:—



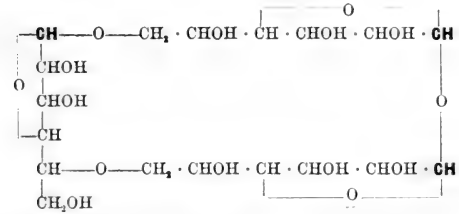
XVI.



XVII.



XVIII.



XIX.

(Letters in block type designate the potential reducing groups.)

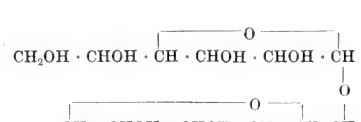
The methylation process cannot discriminate between these possibilities, and with the data at our disposal it is inadvisable to make a definite claim in favour of any one of them. Each formula postulates that starch is derived entirely from the butylene-oxide form of glucose, and this we have shown to be the case. The formulæ are all consistent with the steric hindrance encountered in completing the methylation of starch, previous experience having shown that the alkylation of position 5 is difficult when position 6 of the glucose chain is already substituted.

The formulæ differ in one important respect, as maltose may be obtained from form XVI. in two ways, and in only one way from each of XVII., XVIII., XIX. Pending the completion of further work on this subject we prefer formula XVI., but recognise that our results apply only to a purified rice starch.

One objection may, however, be discussed. In the formation of maltose no more than one molecule of this disaccharide could be obtained from one such unit. The maximum yield of the sugar would therefore be of the order 70 per cent. (74 per cent. calculated as maltose hydrate). Yields higher than this figure are quoted in the literature, but it may be remarked that most specimens of maltose do not behave as identical homogeneous chemical individuals in bacteriological tests. Further, von Euler and Svanberg,[25] who conducted the diastatic hydrolysis of starch under conditions in which the optimum hydrogen ion concentration was present, report that the yield of maltose formed is then 75 per cent. The small margin unexplained by our formulæ may be due to the synthetic action of the enzyme on the molecule of glucose liberated during hydrolysis. This suggestion is in agreement with von Euler's observation that the end point of his reaction was reached with extreme slowness. Another objection to the new structure is that the acetolysis of starch might result in molecular rupture in such a manner that cellobiose would be produced. So far, this disaccharide has not been encountered in the degradation products of starch, a result which is not surprising in view of the uncertainty attending the formation of cellobiose. It may also be mentioned that if starch is composed uniformly of the above anhydro-trisaccharide residues it is difficult to explain the existence of polyamyloses other than those to which the general formula $(C_6H_{10}O_5)_{3n}$ can be applied. Taking into consideration the yield of di- and tetra-amyloses obtained from starch, it is evident that they may possibly be accounted for in the fraction of the starch molecule which has not yet been converted into recognisable glucosides, but the alternative is also open that the polyamyloses may not all be structurally related to starch.

It is perhaps advisable to point out that the experimental results now presented demand the rejection of various formulæ for starch proposed from time to time by Karrer. His structures are based on a diamylose (anhydro-maltose), two formulæ for which have been put forward differing in the position of the anhydro-ring. The evidence he adduces in favour of these views is not convincing.

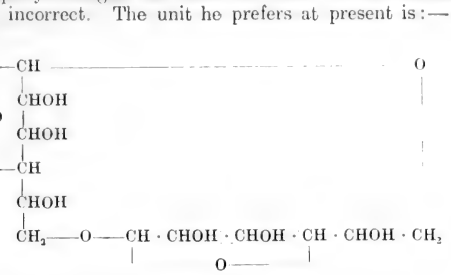
The first unit he gives is:—



XX.

A formula of this type is open to many criticisms, and would demand the direct production of 2,3,5,6-tetramethyl glucose from a methylated starch. It is needless to state further objections, as

Karrer rapidly changed his views in favour of an alternative which is equally incorrect. The unit he prefers at present is:—



XXI.

It is clear that the only trimethyl glucose to which such a structure could give rise is the 2,3,5-form described by Irvine and Oldham.[26] No trace of this compound was detected by us, and, moreover, the 2,3,6-variety of trimethyl glucose actually obtained cannot possibly be accommodated by Karrer's formula. For similar reasons it can no longer be maintained that starch is an aggregate of β-glucosan residues. Irvine and Oldham have proved that glucosan is convertible into 2,3,5-trimethyl glucose, and the same sugar should be formed on hydrolysing methylated starch if there is any structural relationship between glucosan and the polysaccharide. The result obtained is obviously opposed to such a view.

Our work has also thrown light on various other problems connected with the chemistry of starch, including the attachment of nitrogen and phosphorus to the molecule. These elements do not appear to be constitutents of extraneous compounds, but form part of the polymerised aggregate. This is shown very clearly by the behaviour of nitrogenous starch, which was methylated in the first instance by the use of methyl sulphate and alkali. Thereafter the product was treated with silver oxide and methyl iodide, but contrary to expectation the whole of the material became converted into an insoluble additive compound with silver iodide. This behaviour does not extend to a purified starch, and finds an exact parallel in the case of glucosamine derivatives which, under identical conditions, form insoluble complexes with silver halides.[27] Obviously if nitrogen were present merely as part of an adventitious impurity only this component would be removed in the course of the silver oxide alkylation, and the fact that the total material was precipitated is a proof that the fragment containing nitrogen is definitely polymerised to the starch unit. Similar considerations apply to the case of glycogen and have served to complicate our work on the alkylation of this compound. It has been established, however, that, as in the case of starch, the methylation of glycogen shows a tendency to be arrested when the methoxyl content is under 40 per cent. The separation of the methylated glucoses is not yet sufficiently far advanced to permit of their identification, but a publication on the exact relationship of glycogen to starch will not be long delayed.

Synthetic Dextrins.

[With Mr. J. W. H. Oldham B.A.]

With the courteous permission of Professor Pictet we have applied the methylation process to the synthetic dextrins recently prepared by him.[28] These compounds are formed by the polymerisation of β-glucosan and, in properties and composition, they closely resemble the natural dextrins. It is, however, abundantly evident that the synthetic compounds differ structurally from starch as, although methylation was extremely tedious, complete alkylation was effected with the production of trimethyl derivatives. Contrary to expectation, hydrolysis of these compounds did not lead to the formation of 2,3,5-trimethyl glucose, although this sugar has already been obtained from β-glucosan by similar treatment. On the other hand, large quantities of 2,3,5,6-tetramethyl glucose were invariably formed, together with lower methylated glucoses in which the position of the alkyl groups is unknown. It follows from these results that the synthetic dextrins are complex polyglucose-glucosides, and it is interesting to note that they thus conform to the structural type suggested for cellulose by Hess. Although starch is convertible into glucosan and this, in turn, into the synthetic dextrins, it is evident that profound structural alterations must accompany each change.

Inulin.

[With Dr. Ettie S. Steele, Mr. G. McOwan M.A., B.Sc., and Miss M. I. Shannon B.Sc.]

The statement has been made that, of all the polysaccharides, inulin is the representative of which the structure has been most definitely established. The opinion is gratifying, but not altogether accurate.

Inulin is derived from fructose, and, until recently, there was no reason to doubt that the parent hexose was the well-known lævo-rotatory form of the ketose. This view is no longer tenable as, although inulin itself yields the normal form of fructose on hydrolysis, trimethyl inulin is converted into a *dextro-rotatory* trimethyl fructose.[29] In similar manner, dimethyl inulin gives a dextro-rotatory dimethyl fructose. Each of these alkylated ketoses was proved to be a derivative of the 'γ-fructose,' which is a constituent of sucrose.

This result places inulin in a position which is quite unique, and the evidence is conclusive that the polysaccharide is entirely composed of γ-fructose residues, each of which retains three hydroxyl groups.

The many problems involved in the constitution of inulin have been discussed by us at some length in recent papers, and attention may now be restricted to the additional evidence we have secured. One important point left unsettled was whether the trimethyl γ-fructose obtained from trimethyl inulin is a single chemical substance or a mixture of isomerides. The question is fundamental, as only in the event of the methylated fructose proving to be a single individual are we justified in claiming that the hydroxyl groups in inulin are symmetrically disposed. The experimental difficulties in the way are

formidable, as methylated fructoses of the γ-type are liquids and give no crystalline derivatives. By the following method, however, it has been possible to obtain the necessary information, and it is now established that only one form of trimethyl fructose is produced from inulin.

A large quantity of trimethyl inulin was digested with methyl alcohol containing hydrogen chloride under conditions which effected:—

(*a*) Depolymerisation,
(*b*) hydrolysis,
(*c*) condensation to give trimethyl methylfructoside.

The product was distilled in a high vacuum, and fractions were abstracted at frequent intervals while the boiling-point remained constant. All the fractions showed the same refractive index and specific rotation. Moreover, the speed of hydrolysis of the fructoside, as indicated by polarimetric observations, was in each case the same and in each experiment the trimethyl fructose then formed showed identical physical constants. Of greater importance is the fact that all the specimens of trimethyl methyl-fructoside reacted in the same way when dissolved in acetone containing hydrogen chloride. Under these conditions trimethyl fructose monoacetone was formed, and here again the speed of the reaction measured polarimetrically showed no difference in any of the specimens.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that inulin is an aggregate of anhydro γ-fructose residues and that each of the units is identical.

As the exact structure of the methylated fructoses of the γ-type is not yet determined with certainty, it is needless to speculate here on the manner in which these residues are united. The subject has been engaging our attention for a considerable time, but is complicated by the readiness with which the methylated inulins undergo both polymerisation and depolymerisation.

It is not unlikely, bearing in mind the structure assigned to cellulose and starch, that inulin is based on a tri-anhydro-γ-fructose.

The structural discussion which I have had the honour to lay before you on one of the most important groups of natural compounds is admittedly incomplete, and no claim is made that the formulæ now submitted are final. But they at least indicate a new development in the chemistry of polysaccharides, and lines of further research are opened out which promise in time to reveal the intimate constitution of these substances. Much reliance has been placed on the validity of the methylation process as a means of determining structure, but it has to be remembered that most speculation of the kind on carbohydrates is now based on results obtained by this one particular method. The structure of glucosides, the nature of γ-sugars, the constitution of sucrose, maltose, and cellobiose, are all involved in current discussions on this subject, and all are based on the properties of the simple alkylated sugars.

Numerous details, such as the specific reactions of the individual hydroxyl groups in carbohydrate units, have still to be settled before the further problem of the polymerisation of polysaccharides can be

adequately dealt with, but many features, for the most part unexpected, have been revealed.

The polysaccharides, like many other research fields, are, after all, not so complicated as they appeared when viewed from afar, and the close relationship now established between cellulose and starch, starch and lactose, inulin and sucrose, will, it is hoped, play a part in bringing within the range of exact experiment the structural study of all types of natural compounds related to the simple sugars.

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THE PHYSIOGRAPHY OF THE COAL SWAMPS.

ADDRESS BY

PROFESSOR PERCY FRY KENDALL, M.Sc., F.G.S.

PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

THIS enterprising and progressive city in which we are assembled is one of the three ports of shipment for the products of our most important coalfield and for the entry of many of the commodities which we receive in exchange. It seems not unfitting, therefore, that I should address you upon geological problems relating to Coal, more especially as the development of the portion of the Coalfield concealed under newer rocks is approaching nearer and nearer to Hull.

The subject of Coal Measures Geology has been discussed piecemeal in innumerable papers and memoirs, so that an enquirer may well be appalled at the mass of facts and of often conflicting deductions with which he is confronted. Indeed, it is surprising to discover how fundamental are some differences of opinion which exist.

A cause that has largely contributed to this confusion has been that the geological specialist has commonly worked too exclusively on the outside of the earth, and the miner, who has viewed things below, has seldom attempted any broad generalisations, his experience being limited usually to a small number of collieries or of coal-seams.

In my treatment of the subject I shall be frankly and freely speculative, for I hold that the Geology of Coal has now reached a stage when the mass of accumulated data calls for an attempt at a general review and synthesis. A Scottish Divine, addressing members of the British Association at Edinburgh last year, said: 'An ounce of theory is worth a ton of fact.' With some qualifying adjectives this embodies a profound truth. A carefully considered and weighed theory is worth a great mass of uncoordinated facts, and when I survey the vast undigested, though not indigestible, mass of facts in the body of coaly literature—without taking into account the 250 million tons of solid black facts raised by the British collieries in an average year—I am emboldened to cast into the opposite scale an ounce or so of theory compounded from the ideas of my illustrious fellow-workers and perhaps an odd grain or two of my own.

Growth in place, or Drift.

Among the questions in the answer to which doctors have differed there is, I imagine, none more fundamental than this:

Were coal seams simply aggregations of plant remains swept together by the action of water—a process of accumulation which the learned

call allochthony; more simply by drift; or were they formed, like peat, by the growth of vegetable material in its place—the process of autochthony?

I do not intend to labour the answer to this question. Categorical arguments in favour of the growth in place origin of the coal-forming vegetation are on record, and they have never been as categorically answered. Many arguments in favour of the Drift Theory seem to me clearly to have arisen from confusion between cannel and true coal. This distinction is again fundamental. True coal-seams are characterised by:—

(1) Wide extent.
(2) Uniformity of thickness and character over extensive areas.
(3) Freedom from intermingled detrital mineral matter.
(4) Constant presence of a seat-earth or rootlet bed.
(5) Entire absence of remains of aquatic animals within the seam.

Substitute affirmatives for negatives, and negatives for affirmatives, and the characteristics of cannel are as truly set forth. The whole subject has been exhaustively reviewed with all the resources of wide study and great field experience in Professor J. J. Stevenson's memoirs or monographs entitled respectively *The Formation of Coal Beds*, and *Inter-relation of Fossil Fuels*, volumes which are treasure-houses of facts. Without a familiar knowledge of these two masterpieces of scientific induction, no geologist is fully equipped for an inquiry into the Geology of Coal. Not the least arresting chapters are those in which the author demonstrates the inadequacy of river-drift to provide materials for the formation of a coal-seam. He shows that even when in high flood the gross amount of timber, drift-wood and general raffle of plant detritus carried along and available for the purpose of coal-seam formation is quite insignificant. He gives many citations from reports of geologists and others, as well as from his own experience, to show that when a flooded river sweeps through a forest it scarcely, if at all, disturbs the humus.

High-Moor or Deltaic Swamp.

Granted, therefore, that coal-seams were, in the main, formed by the growth, death, and accumulation on the spot of plant tissues after the general manner of beds of peat, our next inquiry must be into the further and consequent question: What type of modern peat-growth most nearly represents the conditions of the old peat areas? Were they upland or lowland peats; were they wet or dry? If in search of an answer to this question we examine a section of Coal Measures strata in which coal-seams are included, we find a series of well-stratified layers of sandstones, shales, and the like, exhibiting general regularity of bedding, fine lamination of the layers, and the frequent occurrence of beds charged with the remains of aquatic animals, some marine and some of fresh-water habitat. We cannot fail to recognise in this the inexpugnable evidence of a lowland area undergoing intermittent depression, such as would bring in, at one time, the muds and sands of an area of alluvial drainage, and, at another time, even the sea. We are presented, then, with a clear initial conception of a vast

lowland peat-bog coextensive with, not merely the coal-seam as it now exists, but with its much greater development before denudation had clipped its edges or cut it into several detached areas. This must be our starting-point and principal postulate.

In obedience to the wholesome admonition that the geologist should interpret the past by the present, I have sought in descriptions of the great alluvial areas of the world for some tract that shall exhibit to us conditions closely paralleling—after allowance for biological differences—those of Coal Measure times, especially as regards the extent of the areas of peat formation. In the great Dismal Swamp of Virginia some resemblance may be found, but the area is far too small. The Amazon alluvium is comparable in area, but we have no knowledge of the peats. The deltas of the Nile and the Indus equally fail us. The Ganges delta comes much nearer. But after long flights of inquiry in many parts of the earth I find that one of the best illustrations lies very literally at our doors. At some period subsequent to the Pleistocene Ice Age the whole of the British Isles appears to have stood—relatively to the sea—at the least 80 ft. above its present level, and this uplifted position similarly affected Holland, Belgium, and much of France. The North Sea, in its southern half, appears to have been brought by the net effect of glacial erosion and deposition to the condition of a vast plain so nearly at the then sea-level that it became a morass. Round its margins were forests of oak, pine, and birch, while the greater part of the area furnished the conditions for a great peat-swamp. Under favourable conditions of tide, peat-beds, with or without the frayed and torn stumps of trees in position of growth, may be seen below high-water mark, and in this city of Hull the Forest Beds are exposed when deep cuttings are made or they are encountered in borings. In Holland the peat-beds are similarly present, and in the excavations for docks at Antwerp a peat-bed was found, overlain by a deposit with estuarine shells. This evidence alone would do no more than prove a fringe of swamps surrounding the North Sea, but the trawlers who rake every square mile of the North Sea floor find their operations impeded in places by masses of peat (Moorlog). Clement Reid, to whom we owe much of our knowledge of Post-glacial conditions, expressed his interpretation of the physiography of the North Sea area at this stage in a map which showed the portion of the North Sea south of a line joining Flamborough Head to the northern point of Denmark as a plain intersected by the multiple tributaries and mouths of the Rhine, the Weser, the Elbe, and other rivers.

If we assume that the peat-beds found on the margins and at many stations upon this sea-floor were once approximately continuous, the area would furnish the nearest modern parallel in respect of size to the ancient peat-morasses which the coalfields must once have presented. Beyond this the parallelism fails us. The Coal Measures of England are preponderantly of fresh-water origin, as the recurrent beds of *Carbonicola* and its allies demonstrate, while the Holocene peats of the Dogger Bank and Holland are associated chiefly with marine or estuarine deposits. The coals of the Lower Carboniferous of the North of England and of the Scottish Lowlands, on the other hand, present

frequent intercalations of marine strata—generally of limestone—which is again unlike the North Sea peat-fields.

In the Yorkshire Coalfield—I hope I may be forgiven for styling the coalfield extending from Leeds to Nottingham by the short title 'The Yorkshire Coalfield'—in the Yorkshire Coalfield, then, marine intercalations are represented by beds of shale of extremely fine, blue, unctuous, almost textureless character. These are never more than 20 ft. in thickness, though it would not, perhaps, be quite fair to judge by this relatively small thickness that the marine incursions, though not infrequent, were of proportionately short duration.

The Coal Measures.

The succession of strata in a coalfield exhibits a considerable diversity. Shales—the laminated muds of the old lagoons and swamps—are the predominant elements. These vary much in texture from coarse sandy and micaceous deposits, scarcely separable from actual sandstones, through finer and finer materials to the 'marine bands' already referred to.

The sand—now sandstone—beds are second in bulk only to the shales, and it is interesting to observe that two principal stratigraphic forms are presented. There are, first, the broad sheets extending over hundreds or even thousands of square miles—for example, the Elland Flags are recognisable by their position in the sequence throughout the coalfield from Leeds to Nottingham; their equivalent has been identified in Lancashire and with much probability in North Staffordshire. Whether it reappears in North Wales is doubtful, but its total area must certainly extend to several thousands of square miles. No signs of marine life accompany it anywhere, but in the northern part of its range it is surrounded, either directly or more commonly with an interval of twenty or thirty yards, by a coal-seam—the Better Bed, renowned for its purity and for the very valuable fireclay that accompanies it. Within or directly upon the top of the rock was found the magnificent stigmarian root now in the Manchester Museum. The evidence, positive and negative, proves the Elland Flags to be of the delta flat type. No decisive indication of the direction of the stream has been sought, though the analogy of the great sandstones of the Millstone Grit series tempts me to conjecture that it was from N. or N.E., and this surmise is strengthened by the occurrence of the coal-seam in that direction and not to S. or S.W., and we may picture a great sandy delta growing by its edge southward and westward with a peat-swamp establishing itself on the higher parts.

Lesser sandstones of the same general types are of frequent occurrence and bear the same general interpretation.

In the other principal stratigraphic form the sandstones are of more limited extension, especially in what I take to be the width of the bed. This type is often called lenticular, but the adjective is a bad one, for such a bed is in fact shaped more like the bean-pod than the bean. Beds of this character I interpret as the infilling of channels cut in the deltaic flats.

Two lithological types peculiar to strata of the Coal Measure facies

are the underclays and ganisters—'seat-earths' to use their common denominator. These are the clayey or sandy beds which underlie coal-seams, or have stood in the relation of soil to vegetation insufficient in amount to form coal. There are many more of these old soils than there are coal-seams.

Both underclays and ganisters possess physical and chemical characteristics which separate them from all other deposits. Physically they are destitute of signs of lamination, and they are traversed by carbonaceous markings often to be identified with certainty as the roots, rootlets, and rhizomes of plants, usually lycopodiaceous. These have pierced through and through the material, obliterating any traces of bedding which may once have been there. The chemical peculiarities of the old soils are the absence of alkalies, the rarity of calcium compounds, and the low percentage of iron. These features also can be ascribed to abstraction of mineral substances by plant activity, and perhaps in part to leaching by passage of water charged with organic compounds arising from the decay of vegetable tissues.

In some beds—but never in the seat-earths—molluscan remains occur. They are of two contrasted groups. Shells of *Carbonicola*, *Anthracomya*, and *Naiadites* are commonly found in packed masses in which, as is commonly the case in fresh-water muds of our day, the lack of variety is compensated for by a great abundance of individual specimens. Beds containing these fossils are usually argillaceous, but they sometimes constitute important beds of ironstone. The marine bands offer the remains of a much more varied fauna—not usually with the same superabundance of individuals. The fossils include *Pterinopecten*, *Pseudamusium*, *Lingula*, *Orthoceras*, goniatites, and many other genera—obviously a marine assemblage. Sometimes the fine blue shales thus characterised are accompanied by hard limestone

In the bright-coloured measures belonging to the Staffordian division limestones of peculiar texture and contents are found—commonly called Spirorbis Limestones. Their texture is usually smooth and fine; occasionally they enclose angular fragments of a similar limestone, as though a deposit had been shattered *in situ* by some agency, and deposition of like material had then been renewed.

To all these add coal-seams and the series is complete.

The constituents of Coal-seams.

We must now turn to a more minute examination of the coal itself. Any seam of ordinary house coal—such, for example, as the Silkstone seam—will present us, if we look closely, with three substances, agreeing in a carbonaceous character and in a modicum of combustibility, but otherwise very different. The first constituent is a black, lustrous, dense material—the typical coal. This is disposed in apparent bedding with some appearance of regularity, though an individual layer can rarely be traced as much as three or four feet, and is never continued for many more. It presents in great perfection a close and regular cleavage perpendicular to the bedding. This cleavage is the *cleat*, of which I shall have more to say presently.

The second constituent, which is rarely altogether absent though

more abundant in some seams than in others, is dull in aspect with a brownish tinge, sometimes even being of a deep coffee colour. It is of rougher texture, breaking with a rather hackly fracture. The third material, commonly known as 'mother of coal'—a name innocent of misleading implications, for which the French name 'fusain' is often substituted—is disposed in thin layers between the other constituents. The fusain layers are of weak texture, so that the coal when struck almost invariably splits along one of these. Upon the cleft surface a soft charcoal-like substance is seen, made up apparently of broken fragments. It is this which makes coal dirty to handle.[1]

What is the meaning of these three types of substance constituting the seam? Even with the unaided eye we may gain a clear reply to our question, but the microscope gives a better answer, and discloses many interesting details. The highly lustrous coal was long ago recognised by Dawson as being produced from the bark of trees, and it is common experience that isolated shells of bark with the characteristic external leaf-scars and internal marks of leaf-traces are usually of bright coal. This, however, is probably not quite the whole of the explanation of the bright coal, for I have in my possession specimens in which a larger fraction of the original radius of a trunk than can be ascribed to bark in the most elastic sense of the term is represented by coal of extraordinary brilliance. Again, where coal has undergone great disturbance prior to its 'mineralisation' it is usual to find a great development of bright coal. However, it is a great aid to the interpretation of a seam to know that the long bright streaks do usually represent in some shape the trunks or branches of trees. The dull coal may be a felt of the finer elements of plants, or, in Lomax's phrase, mixed humic debris, but few, if any, of the seams in the Yorkshire Coalfield fail to include layers of which the main constituents are the spores of lycopods—both megaspores and microspores. With a glass of even low magnifying power we may recognise in hand specimens of coal the small discs which represent the flattened spores, each with a triradiate mark indicating its contact with the other three members of the tetrad. In thin section for the microscope they appear as yellow discs, or sacs, sometimes in horizontal sections showing the three-rayed ridge. The methods by which these plant-spores have been accumulated may have differed. The spores may have been wafted from distant jungles of *Sigillaria* or kindred trees, though their large size is rather opposed to the view of wind carriage from a considerable distance, and it seems the more probable supposition that they accumulated on the ground or on the carpet of vegetation in the water beneath

[1] Dr. Stopes has proposed (*Proc. R.S.*, Ser. B., xc., p. 470) a classification of constituents of coal-seams into four types: 1, Fusain, the familiar 'mother of coal'; 2, Durain, which includes the spore coals (generally these belong to the 'hards' in a seam); 3, Clarain apparently includes the humic coal of Lomax; and 4, Vitrain, a very brilliant coal forming thin bands and showing a complete absence of structure in typical specimens. Mr. Sinnatt (*Trans. Inst. Min. Eng.*, vol. lxiii., p. 307) adopts these names and proposes a system of conventional shading by means of which they may be distinguished in drawings. He also attempts an analysis of the proportions of each type in certain coal-seams in Lancashire.

the parent trees. That they were drifted into place and distributed with the thinness and regularity which we see the layers to possess is quite inconceivable. For sometimes a layer of spore coal an inch in thickness may be traced at a specific level in a seam over an area of scores of square miles. In the Haigh Moor seam there is a layer of this kind half or three-quarters of an inch in thickness, which can be traced through several collieries in the neighbourhood of Castleford.

The constituents of fusain, or 'mother of coal,' are even more easily recognised than those of spore coal. Upon a bedding plane fusain is seen to be composed of fragments of plant-tissue, commonly showing a fibrous or cellular structure, and in many instances of rectangular form suggesting scraps of wood. In the seams most commonly used as house coal in Yorkshire recognisable fragments of Calamite stems are very common—usually in single internodes or lesser fragments, though occasional examples of three or four internodes in apposition are found. Some fusain, according to White, is composed of fern leaves.

The charcoal-like aspect is in agreement with the results of chemical analysis, which show a very high carbon content.

Fusain layers are much less defined in the spore coal than in soft coal, a fact which may have some bearing upon the mode of origin of the two materials. In bright coal the fusain layers exhibit considerable regularity and continuity.

There has been much speculation regarding the origin of fusain layers, some authors ascribing them to the wood and smaller plant rubbish which appear to have undergone rapid aerial decay at or near the water surface of the swamp in which most of the debris was submerged.

This explanation appears to me the most in accord with the facts as I have observed them, but the regularity of the layer seems too great and the fusainisation too indiscriminate and too complete to accord with any supposition that these layers represent the ordinary crop of decaying materials. It would be worth a detailed and systematic study to ascertain whether they represent the raffle of dead twigs, leaves, and other stuff brought down by periodic flood-waters. This supposition gains a little support in my experience of the abundance of calamitean stems, for although *Calamites* is provided with a stout woody axis, the cortex has very large air-spaces that would impart great buoyance to the fragments. I have collected the drift along the flood-line of two English lakes, Bassenthwaite and Semmer Water, and in both cases fragments of *Equisetum* were preponderant elements. Periodic flooding is not inconsistent with what is known about the conditions of coal-formation, or of the régime of great rivers. The great swamps of the world are in the flat portions of the course of great rivers or in their actual delta. The North Sea, for instance, we have chosen for example, was a great delta flat. That the Coal Measures were a similar deltaic flat is evident.

The idea that fusain is the imperfectly burnt residue of a forest fire is opposed by so great an array of facts that it is difficult to understand its frequent restatement. The fusain layers are as even and regular

as any of the layers, and may recur several times in an inch of coal. It would be difficult to imagine reafforestation so frequent and so necessarily extensive.

These varying types of material recurrent in the thickness of the coal-seams leave us, it is true, some unsolved problems, but they present us with a sufficient basis of fact to enable imagination to call up the general conditions of coal-formation.

Let us now imagine a great expanse of newly formed or forming mud or sand flats. Over this area semi-aquatic plants creep out and establish themselves, their dead remains and windfalls gradually accumulating into a bed of decaying vegetable debris upon which other plants—not necessarily of the same type—follow. With varying and perhaps recurrent conditions of drainage and moisture one flora succeeds another. Some day it should be possible to map out the ecology of the Coalfields at the time of the formation of the coal-seams in somewhat the same way that Dr. W. G. Smith has portrayed the distribution of plant associations on the surface of Yorkshire to-day, and we may be able to trace the chronological plant-sequence, as has been done for modern peat-bogs. This result will be achieved through the study with the microscope of thin sections of coal—especially serial sections extending from base to summit of a particular seam. Such a method of study was first attempted by Wethered, but it was not until mechanical methods of section-making were brought to perfection by Mr. James Lomax that complete success was attained.

There are now available for study—thanks to the interest taken in these inquiries by coal-owners in the Yorkshire Coalfield—six complete series of sections taken from our great Barnsley Bed at geographical intervals of about four or five miles. When the whole coalfield is spanned by a suite of such series a great addition will be made to our knowledge of the swamp-forests of the Coal Measures.

Lomax declares that there is a general succession of constituents recognisable in many seams, which must be related to the predilections of the plants concerned in the matter of drainage and other factors. He says:

'Usually the lower part of a seam consists of a bed of very fine humus or mixture of leaf-like matter, with here and there portions of stems, fructiferous organs, &c., probably derived from the remains of small, more or less delicate, plants, and forming soft bright-looking beds of coal. Ascending upwards in the seam other plant remains are to be found, some belonging to the Gymnosperms.

'Other remains are the Lycopods (Club-mosses), which as time went on increased both in size and vigour, ultimately crowding out almost every other kind of vegetation, and becoming the predominant plants of their time.

'The various changes, progress, and deterioration can be traced until ultimately the plant life represented in the top of the seam is found to be practically identical with that at the bottom.'

Some such sequence is, of course, to be expected. When a bed of mud, sand, or limestone emerges from below water-level to be a land surface it could not be expected that every type of plant-life could

grow upon it without preparation. And Lomax remarks: 'In order to prepare a humus for the higher plants humic material must have accumulated by the growth of lower orders.'

The general result of Lomax's studies—in which result my experience enables me to concur—is that the base of a seam is a rather soft coal, exhibiting upon a vertical face a dull ground mass with fine spindle-shaped streaks of bright, lustrous coal, apparently composed of small scraps of a variety of plants of what the modern gardener would term the herbaceous type. Following this we have the appearance of a bright coal with sections of compressed stems or branches of trees intermingled with 'humic' material and spores. In the upper part of the seam in general hard coals often occur, consisting mainly, or even exclusively, of megaspores and microspores, with an occasional sporangium, or even a complete fruit.

This is the simple succession. There may, however, be a recurrence of any of these phases. At first inspection the sequence seems to fortify Lomax's inference that the giant *Lycopods* demanded a soil of humic materials upon which to grow, but this inference must admit of many exceptions to meet the innumerable cases of fossil-trees standing rooted in sandstone (gannister), or other purely mineral deposit, with no trace of humic soil. I have also seen a two-inch seam with its underclay resting upon a coralliferous limestone into which the stigmarian roots had penetrated.

The nature of the last crop on the ground is not infrequently indicated by the plant-remains in the roof. In the coalfield nearest us the most common occurrence is to find in the shales of the roof prostrate stems of *Sigillaria*, very often in great numbers. Not infrequently the mud-filled stumps forming the dreaded 'pot-holes' stand in attitude of growth in the roof shales; their roots, too, may sometimes be detected ramifying in the seam or on its surface. The great Barnsley Bed is sometimes in this condition, but occasionally the last crop of this seam when overwhelmed and drowned in muddy water was a profuse growth of the fern-like Pteridosperms, such as *Neuropteris heterophyllus*. At South Kirkby colliery a whitish efflorescence from the shale with the black carbonaceous plant-remains gives the aspect of a sheet out of a botanist's *hortus siccus*.

Cannel.

I have already mentioned that, in all those characteristics which prove the growth in place origin of true coal, cannel seams present the exact reverse, so that here all authorities are agreed that drifting in some form must be invoked, but there are other forms in which the material occurs to which the general theory can be applied only with some qualification.

The structure and composition of cannel have an important bearing upon all questions of its origin. It is sometimes described as consisting of spores, but in fact all the more exact descriptions speak of a dense amorphous ground mass in which the recognisable structures are usually spores. My observations show that they constitute only a small fraction of the whole. Other plant-remains are rare; indeed, I can recall very few examples, of which the most notable was a calamitean stem of

3 or 4 internodes. But if recognisable plant-remains are scarce, it is far otherwise with remains of animals. Scales, teeth, and bones of fishes are almost invariably present, and it is from cannel that our largest collections of Coal Measure vertebrates have been obtained. Amphibian remains are more rare; Ostracods, such as *Beyrichia arcuata*, are crowded in some planes, and lastly, fresh-water shells such as *Carbonicola* are represented commonly not by the shells themselves, but by the flattened wrinkled epidermis, the calcareous shell having evidently been dissolved by the acids generated by decomposing vegetable matter. The texture of cannel is usually smooth and the fracture conchoidal in the purest specimens, but in most cases it graduates into a black carbonaceous shale. The ash content is always high, rising to 40 per cent. before reaching the point at which it would be regarded as shale. Chemically it is distinguished by the high yield of hydrocarbons, obtained on distillation either as mineral oil or as gas. For this reason, in days before the invention of the incandescent mantle, cannel for enrichment of gas of low illuminating power was in great demand, and commanded so high a price that I have seen our most famous fish-bed worked when it was only seven inches in thickness. All these characteristics of cannel are consistent with the view that it originated from a mass of vegetation macerated in pools of water somewhat after the manner of the 'retting' of flax. Sometimes the cannel is in unconformable relation to the underlying beds, as at the Abram Colliery, Wigan, where it rests in one district upon true coal, and, in the course of about a mile, encroaches first upon the coal, then upon its underclay, and, finally, where seven feet in thickness, it rests upon a bed of shale underlying the underclay. Green suggests that cannel consists of vegetable matter which was drifted down into ponds or lakes and lay soaking until it became reduced to pulp.

Some modes of occurrence of cannel are of particular interest for the light they throw upon Coal Measure conditions. Some beds are of wide extent, having been traced over an area of several hundreds of square miles; on the other hand, strips and patches of a fraction of an acre occur, such as that at the foot of a fault in the Barrow Colliery, which I interpret to indicate a depression in the coal-swamp which was connected with some movement of the fault. An interesting relation is often found to subsist between the total thickness of a coal-seam and the presence of a local patch of cannel. It commonly happens that the presence of a patch of cannel as a constituent of a coal-seam is accompanied by an increased thickness, even out of proportion to the magnitude of the cannel, and this irrespective of whether the cannel is above, within, or below the true coal. It may be explained by the fact that the process of fermentation by which the cannel was produced reduced its volume more rapidly than the ordinary decay did that of the adjacent peat, and so maintained a depression in which more plant debris could accumulate; but the ultimate effect of this fermentation was a less complete loss of hydrocarbons, and consequently, both because its contemporaneous loss was greater, and its subsequent loss was less, the presence of a cannel component increases the thickness of a seam.

It may be pointed out that well-decomposed peat forms a buttery mass almost, or perhaps quite, as impervious to water as a bed of clay would be. This may explain why at Teversall Colliery there is a thin bed of poor cannel at the base of the Top Hard (or Barnsley Bed) coal and a second bed of better quality at the top. Where the lower bed is thick the upper one is thin, and *vice versâ*.

Coal-Balls and their significance.

The bodies known, besides several aliases, as coal-balls are masses of mixed vegetation 'petrified' by being so completely permeated by mineral substances, such as dolomite or calcite, that even the most delicate and tender tissues have been preserved with every cell in its proper position. Coal-balls occur in coal-seams as isolated masses, varying in size from mere pellets up to masses of a ton or two in weight. Sometimes they form clusters closely crowded together and at others sporadically. Apart from their enormous value to palæobotany, they present to the general practitioner in Coal-Measure Geology a number of attractive problems, the solution of which cannot fail to throw a vivid beam of light upon the question of the physiography of the coal-swamps.

Their limitation to seams carrying marine roof-measures at once suggests a source for the petrifying substance and a reason why they are of such restricted occurrence that they are wholly unknown in the great majority of coal-fields. The notable memoir by Stopes and Watson[2] is so important a compendium of the significant facts that I shall forbear to cite the writings of others, including myself, who contributed to the discussion. I would further say that I find myself in almost complete agreement with the authors. Their argument in brief is that the seams in question grew in salt or brackish swamps and that a mass of debris of the plants accumulated under water. Sea-water has a remarkable preservative effect upon plant-tissues, experiments by one of the authors showing that fronds of ferns, and even the more delicate structures of liverworts, could be preserved for at least three years without signs of decay or even loss of their green colour. They then proceed to argue that the partial decay of some vegetable materials would liberate carbon dioxide which, reacting with sulphates and sulphides with which the sea-water would have impregnated the mass, produced these isolated concretions which represent a true sample of a bed of peat accumulated on the spot where the plants grew. One instance is cited of two seams separated by a sandstone seat-earth (gannister) in which coal-balls are scattered through both seams. Assuming, as the text implies, that the general character of the concretions is the same throughout the sequence, the inference seems to be justified that the formation of coal-balls was continuing during the whole period of accumulation of the seam. At the same time, it is not clear why the petrifaction should be so local, and it is perhaps worth while to examine any evidence which might decide whether, as happens with some other rocks, the sporadic character may not be due to local escape from decalcification rather than to local petrifaction.

[2] *Phil. Trans.*, Ser. B., vol. 200.

This view of the origin of the seams of coal that enclose these bodies is quite in accord with opinions long held by palæobotanists, that the structure of the plants found in them is compatible with their growth in brackish water, and corroboration is found in the fact that ' roof-balls ' are found in the overlying shales that contain well-preserved remains of a flora very significantly different from that of the seams.

Boulders in Coal-seams.

The occurrence of well-rounded masses up to several hundredweights of foreign rocks is well attested by many writers, and it is no uncommon occurrence to see small specimens upon the mantelshelf in a colliery office. The subject is, as usual, thoroughly and almost exhaustively summarised by Stevenson,[3] to whose pages any who desire to study the subject further must be referred.

These erratics have been found in coal-seams in many parts of the world. They occur in every part of the seams from roof to floor, and even penetrating the floor. Two forms of transport of these masses have been suggested. The first ascribes it to floating ice, an hypothesis that fails to take account of the smooth rounded and water-worn appearance of the stones, no less than the incompatibility of ice action on an adequate scale with the climatic conditions indicated, in the judgment of palæobotanists, by the character of the vegetation.

The other explanation, which ascribes the transport to floating trees, is not without difficulty when the size, and particularly the shape, of the boulders is considered. Stevenson comments upon the difficulty of imagining a tree of sufficient magnitude carrying such a load with the tenacious grip which would be required to maintain it from the source of the boulder to its place of deposition. It is clear that thoroughly rounded boulders of intensely hard quartzite could have been shaped only by either a long journey in a mountain torrent or by prolonged pounding on a beach. In either case a tree so burdened would need a considerable depth of water for its flotation, and it is inconceivable that it could steer its way through a forest, unless one deeply submerged. I am disposed to think that such were indeed the conditions—that either during a temporary flood or in the final submergence of the coal-swamp some stray gymnospermous tree whose roots were adapted, as those of *Stigmaria* clearly are not, to wrap round a smooth boulder, drifted over or among the tree tops, and either came to a final anchorage or simply dropped its burden. This explanation is not inconsistent with the presence of boulders at all or any levels in the seam, for it will appear, on reflection, that a mass of rock would readily sink into peat, the rate of its descent being determined by the impetus of its fall, the tenacity of the peat, the shape of the stone, and other factors. Some might bring up against an embedded tree trunk, while others might sink completely through the seam. That some stones have sunk in this manner seems to be indicated by the fact that one of the large stones preserved in the Manchester Museum occupied a vertical attitude in the coal when discovered.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 391 and 426-433.

Surprise is sometimes expressed that these stones should be found in the seams of coal and not in the Coal Measure sandstones and shales that are quarried or wrought in brick-yards. The reason is partly statistical. The weight, and still more the bulk, of these materials extracted year by year is far less than the 250 to 300 millions of tons of coal raised; but a yet more important reason is that no stone in the coal as large as a man's head could escape detection by the collier, and arousing the interest of the officials, whereas in a quarry it would probably, if observed, be cast aside without notice as merely a blemish in the stone of no more interest than any ordinary concretion. The locus of the parent rock of these stray boulders is wholly conjectural, but the great preponderance both in Britain and in America of quartzites should furnish a clue, and the petrologist who will undertake the investigation may certainly rely upon the sympathetic interest of Coal Measure geologists and colliery managers.

The Aberrations of Coal-seams.

Having got our coal-swamp clothed with vegetation, and the coal-forming materials accumulating, let us next consider the various interruptions of continuity and the aberrations to which it is liable. These interferences may be either contemporaneous with the accumulation of the materials, or, as one may say, posthumous. These categories, at first sight, seem capable of easy and definite recognition, but, as we shall see presently, it is not so easy as it looks.

Faults, overthrusts, and unconformities may as a rule be classed among what I have called the posthumous type of interference, though in many cases true faults appear to have achieved a portion of their total movement contemporaneously with the deposition of the seams, or during the interval between seam and seam. An illustration of a contemporaneous fault is found at the Barrow colliery, near Barnsley, where, on the down-thrown side of the fault and parallel with it, the Thorncliffe Thin Coat swells up from 3 feet to 5 feet 6 inches, and carries a strip of cannel absent elsewhere in the mine. Of a fault moving between seam and seam an example is furnished at Whitwood, where a lower seam is thrown to the extent of 60 feet while an overlying one is unbroken. The case of a fault affecting an upper and not a lower seam is noticed at Aldwarke Colliery.[4] Among the contemporary interferences with the coal-seams are to be accounted unconformities, which, no doubt, occur on various scales of magnitude. Some may be interpreted—as Mr. Clarke suggested for the great 'Symon Fault' of the Forest of Dean—as the denudation of a folded series; other examples would, as I shall presently show, be better explained, as Prestwich explains the Symon Fault, as the erosion of a channel. Prominent in this category of contemporary interferences must be put the phenomena of split-seams. A split-seam is the intercalation into the midst of the coal of a wedge of sandstone, shale, or the like, in such wise that the seam becomes subdivided by intervening strata into two or more seams. This phenomenon is of special practical importance

[4] *Quart. Jour. Geol. Soc.*, vol. lvii., p. 86.

because it may mean that a thick seam may in the divided condition become incapable of being worked at a profit.

The great Coalfield that I have so often cited furnishes examples of every known type, and interesting as they are to the geologist, they are an abomination to the colliery-owner or manager, and often a source of severe disappointment and loss. The most notable split seam in Britain is not, however, in Yorkshire but in the famous Staffordshire Thick Coal. Jukes showed that this magnificent seam, 40 feet thick at its maximum, is split up into a number of minor seams by wedges of sedimentary strata which aggregate, in a distance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, a thickness of 500 feet. Whether these intercalations again thin out, or not, is unknown to me; but whether so, or not, the explanation offered by that sagacious student of coal, Bowman of Manchester, might find here a typical application. Bowman supposed that a local sag occurred in the floor of the coal swamp, resulting in the drowning of the vegetation (in his illustration bearing a suspicious resemblance to a coconut palm) and interrupting the formation of peat until the hollow was silted up and a new swamp flora re-established. This explanation remained for many years unchallenged, but in 1875, in the great memoir on *The Yorkshire Coalfield*, Green advanced a new reason for the splitting of seams, which is a very common phenomenon here, scarcely any, if any, seam being exempt.

Green pointed out that as the Silkstone seam is traced northward from the locality near Barnsley with which its name is associated, it begins to exhibit partings of 'dirt,' which thicken to a belt of country where no collieries afforded information as to the behaviour of the seam. On the far side of this gap a seam is found on the same horizon, but if it represents the Silkstone seam it is very much attenuated and divided. He attributed these features to the development, contemporaneously with the accumulation of the measures, of a ridge of land, whence mud was washed into the coal-swamp on either hand. Later in the same volume exactly the same problem is presented by the Barnsley Bed, which deteriorates in just the same manner in an almost identical geographical position. This was hailed by Green as a further example of the same process.

So long as the problem was of merely academic interest I was content with a silent demurrer, but having to consider the probable resources of the debatable ground for the purpose of colliery development I sought criteria with which to decide whether Green's growing anticline or Bowman's developing syncline was the correct explanation. This was the more necessary as I found that the tendency to split affected seams still higher than those named. Now, it will be obvious upon reflection that an anticline undergoing intermittent elevation and denudation should cause a convergence of the strata representing the stationary phases as they approach the axis, while a deepening trough should produce a corresponding divergence of the strata—principles well illustrated by the Market Weighton and Cleveland axes respectively. A careful plotting of intervals showed that, selecting the two seams that were most generally worked, isopachytes of the strata separating them could be drawn, and Bowman's sag demonstrated.

Care has to be taken in such an inquiry to eliminate a source of error not hitherto taken into account, namely the relative compressibility of different sedimentary materials. Freshly deposited mud may contain 90 per cent. by volume of water, and even when reduced by time and pressure to the condition of shale may still have 20 per cent. of interspace; a bed of fairly consistent clayey mud might be reduced to one-half its thickness. Sand, however, suffers scarcely any loss of bulk once it has got past the condition of a quicksand. This source of error is eliminated in the calculations relating to the split of the Silkstone and Barnsley seams, and it is seen that the increase of thickness in the sagged area far exceeds the *total* thickness of the sandstone present, so that the sag is a real one and not the effect of the relative compressibility of the measures. There may be cases in which there is no further shore to the sag, and the seam once lost is lost for good and all. Such might be the margin of a deltaic flat undergoing intermittent depression.

It has occurred to me to consider whether the sediments with which the Staffordshire Thick Coal is subdivided need necessarily have demanded an earth movement to an extent corresponding to their aggregate thickness; in other words, whether the aggregate thickness of the sediments plus the seams that they now separate were, in the uncompressed original condition, materially different in thickness from the great undivided seam. I have not the data upon which to found an opinion, but we are promised a full discussion of this seam, when I hope the problem will receive attention. The idea I had in mind has apparently been current for some time, for I find Mr. Walton Brown expressed the opinion many years ago that the Coal Measures might be regarded actually as a single coal-seam, with the necessary implication that the sedimentary measures are in the nature of local interruptions. Some measure of the reduction of thickness which the original substance has undergone and some consequences will be considered later.

I now turn to a form of split seam of extraordinary interest, which has received comparatively little attention from geologists though mining engineers must surely have a special comminatory formula to express their sentiments thereon. The first example that came under my notice was encountered in the eastern workings of the Middleton Main Seam, at Whitwood Colliery, near Wakefield. Thin intercalations of shale and other sedimentary materials, appearing at different horizons in the seam, were found to thicken gradually to the east concurrently with the gradual dwindling of the lower part of the seam. An exploration was then carried out. The bottom coal was followed, but it was found that though the underclay continued the coal disappeared, and was wholly lost for a short distance when it reappeared. The top coal rose over a steadily thickening shale parting, and disappeared into the roof of the workings, but boreholes proved that it was present above a parting which was, at the maximum, 29 feet thick. At the farther end of the heading the top coal came down and the integrity of the seam was restored. Two other transverse explorations have proved the same general arrangement on the same scale of magnitude and one or both margins have been traced for a long distance, enabling the

interruption to be mapped continuously for about 8 or 9 miles and intermittently much further.

My first impression was that this was just a simple case of Bowman's 'sag,' until I observed that in every traverse the *upper element of the seam was arched while the floor was flat.*

Several analogous cases came under my notice before an explanation of this anomalous arching was reached. The explanation was found to lie essentially in the differential shrinkage undergone by peat-stuff in the process of forming coal, and, on the other hand, by any sand or mud which may have been deposited so as to replace a part of the peat.

Let us imagine a stream being diverted at flood time across a bed of peat and scooping out for itself a hollow channel, which channel subsequently becomes filled with sediments, after which the formation of peat continues, the peat plants creep out, and presently envelop the whole mass of sediments. When the beds consolidate there will obviously be very different contraction between the sands, muds, and the coal-stuff. The sands as I have said will hardly contract at all, the muds will contract a good deal, the coal-stuff will contract very greatly.

Various estimates—or guesses—have been made of the amount of reduction in bulk which attends the conversion of peat into coal.

Lomax shows that where coal-balls—which are really masses of comparatively uncrushed coal-forming material that has been preserved by minerals infiltering the tissues and the interspaces—occurred abundantly, the seam, including the coal, became thicker according to the quantity of coal-balls present. Where a large number were massed together the seam became more than 6 feet thick, while on every side the coal was not more than a foot thick. Again, he says 'a large mass of petrifactions was found, and which, although more or less crushed by superincumbent weight, retained a height of 7 feet 3 inches, while the corresponding layer of coal was only 10 inches thick.' He estimated the loss by flattening out at one-third 'so that it might be estimated that 11 or 12 feet of vegetable matter had been deposited to form one foot of coal.'[5]

I have found that dry peat can be compressed in a testing machine to one-fifth of its original thickness, and making allowance for the loss in drying, and for the great reduction of bulk attendant upon the change from peat to coal, I am disposed to set a still higher value than Lomax on the reduction. It should be borne in mind that wood has an average of about 50 per cent. of carbon and 50 per cent. of hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen, while the carbon in an average house coal ranges from 80 to

[5] Dr. Stopes and Professor D. M. S. Watson adopt a much lower ratio for the compression. They figure a huge coal-ball which 'has entirely replaced the coal-seam where it occurs, leaving but a film of coal at the top and bottom' and it is 'nearly 4 feet thick, while the coal on either side is under 1 foot' (*Phil. Trans.*, B. 200, p. 174). The evidence of this great ball is not at all complete, as not only is there a film of coal of unstated dimensions above and below, but 'streaks of coaly matter run irregularly through it.' Against this may be cited Renault and Zeiller, quoted by Drs. Stopes and R. V. Wheeler. They measured the tracheids in coal and 'other portions preserved uncrushed as a mineralised petrifact. . . . They concluded that the specimen of wood (of *Arthropitus bistriata*) in the coal occupied only one-twelfth of the volume it had in life.'

85 per cent., but this does not merely imply the loss of 75 or 80 per cent. of the other elements, for the oxygen and hydrogen have gone off largely in combination with carbon. What the gross amount may be I do not venture to say, but my opinion is that the reduction in passing from the state of wet undisturbed peat will not be much less than 15 or 20 to 1.[6]

Let us now, with these facts in mind, return to the consideration of the plano-convex lens of 'dirt' occupying a position between the upper and lower elements of the split seam at Whitwood. On the sag explanation it should be convex downward, yet in this as in all other cases I have investigated, it is convex upward. The explanation is simple. Let us make our mental picture of the infilled channel in the peat a little more specific in detail. Let us suppose that the peat was 40 feet in thickness when the river commenced to cut its course across it; the channel we will say was, like most channels, deeper in the middle than at the sides and in the middle actually cut through to the seat-earth. Then the channel silted up completely, so that a cast of its meandering course in sands or mud reaching 40 feet in thickness at the maximum, but much thinner at the margins, was formed, then the upper bed of peat, formed to a further depth of 40 feet. The conversion of the peat into coal would reduce it to two beds, each, let us say, 2 feet in thickness at the maximum, enclosing the sediment with a proportionately smaller thickness in the eroded peat on either margin of the channel. The sedimentary mass would have the transverse section of a plano-convex lens, the convexity being downward, but when the peat under the edges of the sediment is condensed to one-twentieth of its original bulk the base becomes almost flat, and the unconsolidated mass of sediments adjusts itself thereto. Thus the curve, originally at the base of the mass, reproduces itself in the top of the mass, which was originally quite flat and now is curved. The lens of infilling has reversed its curvature.

In the Castle Comer Coalfield, County Kilkenny, I have been able to examine underground an almost exactly similar case of a portion of a horse-shoe-shaped meander exhibiting the same reversal of the lens,

[6] I take this opportunity to expose a fallacy of very wide acceptance. It appears to be a general belief that, as in Coal Measure rocks pebbles of coal occur which are closely embraced by the matrix, and similarly that the shell of coal surrounding a standing tree-trunk is in contact with the matrix both within and without, therefore no appreciable reduction of bulk of the vegetable interior took place in the process of 'coalification.' The assumption here made is that the surrounding rock attained complete induration prior to the accomplishment of that change in the enclosed masses of vegetable matter, yet all analogy forbids that supposition. The Mid-Eocene beds of Alum Bay and Bournemouth, though quite incoherent, contain thin coals as bright and lustrous, as truly 'coalified,' as many of our Carboniferous coals, yet it would hardly be contended that the period that has elapsed since their formation is materially less than the duration of Coal Measure times. The evidence points to the probability that the accomplishment of the greater part of the change from plant to coal took place while the measures were still unconsolidated, and were able to adjust themselves to the shrinkage of the contained masses of coal-stuff. When I come to speak of the cleavage of coal a further argument will emerge in favour of the consolidation of the 'measures' being subsequent to that of the coal.

but in this instance there are additional features of extraordinary interest and significance. The channel is filled mainly with two beds of anthracitic coal, one below and the other above a lens of black shale. The fact that this anthracite is devoid of underclay and that it yields remains of fishes and amphibia at once declares it to have originated as cannel, which I have found to be a usual component of these lenses. Just outside the channel the section at the pit bottom shows 4 inches of coal resting upon an underclay and overlain by coarse sandstone, showing that this is a relic of the original seam, but it must have been largely destroyed by a later incursion of the stream which laid down the sandstone.

The split in the Middleton Main Coal must be regarded as a silted channel of a river that traversed the swamp after the formation of the lower part of the seam, and, as might be expected, evidence is abundant of similar stream action in other phases of the Coal-Measure deposition. In the shales intervening between the seams belts of strongly current-bedded sandstone with the transverse section of an infilled trough are often to be found. Small examples are now to be seen in the railway cutting just east of Leeds on the line to Hull; and in Altofts Colliery, Fox Pit, a similar trough has been traced in the roof of the Middleton Main seam for a distance of about half a mile. In this instance it is probable that the direction in which the water was flowing is indicated by the fact that in the N.E. workings the floor of the trough is wholly above the seam, while in the S.W. it is cut into the seam to a depth of about a foot. When a seam is more deeply eroded the only too familiar phenomenon of a 'wash-out,' in the miner's sense, not in that of the modern colloquialism, is formed. We should expect such a deltaic area to afford evidence of the actual meanderings of the main stream, or of its more or less transient tributaries or distributaries. These are most easily recognised by the channels which they cut in the new-formed deposits.

Extensive beds of gravel or conglomerate are of very exceptional occurrence, the source of the materials being in general so remote and the grade of the rivers so low that such deposits would hardly be expected unless the tearing up of the new strata could furnish them—as we shall see that in some cases they did. The lesser 'wash-outs' may be the effects of transient streams which swept across the shallow mud-floored lagoons, cutting out a channel and later silting it up.

Such rivers, contemporary and sub-contemporary with the formation of the coal, show the ordinary complications inseparable from river erosion. They meander on a large scale; the bows are frequently found to be subjected to 'cut-offs,' and in such cases the 'oxbows' frequently contain beds of cannel, speaking of their existence as a stagnant bayou in which vegetable mud accumulated. They exhibit the phenomena of 'cut within cut,' consequent upon rejuvenescence or the scour of flood waters, and the margins are often affected by the falling in of the banks. These are quite ordinary phenomena connotative of the action of moving water.

A typical 'wash-out' occurs in the Parkgate seam at Aldwarke and Rotherham Main Collieries. Here a mass of sandstone cuts out

the coal over an area of some hundreds of acres. The sandstone is a strongly current-bedded rock 60 to 80 feet in thickness. Bands of conglomerate, including at times masses of 2 or 3 feet in length, occur. The smaller stones consist of clay ironstone concretions, sometimes with their original form but little modified by attrition. The larger blocks are mostly of sandy shale. Ripple markings are frequent, and large limbs or trunks of trees are encountered. The whole aspect presents a very close resemblance to sections of the old bed of the River Irwell exposed in the cuttings for the Manchester Ship Canal.

This channel must evidently have been that of a river of considerable size which commenced to erode on a plane far above that of the Parkgate seam. This is indicated, not merely by the thickness of the mass, and by the evidence afforded by the pebbles and larger blocks, of the erosion of Coal Measure materials, but also it will be noted that the pebbles are chiefly of clay ironstone, betokening a lapse of time sufficient, not only for the deposition of shales, but for the formation of ironstone concretions. This need not, however, have been a very protracted period. The Pleistocene Leda clays of Ottawa contain concretions quite comparable with those now under consideration.

The form of this river channel cannot, at Aldwarke and Rotherham Main, be defined, for the interposition of a few yards of shale would remove it from the ken of the miner except where shafts, or cross-measure drifts to traverse faults, explored the rocks more thoroughly, but it is evident from the records of neighbouring collieries that the Parkgate Rock is not one of the widely extended sandstones of which examples occur in this Coalfield, and we may therefore regard the channel which it fills as of limited breadth.

Another instance of the same kind in a seam about 650 feet higher in the Coal Measure series is furnished by the Haigh Moor Rock which in some places encroaches upon the Haigh Moor Coal seam. It rests upon a conglomerate composed of clay ironstone nodules which, in this instance, can be traced with much probability to their source, for at Robin Hood, about midway between Leeds and Wakefield—where the whole series of strata adjacent to the Haigh Moor seam is exposed in a great excavation, affording one of the best sections of Coal Measures in Yorkshire—the seam is surmounted by a varied suite of rocks comprising coal-seams with their underclays, thin beds of sandstone, and shales containing great numbers of clay ironstone nodules. Such a suite would yield the constituents of the Haigh Moor Rock.

Though it is not practicable to define the course of this rock-filled channel in the way that has been done for the great Warrensburg channel of the Missouri Coalfield, there is yet a convincing proof that it is not an example of folding and denudation, for, if that were the case, the strata would show a diminution as measured from seam to seam as the area is approached, but the area occupied by the rock is just that where the great thickening takes place alluded to *à propos* the splitting of the Barnsley Bed.

An inference of some moment can be drawn from these two eroded channels—general subsidence of the Coal Measure area must have been interrupted at least twice by actual elevation or we should not find

channels cut to the depth of 90 feet in a deposit which must at the time of its deposition have approximated to sea level.

So far we have been examining irregularities of the seam which are clearly connected with the erosive effects of running water. But the majority of the irregularities have not this simple character, and are of a nature quite distinct from the consequences of erosion.

The most common abnormality is the occurrence of belts or patches of 'proud coal' in which the seam swells up to twice or thrice its normal thickness—sometimes, though not always, by repetition of the whole seam or of the upper part, either by shearing or by overfolding. Hull long ago proposed to explain 'proud coal' as the effect of the stony infilling of the wash acting as a wedge of incompressible material forcing out the coal-substance from beneath its margins. I have observed effects attributable to the apposition of coal to sandstone, but they were not of the kind in question.

I have examined, underground, wash-outs in eight different seams, some in only one colliery, others in eight or ten. In many instances the seam which has been interrupted lies between two seams that have by extensive workings been proved to be entirely unaffected by such disturbances. I have on several occasions passed entirely across the site of a 'wash-out' in the workings of seams lying either above or below, thus demonstrating that the phenomena are confined to a single seam and the strata immediately adjacent to it; usually the seat-earth itself is unmoved.

It has been suggested that all the violent displacement and overridings are brought about by tectonic agency, and that they are thrust-planes. The localisation to a single stratigraphical plane should suffice to discredit this explanation, but it is still more definitely refuted by the fact that, in reply to questions put to every colliery manager I encounter, I have heard of only three examples of faults of the reversed or overlap type in the whole coalfield, two of which accomplished a displacement of only 3 or 4 feet. An amplification of the same explanation ascribes the displacements to a thrust with a movement from S.E. to N.W. and a common cause to the cleat or cleavage of the coal which is normally directed to the N.W. It suffices to refute this to remark that the wash-outs I have explored in this coalfield are aligned in four principal directions, so that if superposed they would give what may be called the Union Jack pattern, *i.e.* N.E.—S.W., N.W.—S.E., N.—S., and E.—W.

Moreover, if these so-called 'wash-outs' are not due to the erosive effects of contemporaneous or sub-contemporaneous streams, but to flat-hading faults, any coal displaced should be presently found again without any loss whatever. That swellings and duplications of the seam occur we have already noticed, and such phenomena have been pointed to as evidence that there is 'no loss' of coal in connection with the so-called wash-outs. But losses and the gains by duplication do not, in fact, balance. A simple and convincing case is a wash-out in a thin seam of coal only 1 ft. 9 in. in thickness at Mirfield, in which, by taking measurements of the thickness of coal present and the breadth of the barren area, I have been able to show that a gap with no coal

for 210 feet is compensated for by only 35 feet of excess on the margin.

Seismic Phenomena in the Seams.

While the displacements and duplications are totally unlike those produced by faults, there are cases in which the seam appears to have been subjected to a stretching tension and to have broken under the strain. Along the zone of such a stretch great confusion is commonly found. Masses of sedimentary materials of the coal seam, and slabs and seams of cannel commonly occur, besides a curious argillaceous substance unlike any natural rock with which I am acquainted. In its unstratified structurelessness it suggests a kind of consolidated sludge such as might be produced by violently stirring or shaking a quantity of not too liquid mud. Where the seam abuts against this stuff it presents usually a nearly vertical ragged edge, its bright and dull layers preserving their characteristics quite up to the contact.

Masses of the seam enclose streaks of sandstone or muddy material along the bedding planes, and plates of sandstone descend in tortuous folds in the body of the seam. Sometimes 'eyes' of sandstone are seen embedded in the coal without any visible feeders, though in most cases the feeders, even almost hair streaks, can be discerned.

In many instances the sandstones in a wash-out of this type are found to be in great boat-bottom rolls, and even the whole sedimentary contents of the wash-out may lie in recumbent folds. The degree in which these disturbances are developed varies extremely; for example at Shirebrook and Steetley Collieries there is no complication of any description either in the seam—the Top Hard or Barnsley Bed—or on the margins of the infilling of the 'wash-out.' At Manton, probably on the same wash-out, not more than two miles away, though there is only a small amount of swelling of the seam on the margin and a little injected sandstone in the coal, the filling of the wash-out was for some distance in perfectly horizontal recumbent folds of more than the full height of the workings. In this case it is interesting to observe that there were many tree-trunks represented by bright coal of great brilliance, and I observed one large Calamite standing in the position of growth in the undisturbed material of the filling.

I would illustrate by a concrete example—the great 'wash-out' represented by the Haigh Moor Rock is accompanied by a disturbance of the seam of portentous magnitude. In a range of four coterminous collieries the seam exhibits dislocations and over-riding repetitions and other anomalies along a general S.W.-N.E. line, coinciding roughly with the course of a normal steep hading fault of considerable magnitude. In many places the disturbance just along its edge culminates in over-ridings and repetitions whereby the thickness of the seam is increased from the normal 4 feet 6 inches up to 15 and 16 feet in some places, but this excess of coal is restricted to a narrow belt, while the default extends to scores or even to hundreds of yards.

That there is a connection between wash-outs and tectonic features I have long believed, and I pointed out some seventeen years ago,[7] that

[7] *Quart. Jour. Geol. Soc.*, vol. lxi., p. 344.

the connection between great normal faults and the occurrence of wash-outs was too close to be merely fortuitous. But what the cause might be I was quite unable to suggest, and it was not until many years had elapsed that enlightenment came from a wholly unexpected quarter.

In brief, the explanation I have offered in a communication to the Geological Society of London, in a paper that has not yet been placed in full before that body, is that all these disturbances which complicate the already complex features of wash-outs are the effect of the lurching of the soft alluvial materials by earthquake agency. The present is not the occasion for amplifying the preliminary account of my evidence and argument published in the *Proceedings of the Geological Society* (No. 1,031, Jan. 17, 1919), but I may say this, that every predicable subterranean consequence of earthquake action upon unconsolidated alluvial deposits, such as the Coal Measures were, can be seen in the Yorkshire Coalfields. The lurchings, the rolling and heaving of sand-beds, the shaking to pulp of the muddy deposits, the rending and heaving of the peat, cracks in the peat, and cracks infilled with extraneous material passing through the strata; and lastly, though actually the first clue to the explanation, masses of sandstone in the form of inverted cones ('dog's-teeth,' 'paps,' or 'drops'), descending on to coal-seams, which I interpret as the deep-seated expression of the sand-blows that are the invariable accompaniments of earthquakes in alluvial tracts.

Let us imagine an earthquake sweeping across an alluvial plain beneath which lay a thick bed of water-charged peat overlain by laminated clay, and that in turn by sand and an upper layer of mud or clay, the impulse would throw the peat and its watery contents into a state of severe compression which would result in the bursting of the immediate cover of clay and the injection of water into the sand, and probably, a large quantity of gas, converting it thus into quicksand. This in turn under the stress of the earthquake would eject water in the form of fountains through the upper muddy or silty stratum, producing sand-blows and craters on the surface. When the disturbance subsided sand would run back down the orifice into the funnel above the peat. These are the 'drops.' They are commonly flanged down the sides, showing that they were formed upon a line of crack. An earthquake not infrequently gives rise to permanent deformations of soft deposits either by the lurching of the surface and the production of permanent wrinkles, or by subterranean migration of quicksand so as to produce, here a sag or hollow, there a ridge or bombement. Mr. Myron Fuller's admirable account of the effects of the New Madrid earthquake of 1816 as observed one hundred years after the event is full of the most interesting and suggestive observations, not the least so those upon the sand-blows and sand-filled fissures containing lignite—the sand having come up from a bed lying at a depth of not less than 80 feet—the elevated tracts and the new lakes produced by subsidence. His photographic illustration of Reelfoot Lake with its broken and hollowed trunks of drowned trees must appeal to the imagination of every Coal Measure geologist.

Displacements or undulations of the surface of the Coal Swamps are readily traceable in many, perhaps in most, of the seams in this coalfield, but it is not always possible to prove their contemporaneity,

and especially is this the case with the rising folds. The depressions, however, are different. Our colliers apply the term 'swilly,' or sometimes 'swamp,' to shallow, trough-like, inflections of a seam. These vary in depth from 2 or 3 feet up to as much as 50 or 60 feet; they vary greatly in breadth, but, so far as I have seen them, they are all steep-sided, perhaps 20° to 40°. Their linear extension ranges within wide limits; there is one at Rockingham which is known to extend for more than a mile. It has a breadth of 6 chains (132 yards) and a depth of 26 feet. A yet larger one traverses the whole extent of a colliery in Nottinghamshire. The evidence that these depressions were produced contemporaneously is in many cases decisive. Not only is the coal conspicuously thicker in a swilly than the normal, but the infilling is frequently of a different character from the normal roof material. In some cases it carries a patch of cannel; in others, while the normal roof passes over the swilly without bending, between coal and roof, a muddy deposit levels up the hollow. Swillies are peculiar to a given seam, and I have learned of only one case in which more than one seam is affected by the same fold, but here it is also noted that, as in all wash-outs, the swillies are anterior to, and are thrown by, the faulting.

It seems probable that the isolated patches of cannel by which some coal-seams are surmounted may, in other cases than those of swillies, lie in hollows produced by earthquake deformation; and Fuller's picture of Reelfoot Lake tempts the reflection that upon its floor the maceration of peat into cannel substance may now be proceeding. If it were not so distant I would fain test it with a few probings.

The 'Cleat' or 'Slynes' of Coal.

One feature of coal-seams I must discuss before I conclude, though it will not at first appear clear that it can be brought within the title of this address—I allude to the cleavage or cleat or slynes of coal. If we look at a piece of coal this cleavage is very conspicuous, for, lying at right angles with the bedding, it gives the straight sides to the fragment. It is obviously not, like the cleavage of slate, *a texture*, but it is a series of well-developed joints varying in their individual vertical extension, some being restricted to a single layer of bright coal, and here and there one traversing bright and dull and fusain alike. A thick layer of fusain very commonly interrupts most of the cleat planes that have affected the other materials, and it is seen in such instances that chips of woody texture lie quite across the ineffective cleat.

It is a vital element in the cleat problem that it is as well developed and as definite in direction in a flake of bright coal the $\frac{1}{100}$th of an inch in thickness as in a tree-trunk. While I was preparing this address I procured a slab of shale from the bed underlying the uppermost bed of the Millstone Grit. It bore numerous imprints of goniatites and a leaf of *Cordaites*, which, in its present condition of bright coal, varies in thickness from about $\frac{1}{50}$th down to $\frac{1}{150}$th of an inch in thickness. It is traversed by an even and regular cleat at intervals of about $\frac{1}{100}$th of an inch, disposed at an angle of about 35° to the length of the leaf.

With great care it was possible to replace the slab in its original position and to determine the orientation of the cleat to be N.W.-S.E. This is not nearly the extreme of tenuity reached by well-cleated plant remains. I have specimens that are mere shiny films, and cannot, I should judge, exceed $\frac{1}{500}$th of an inch, yet they show well-defined and regular cleat. Further, it should be noted that the production of cleat was subsequent to the erosion of stream channels as well as to the production of phenomena on the margins of the wash-outs. Every pebble and flake of coal found in the displaced masses in these stream-casts has the cleat well developed, and in strict parallelism with the cleat of the adjacent undisturbed seam. Whether its production was later than the faulting has not been determined, and perhaps is indeterminable, as the faults have not been shown to *rotate* the strata; but, in the argument which follows, grounds will appear for regarding the cleat as produced before the induration of the strata, and the faulting has evidently happened in the main after consolidation.

In a paper which I contributed to the *Geological Magazine* in 1914, I directed attention to the fact that cleat is quite independent of the joints traversing the shales and sandstones of the associated measures; whence I drew the inference that the cleat must have been produced prior to the jointing, for had the two sets of divisional planes been produced simultaneously the agency that gave direction to the one would have influenced the other, while if the jointing had been produced first the coal could not possibly have escaped fracture by the joints. On the other hand, if the intimate and regular cleating preceded the production of the joints, no fresh fracturing would be requisite, or possible. But the jointing of the measures may, or rather, must, be regarded as an incident of the consolidation, so that, as a necessary corollary, we must regard the cleating of the coal as preceding the consolidation of the sediments in which the seams lay. This presents no *a priori* difficulty, and it is corroborated by experience of lignite in unconsolidated strata; for example, a bed of bright lustrous lignite lies interbedded in the wholly soft and incoherent Eocene sands and clays of Alum Bay in the Isle of Wight. This lignite, I find from a specimen collected before my interest was aroused, is divided by a definite cleat, but I did not make any observation of its direction.

The reason for this early development of a joint system is easily found—the original peat, in passing into lignite, acquired a brittle consistency and a consequent disposition to joint. Indeed, the change of consistency is the effect of chemical change and loss, whereby the peat substance contracts. Hence, when our Coal Measures were first laid down they would consist of a series of incoherent sands and muds, and this uncompacted condition may have persisted for a very long period so long as pressures were not excessive and no cementation took place; even surviving considerable tectonic disturbances, if we may judge by the conditions of the Bovey Tracey beds. The peats, however, would be subject to changes entirely innate: the gradual loss of volatile constituents, or at least the resolution of the carbon compounds into new groupings and the conversion of the mother substance of the coal into lignite. In this condition the coal-substance would be brittle and liable

to joint in response to the tensile strains set up by the contractility of the mass.[8]

There are questions of very deep import concerned with the geographical direction of the cleat. The first reference to this interesting topic is, I believe, in a work, close upon a century old, by Edward Mammatt, entitled *Geological Facts to elucidate the Ashby-de-la-Zouch Coalfield*, published in 1834. His fourth chapter, headed 'On the polarity of the strata and the general law of their arrangement,' contains these remarkable passages: 'Polarity of the strata is a subject which hitherto has not been much considered. The extraordinary uniformity in the direction of the slynes and of the partings of the rocky strata seems to have been determined by the operation of some law not yet understood. . . . Wherever these slynes appear, their direction is 23° West of North by the compass, whatever way the stratum may incline. The coal between them has an arrangement of lines all parallel to the slynes, by which it may be divided. This is called the *end* of the coal. . . . Many of the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Coal Measures have their slynes in the same arrangement as the strata upon Ashton Woulds, and this is also preserved in those of Coleorton, about five miles to the westward.'

In my paper in the *Geological Magazine* I commented on the fact that little had been written on the subject of cleat since Jukes' *Manual of Geology* (1862), in which he quotes a Nottinghamshire miner's remark that the slyne faced 'two o'clock sun, like as it does all over the world, as ever I heered on,' a generalisation to be remembered.

John Phillips, in a report presented to this Section in the year 1856, corroborates the statement so far as concerns the coalfields of Northumberland and Durham, where he says it 'runs most generally to the north-west (true).' The same direction, he says, prevails in Yorkshire and Derbyshire and also in Lancashire.

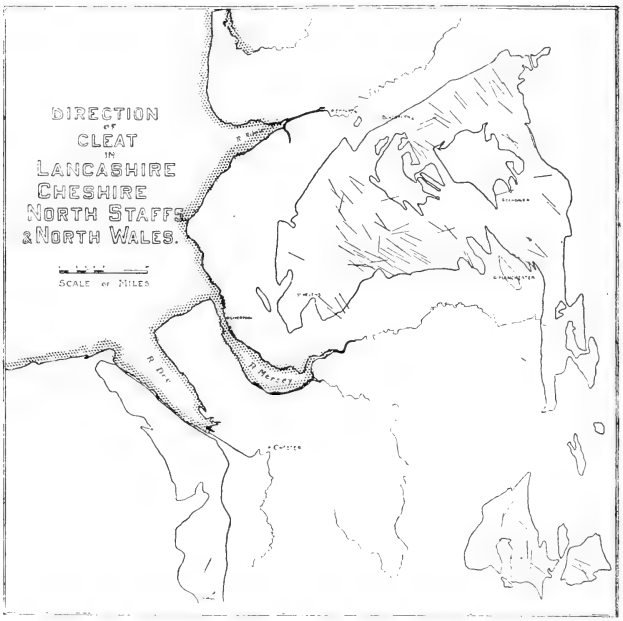
I have suggested a reason why coal should acquire a joint system anterior to, and independent of, that of the associated measures, but while providing a jointing-force that theory furnishes no explanation of the directional tendency of the cleat. This tendency must have been supplied by some directive strain—not necessarily of great intensity, but continuous in its operation.

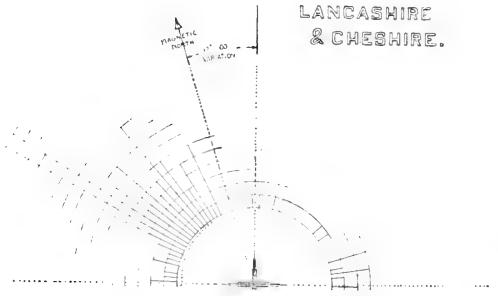
The idea that the initiation of joints, as it were the pulling of a trigger, is due to seismic tremors, is urged by Mr. W. O. Crosby, but it seems that an agency much more constant in operation and direction is required.

In 1914 and since I have collected a great body of data regarding the direction of the cleat in coals and lignites in many parts of the world, chiefly by means of circular letters to every colliery manager in the British Isles and to many abroad. I have also obtained most generous help and information from valued correspondents in the United States, foremost of whom I must mention Professor J. J. Stevenson.

Cleat observations in the Northern Hemisphere show an overwhelming preponderance of a N.W.-S.E. direction in coals and lignites of all

[8] Fusain, being already greatly decomposed, would not be as brittle and would not cleat so readily.


DIRECTION
OF
CLEAT
IN
LANCASHIRE
CHESHIRE
NORTH STAFFS
& NORTH WALES.
SCALE OF MILES
R. Ribble
R. Dee
R. Mersey
Liverpool
Manchester
Chester


LANCASHIRE
& CHESHIRE.
MAGNETIC
NORTH
VARIATION


DIRECTION
OF
CLEAT
IN
YORKSHIRE
DERBYSHIRE &
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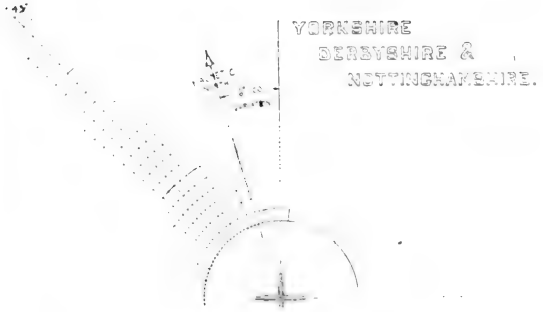
YORKSHIRE
DERBYSHIRE &
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

ages from Carboniferous to Pleistocene and from regions as remote as Alaska, Spitsbergen, the Oxus, Nigeria, and China. This direction persists through every variety of tectonic relations, but seems most regular in the largest and least disturbed fields.

Jukes' miner's astonishing statement that 'the slyne faces two o'clock sun . . . all over the world' involves more than is at first glance apparent, for, as a friend has pointed out—and when one gives the matter a thought it is obvious—that two o'clock sun must shine from a quite different compass-bearing in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres. Yet the data I have collected confirms generally the miner's declaration in the Southern Hemisphere as well as the North, though exceptions occur that may possess a deep significance.

Many of the southern coals have no definite cleat, but in such as do display a regular system there is a distinct predominance of the N.E.-S.W. direction which has a curious inverse relationship with the N.W.-S.E. direction of the Northern Hemisphere.

With war-time interruptions of my inquiries, and, since the war, a spirit of unrest in the mining world which is not conducive to scientific research, I do not feel that the matter is ripe for full discussion, and I forbear to disclose the speculations as to cause which are confided to my note-books, further than to say that I feel persuaded that the cause will be found in some relation to influences, tidal or other, dependent upon the earth's planetary *rôle*. I have reason to believe that some of the information sent to me from distant fields went to the bottom of the sea in the submarine war. When such deficiencies are made good, and all the data gathered together, will be time enough to invoke the aid of specialists in the department of Mathematics most concerned with questions of this nature.

Meanwhile I would invite attention to the case of another type of organically formed rock that shares with coal the capacity for early consolidation, namely, limestone. My attention was long ago attracted by a remarkable bed of limestone in the gorge at Gordale. It is, at a guess, 100 feet in thickness, and is distinguished by a remarkable system of vertical joints that split the mass into thin plates ranging from half an inch up to several inches in thickness. Determinations of the direction of jointing are not easily made, as the plates are irregular, but a series of eleven determinations made for me gave a maximum deviation of $11\frac{1}{2}$ degrees on each side of the mean value N.41° W. (true bearing) which agrees remarkably with the jointing of the more normal limestones in the district and also with the jointing of the chalk over large areas of the south-east of England.

There is a negative aspect of the cleat question which brings it more clearly within the ambit of an inquiry into the physiography of the coal-swamps. I allude to the absence of cleat that characterises anthracite the world over, and is the basis for the broad classification of coals in the United States into cubical and non-cubical coals. Upon this absence of cleat is attendant features that have been regarded as indicative of conditions prevailing during the formation of the coal, and hence clearly within my terms of reference.

In the Memoir of the Geological Survey on the Coals of South Wales,

it is pointed out that the anthracite condition, instead of being accompanied by a high ash-content—which is what might be expected if the ash ratio were determined simply by the reduction in the non-ash—is shown statistically to bear the reverse relationship. That is, the more anthracitic the coal, the lower the ash. From this it is argued that the anthracites of South Wales were formed of plant-constituents different from those contributing to the steam and house coals. This proposition gains no support from the study of the plants found in the associated measures, nor does it explain why the coals of other fields, composed in their various parts of very diverse constituents, do not exhibit the anthracite phase. But the ash question needs to be approached from another point of view. The ash of coal may, as I have shown elsewhere, be composed of three entirely distinct and chemically different materials. There may be (1) the mineral substances belonging to the plant-tissues; then (2) any detrital mineral substances washed or blown into the area of growing peat; and, finally, the sparry minerals located in the lumen of the cleat. As to the first, I have long considered that the coal was in large measure deprived by leaching of much of its mineral substances; it is otherwise difficult to account for the almost total absence of potash. The second—detrital matter—is probably present in some though not in all coals; the high percentage of aluminium silicate is probably of this origin. But the third constituent—the sparry matter—may, both on *a priori* grounds and upon direct evidence, be assigned a very important *rôle* in the production of the ashes in most coals. When a coal with a strongly developed cleat is examined in large masses it is at once seen that the cleat spaces are of quite sensible width, and that they are occupied most commonly by a white crystalline deposit which may consist of either carbonate of iron or carbonate of lime, and there are also in many seams crystals of iron sulphide—either pyrites or marcasite. These sparry veins may be as much as $\frac{1}{10}$th of an inch, or even more, in thickness, and they clearly constitute the principal contributors to the ash. It has been suggested that they are true components of the original peat, a proposition to which no botanist would assent, and it appears certain that the veins consist of material introduced by percolation from the overlying measures, subsequent to the production of the cleat. If that be so, it then will follow that the amount of the material present in coal must be in some direct proportion to the available cleat space, and if there is no cleat neither will there be any vein-stuff to contribute to the ash. It should be pointed out that ordinary bituminous coal broken into minute dice and washed so as to remove any heavy mineral particles is found to contain a percentage of ash quite comparable with that of an average anthracite. It is to be concluded, therefore, that the variations of the ash contents of a coal are no indication of the plant-constituent of the coal.

I have sought to show how the concept of the Coal Measures with their sandstones, shales and coal-seams accords entirely with what we know of modern swamps and deltas, and that just as each Coal Measure fact finds its illustration in modern conditions, so we may, inverting the method of inquiry, say that no noteworthy features of the modern swamps fail to find their exemplification in the ancient.

Even what may seem the most daring of my propositions—the seismic origin of abnormal ' wash-outs '—finds, I cannot doubt, a full justification in what has been *seen* in the Sylhet region by Mr. Oldham, and in the Mississippi valley by Mr. Fuller, or in what can be *inferred* as a necessary subterranean accompaniment of these surface signs of great earthquake convulsions.

One, and one only, Coal Measure phenomenon lacks its obvious modern parallel, the cleat, and hereon I present the complement to the text of this address—the ton of fact awaiting the illuminating ounce of theory that shall outvalue it.

THE PROGRESSION OF LIFE IN THE SEA.

ADDRESS BY

E. J. ALLEN, D.Sc., F.R.S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

THE method we usually follow in the ordinary course of zoological work is to make first, with the unaided eye, a general examination of the animal that interests us, and then study in detail its separate parts with a simple lens, with a low power of the microscope, with gradually increasing powers, until, finally, minute portions are examined with the highest oil-immersion lens. The successful research worker is generally one who, whilst carrying to the utmost limit he can achieve his search into detail, maintains as by instinct a true sense of proportion and holds firmly to the idea of the organism as a whole.

In discussing the living organisms of the sea I shall try to follow a similar plan, thinking of the life of the sea as a whole, built up of individual plants and animals, each in intimate relation with its surroundings, and all interdependent among themselves. But even this is not enough, for we must take still a wider view and keep in mind not only the life of the waters, but that also of the land and of the air, for both, as we shall see, have a bearing on our theme. Deep oceans, coastal waters, shallow seas, rivers and lakes, continents and islands, all play their part in one scheme of organic life—life which had, it seems, one origin, and notwithstanding migrations and transmigrations from water to land, from land to air, and from land and air back again to the water, remains one closely inter-related whole.

Both Brandt[1] and Gran[2] have recently emphasised the fact that it is in the coastal waters and shallow seas, which receive much drainage from the land, that plant and animal life are most abundant, the more open oceans far from land being relatively barren; as Schütt puts it, the pure blue of the oceans is the desert colour of the seas. This increased production in the coastal waters is due principally to the presence of nitrogen compounds and compounds of phosphorus derived from terrestrial life. From forest, moor and fen, wherever water trickles, the life of the land sends its infinitesimal quota of these essential foodstuffs to fertilise the sea.

When, however, we go back to the beginning of things, we shall probably be right if we say that any influence of terrestrial life upon life in the sea must be left out of account. Different views are still

[1] *Wissensch. Meeresunters.* Kiel, 18, 1916-20, p. 187.
[2] *Bull. Planktonique.* Cons. Internat., 1912 (1915).

held as to where life in the world had its origin, but no one questions that it began in close connection with water. That it began in the sea, where the necessary elements were present in appropriate concentrations and in an ionised state, is an idea which appeals to many with increasing force the more closely it is examined. This view has been developed recently by Church[3] in his memoir on 'The Building of an Autotrophic Flagellate,' in which he boldly attempts to trace the progression from the inorganic elements present in sea-water to the unicellular flagellate in the plankton phase, floating freely in the water. The autotrophic flagellate, manufacturing its own food, he regards as the starting-point from which all other organisms, both plants and animals, have sprung. To understand the first step in this progression, the passage from the dead inorganic to the living organic remains, as it has always been, one of the great goals of science, not of biological science alone, but of all science. Recent research has, I think, thrown much light on the fundamental problems involved. In a paper published last year, Baly, Heilbron, and Barker,[4] extending and correcting previous work by Benjamin Moore and Webster,[5] have shown that light of very short wave-length ($\lambda = 200\ \mu\mu$), obtained from a mercury-vapour lamp, acting upon water and carbon dioxide alone, is capable of producing formaldehyde, with liberation of free oxygen. Light of a somewhat longer wave-length ($\lambda = 290\ \mu\mu$) causes the molecules of formaldehyde to unite or polymerise to form simple sugars, six molecules of formaldehyde, for example, uniting to form hexose. The arresting fact brought out in these researches is that the reactions take place, under the influence of light of appropriate wave-lengths, without the help of any catalyst, either organic or inorganic. Where a source of light is used which furnishes rays of many wave-lengths, the simple reaction of the formation of formaldehyde is masked by the immediate condensation of the formaldehyde to sugar, but this formation of sugar can be prevented by adding to the solution a substance which absorbs the longer wave-lengths, so that only the short ones which produce formaldehyde are able to act.

When the formation of sugars is postulated, the introduction of nitrogen into the organic molecule offers little theoretical difficulty; for not only has Moore[6] shown that nitrates are converted into the more chemically active nitrites under the influence of light of short wave-length, but he maintains that marine algæ, as well as other green plants, can under the same influence assimilate free nitrogen from the air. Baly[7] also has succeeded in bringing about the union of nitrites with active formaldehyde in ordinary test-tubes by subjecting the mixture to the light of a quartz-mercury lamp.

[3] *Biological Memoirs I.* Oxford, 1919.

[4] *Journ. Chem. Soc.*, London, vols. 119 and 120, 1921, p. 1025. *Nature*, vol. 109, 1922, p. 344.

[5] *Proc. Roy. Soc.* B., vol. 87, p. 163 (1913), p. 556 (1914); vol. 90, p. 168 (1918).

[6] *Proc. Roy. Soc.* B., vol. 90, p. 158 (1918); vol. 92, p. 51 (1921).

[7] Baly, Heilbron and Hudson, *Journ. Chem. Soc.*, London, vols. 121 and 122, 1922, p. 1078.

It will be admitted that these three reactions: (1) the formation of formaldehyde, H.CO.H, from carbonic acid, OH.CO.OH, with liberation of free oxygen, or, to put it more simply, the direct union of the carbon atom of CO_2 with a hydrogen atom of H_2O; (2) the formation of sugars from formaldehyde, and (3) the formation from nitrites and formaldehyde of nitrogenous organic substances, are the most fundamental and characteristic reactions of organic life. It is true that light of such short wave-lengths ($\lambda = 200\,\mu\mu$) as were required in Baly's experiments to synthesise formaldehyde do not occur in sunlight as it reaches the earth to-day; but, as we shall see later, the same author has shown that, in the presence of certain substances known as photocatalysts, the reaction can be brought about by ordinary visible light; and from Moore and Webster's work it appears that colloidal hydroxides of uranium and of iron are suitable photocatalysts for the purpose.

If these results of the pure chemist are justified, they go far towards bridging the gap which has separated the inorganic from the organic, and make it not too presumptuous to hazard the old guess that even to-day it is possible that organic matter may be produced in the sea and other natural waters without the intervention of living organisms. We may note here, too, that if we take account of only the most accurate and adequately careful work, the actual experimental evidence at the present time requires the presence of a certain amount of organic matter in the culture medium or environment before the healthy growth of even the simplest vegetable organism can take place. This was illustrated in some experiments made by myself some years ago when attempting to grow a marine diatom, *Thalassiosira gravida*, in artificial sea-water made up from the purest chemicals obtainable dissolved in twice-distilled water. Even after nutritive salts, in the form of nitrates and phosphates, had been added, little or no growth of the diatom occurred. But if as little as 1 per cent. of natural sea-water were added excellent cultures resulted, in which the growth was as healthy and vigorous as I was able to obtain when natural sea-water was used entirely as the basis of the culture medium. There was clearly some substance essential to healthy growth contained in the 1 per cent. of natural sea-water, and from further experiments it became practically certain that it was an organic substance. When, for instance, the natural sea-water was evaporated to dryness, the residue slightly heated and redissolved in distilled water, 1 per cent. of this solution added to the artificial culture medium was as potent in producing growth of the diatom as the original natural sea-water had been. When, on the other hand, the residue after evaporation was well roasted at a dull red heat and redissolved in distilled water, the addition of this solution to the artificial culture medium produced no effect and growth did not take place. Growth could also be stimulated by boiling a small fragment of green seaweed (*Ulva*) in the artificial culture medium, the weed being removed before inoculation with the diatom. All this points to the necessity for the presence of some kind of organic matter in the solution before growth can take place. One must not dogmatise, however, for there are many pitfalls in the experimental work and the necessary degree of accuracy is difficult to attain. My own experience

of these difficulties culminated when I discovered, covering the bottom of my stock bottle of distilled water—water which had been carefully redistilled from bichromate of potash and sulphuric acid in all-glass apparatus—a healthy growth of mould.

Let us then assume that we are allowed to postulate in primitive sea-water or other natural water organic compounds formed by the energy of light vibrations from ions present in the water, and see how we may proceed to picture the building up of elementary organisms. Without doubt the evolutionary step is a long and elaborate one, for even the simplest living organism is already highly complex both in structure and function. As the molecules grew more complex by the progressive linkage of the carbon atoms of newly formed carbohydrate and nitrogenous groups, we must suppose that the organic substance, for purely physical reasons, assumed the colloidal state, and at the same time its surface-tension became somewhat different from that of the surrounding water. With the assumption of the colloidal state, the electric charges on the colloidal particles would produce the effect of adsorption and fresh ions would be attracted from the surrounding medium, producing a kind of growth entirely physical in character. We thus arrive at the conception of a mass of colloidal plasma differing in surface-tension from the water and increasing in size by two processes, the one chemical, due to linkage of carbon atoms; the other physical, brought about by the adsorption of ions by the colloidal particles.

The difference of surface-tension would tend to make the surface a minimum and the shape of the mass spherical. On the other hand, maximum growth would demand maximum exchange with the surrounding medium, and hence maximum surface. From the antagonism of these two factors, surface-tension and growth, there would follow, firstly, the breaking up of the mass into minute particles upon the slightest agitation, and, secondly, changes of form wherever growth involved local alterations of surface-tension, which changes of form would represent the first indication of the property of contractility.

So far we have considered only the process of the building up of the elementary plasmic particles, the anabolic process. Church, whose memoir already referred to I am now closely following, points out that these anabolic operations must from the beginning have been subject to the alternations of day and night, for during the night the supply of external energy is removed. 'If during the night,' he asks, 'the machine runs down, to what extent may it be possible so to delay the onset of molecular finality that some reaction may continue, at a lower rate, until the succeeding day?' And his answer is: 'The successful solution of this problem is defined physiologically by the introduction of the conception "*katabolism*," as implying that energy derived from the "breaking down" of the plasma itself . . . may be regarded as a "secondary engine," functional in the absence of light, and evolved as a last resort in failing plasma.' Katabolism persists as the ultimate mechanism in the physiology of animal as contrasted with plant life, but if the suggestion just quoted is sound it originated, as the first 'adaptation' of the organism, to meet the factor of recurring night

and day. That the problem was successfully solved we know, but as to the mechanism of its solution we have no key. It is at this point again, to use Church's words, that the 'plasma, previously within the connotation of chemical proteid matter, becomes an autotrophic, increasingly self-regulated, and so far individualised entity, to which the term "life" is applied.'

The elementary plasma is thus now fairly launched as an individual living organism, and the great fundamental problems of biology—memory, heredity, variation, adaptation—face us at each step of our further progress. We see in broad outline the conditions the advancing organism had to meet, we see the means by which those conditions were in fact met, we know that only those individuals survived which were able to meet them. Further than this we, the biologists of to-day, have not advanced. The younger generation will pursue the quest, and, with patient effort, much that now lies hidden will grow clear.

The differentiation of the growing particles of plasma into definite layers, which followed, seems natural; first the external layer, in molecular contact with the surrounding water, from which it receives substances from outside in the form of ions, and to which it itself gives off ions; beneath this the autotrophic layer to which light penetrates, and in which, under the influence of the light, new organic substance is built up; in the centre a layer to which light no longer penetrates. This central region, the nucleus, depends entirely on the peripheral layers for its own nutrition, and becomes itself concerned only with katabolic processes, those processes of the organism which depend upon the breaking down, and not the building up, of organic substance.

At an early stage in the development of the individual organism the spherical shape, which the organic plasma was compelled to assume under the influence of surface-tension, underwent an important modification, the effect of which has impressed itself upon all later developments. A spherical organism floating in the water and growing under the direct influence of light would obviously grow more rapidly on the upper side, where the light first strikes it, than it would on the lower side away from the light. There followed, therefore, an elongation of the sphere in the vertical direction, and the definite establishment of an anterior end, the upper end which lay towards the light and at which the most vigorous growth took place. In this way there was established a definite polarity, which has persisted in all higher organisms, a distinction between an anterior and a posterior end. With the concentration of organic substance which took the form of nucleus and reserve food supply, the specific gravity of the plasma would become greater than that of the surrounding water and the organism would tend to sink. The necessity, therefore, arose for some means of keeping it near the surface, that it might continue to grow under the influence of light. The response to this need, however it was attained, came in the development of an anterior flagellum. This we may regard as an elongation in the direction of the light of a contractile portion of the external layer, moving rhythmically, which by its movement counteracted the action of gravity, and acting as a tractor drew the primitive flagellate upwards towards the surface layers, into a position where further growth

was possible. That this speculation of Church's represents what was actually accomplished, even though it does not make clear the means by which it was brought about, is shown by the interesting researches of Wager [8] on the rise and fall of the more highly organised flagellate *Euglena*. *Euglena* is a somewhat pear-shaped flagellate, the tapering end being anterior and provided with a single flagellum, which acts as a tractor drawing the organism towards the light. The posterior end carries the nucleus and most of the chlorophyll and food reserves. The whole organism has a specific gravity of 1.016, being slightly heavier than the fresh water in which it lives. When dead, or when the flagellum is not moving, it takes up, under the action of gravity alone, a vertical position in the water, with the pointed anterior end uppermost, and the heavier, rounded, posterior end below, and sinks gradually to the bottom.

In a very crowded culture a curious phenomenon is seen, because the organisms tend to aggregate into clusters beneath the surface film, and when they are crowded together in these clusters the flagella cease to work. This makes the whole cluster sink to the bottom under the action of gravity. When the bottom is reached the individuals are spread out by the action of the downward current, and, when they are sufficiently widely apart, the flagella again begin to move, carrying the organisms in a more diffuse stream once more to the surface. The whole culture vessel becomes filled with a series of vertical lines of closely aggregated falling organisms, surrounded by a broad cylinder of disseminated swimming ones, rising to the surface by the action of their flagella. If the conditions are kept uniform such a circulation of *Euglenas*, falling to the bottom by gravity when the flagella are stopped and returning to the surface under their own power, will continue for days.

The flagellum in this species, therefore, retains its most primitive function of drawing the organism to the light in the surface layer. With the establishment of the flagellum an organ is produced which shows remarkable persistence in both the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and from the existence of the flagellated spermatozoon in the higher vertebrates, in accordance with Haeckel's biogenetic law that the individual in its development repeats or recapitulates the history of the race, we conclude that they also in their earliest history passed through a plankton flagellate phase.

Exactly at what stage in the history of the autotrophic flagellate the first formation of chlorophyll and its allied pigments took place we have no means of determining, but it may have been before even the flagellum itself had begun. This advance and the subsequent concentration of the pigments into definite chromatophores or chloroplasts doubtless immensely increased the efficiency of the organism in producing the food which was necessary to it. The recent work of Baly and his collaborators becomes here again of the first importance, and though the subject of the part played by chlorophyll in photosynthesis

[8] *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.*, vol. 201, 1911; and *Science Progress*, vol. vi., October 1911, p. 298.

belongs rather to botany and chemistry than to zoology, I may perhaps for the sake of completeness be allowed to refer to it very briefly. I have already said that Baly brought about the synthesis of formaldehyde from CO_2 and H_2O under the influence of rays of very short wave-length ($\lambda = 200\mu\mu$) from a mercury-vapour lamp. He was also able to show that when certain coloured substances were added to the solution of carbon dioxide in water the same reaction took place under the influence of ordinary visible light. His explanation of this process is that the coloured substance known as the photocatalyst absorbs the light rays and then itself radiates, at a lower infra-red frequency corresponding to its own molecular frequency, the energy it has absorbed. At this lower frequency the energy thus radiated is able to activate the carbonic acid, so that the reaction leading to the formation of formaldehyde can and does take place. In the living plant this synthesised formaldehyde probably at once polymerises to form sugars.

Malachite green and methyl orange, as well as other organic compounds, were found to act as photocatalysts capable of synthesising formaldehyde, and Moore and Webster's work had previously shown that inorganic substances, such as colloidal uranium oxide and colloidal ferric oxide, can do the same. Chlorophyll in living plants may with some confidence be assumed to operate in a similar way, though no doubt the series of events is more complex, since the green pigment itself is not a single pigment, and others, such as carotin and xanthophyll, are also concerned.

We have tried to picture the gradual building up from elements occurring in sea-water of a chlorophyll-bearing flagellate, capable of manufacturing its own nourishment and able to multiply indefinitely by the simple process of dividing in two. If we assume only one division during each night as a result of the day's work in accumulating food material, such an organism would be able in a comparatively short space of time to occupy all the natural waters of the world. But here we are met by a difficulty which is not easily overcome. Chlorophyll, the photocatalyst, the most essential factor in the building up of the new organic matter, is itself a highly complex organic substance, and in any satisfactory theory its original formation and its constant increase in quantity must be accounted for. Lankester [9] has maintained that chlorophyll must have originated at a somewhat late stage in the development of organic life, and has suggested that earlier organisms may have nourished themselves like animals on organic matter already existing in a non-living state. An alternative hypothesis, which in view of the recent work seems more attractive, is to suppose that the earlier organisms were either activated by some simpler photocatalyst, or that they received the necessary energy at suitable frequency directly from some outside source.

It must not be forgotten, also, that at the time these developments were taking place the conditions of the environment would in many ways have been different from those now existing in the sea. One

[9] *Treatise on Zoology*, Part I, Introduction. London, 1909.

suggestion of special interest that has been made [10] is that the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, and hence also in natural waters, was very much greater than it is to-day. Free oxygen, indeed, may have been entirely absent, and all the free oxygen now present in the air may owe its existence to the subsequent splitting up of carbon dioxide by the action of plant life. With such possibilities of differences in the conditions in this and in so many other directions, may we not be well satisfied if, for the time, we can say that the formation of carbohydrates and proteids has been brought within the category of ordinary chemical operations, which can occur without the previous existence of living substance?

To return once more, however, to the free-swimming, autotrophic flagellate. In the early stages of its history the loss caused by sinking, and so getting below the influence of light and the possibility of further growth, must have been enormous. We may conceive a constant rain of dead and dying organisms falling into the darker regions of the sea, and thus a new field would be offered for the development of any slight advantages which particular individuals might possess. Under such conditions we may suppose that the holozoic or animal mode of nutrition first began in the absorption of one individual by another one, with which it had chanced to come into contact. If the one individual were more vigorous and the other moribund we should designate the process 'feeding,' and the additional energy obtained from the food might well cause the individual to survive. If the two individuals which coalesced were both sinking from loss of vigour, the combined energy of the two might make possible a return to the upper water layers, where under the influence of light growth and multiplication would proceed, and we should, I suppose, designate the coalescence 'conjugation,' or sexual fusion.

Other individuals, again, sinking in shallow water, would stick to solid objects on the sea-floor, whilst the flagellum continued to vibrate. The current produced by the flagellum under these conditions would draw towards the organism dead and disintegrating remains of its fellows, and again we should have ingestion and animal nutrition. At this stage we witness the definite passage from plant to animal life. A further stage is seen when a cup-like depression to receive the incoming particles of food is formed at the base of the flagellum, to be followed still later by a definite mouth.

Any roughening of the external surface of the swimming flagellate, such as we so often find brought about by the deposition of calcareous plates or siliceous spicules, or the production of ridges or furrows, would tend to slow down its speed of travel, from increased friction with the surrounding water. This would have a similar effect to actual fixation in drawing floating particles by the action of the flagellum, and also lead to animal nutrition. Still another development would occur when the fallen flagellate began to creep along the sea-floor by contractile movements of the plasmic surface, losing its flagellum, and adopting

[10] See Carl Snyder, 'Life without Oxygen,' *Science Progress*, vol. vi., 1912, p. 107.

the mode of life of an amœba. That amœba and its allies, the Rhizopods, are descended from a flagellate ancestor is a view suggested by Lankester[11] in 1909, which was adopted by Doflein,[12] and is now strongly advocated by Pascher[13] as a result of much new research.

The transformation from the plant to the animal mode of feeding we can see in action by studying actual organisms which exist to-day. In the course of my work already referred to on the culture of plankton organisms there has on several occasions flourished in the flasks a small flagellate belonging to the group of Chrysomonads, which was first described by Wysotzky under the name of *Pedinella hexacostata*, and to which I drew the attention of Section D at the Cardiff Meeting in 1920. The general form of Pedinella resembles that of the common Vorticella, but its size is much smaller. The body, which is only about 5μ in diameter, is shaped like the bowl of a wine glass, and from the base of the bowl, which is the posterior end, a short, stiff stalk extends. From the centre of the anterior surface there arises a single long flagellum, surrounded at a little distance by a circle of short, stiff, protoplasmic hairs. Arranged in an equatorial ring just inside the body are six or eight brownish green chromatophores or chloroplasts. In a healthy culture Pedinella swims about freely by means of a spiral movement of the flagellum, which functions as a tractor, the stalk trailing behind. The chromatophores are large, brightly coloured and well developed, and the organism is obviously nourishing itself after the manner of a plant, like any other Chrysomonad. But from time to time a Pedinella will suddenly fix itself by the point of the trailing stalk. The immediate effect of this fixing is that a current of water, produced by the still vibrating flagellum, streams towards the anterior surface of the body, and small particles in the water, such as bacteria, become caught up on the anterior surface, the ring of fine stiff hairs surrounding the base of the flagellum being doubtless of great assistance in the capture of this food. One can clearly see bacteria and small fragments of similar size engulfed by the protoplasm of the anterior face of the Pedinella and taken into the body. The organism is now feeding as an animal. In some of the cultures in which bacteria were very plentiful nearly all the Pedinella remained fixed and fed in the animal way, and when this was so the chromatophores had almost disappeared, though they could still be seen as minute dark dots. We can as it were in this one organism see the transition from plant to animal brought about by the simple process of the freely swimming form becoming fixed.

In the group of Dinoflagellates, also—the group to which the naked and armoured peridinians belong—the same transition from plant to animal nutrition can be well followed by studying different members of the group. In heavily armoured forms, with a rich supply of chromatophores, nutrition is chiefly plant-like or holophytic. In those with fewer chromatophores there is, on the other hand, often distinct evidence of the ingestion of other organisms, and nutrition becomes

[11] Lankester, *Treatise on Zoology*, Part I., London, 1909, p. xxii.
[12] Doflein, *Protozoenkunde*, 1916.
[13] Pascher, *Archiv f. Protistenkunde*, Bd. 36, 1916, p. 81, and Bd. 38, 1917, p. 1.

partly animal-like. Amongst the naked Dinoflagellates such holozoic nutrition is very much developed, and in many species has entirely superseded the earlier method of carbonic acid assimilation.

It is really surprising how many structural features found in higher groups of animals make their first appearance in these naked Dinoflagellates in conjunction with this change of nutrition, and we seem to be led directly to the metazoa, especially to the Cœlenterata. In *Polykrikos* there are well-developed stinging cells or nematocysts, as elaborately formed as those of Hydra or the anemones. In *Pouchetia* and *Erythropsis* well-developed ocelli are found, consisting of a refractive, hyaline, sometimes spherical lens, surrounded by an inner core of red pigment and an outer layer of black; the whole structure is comparable to the ocelli around the bell of a medusa. In *Noctiluca* and in the allied genus *Pavillardia* a mobile tentacle, which is doubtless used for the capture of food, is developed. Division of the nucleus, with the formation of large, distinct chromosomes, has also been described in several of these Dinoflagellates. With the tendency of the cells in certain species to hold together after division and form definite chains we seem to approach still nearer to the metazoa, until, finally, in *Polykrikos* we reach an organism which may well have given rise to a simple, pelagic cœlenterate. It is difficult to resist the suggestion put forward by Kofoid[14] in his recent monograph, that if to *Polykrikos*, with its continuous longitudinal groove which serves it as a mouth, its multicellular and multinucleate body and its nematocysts, we could add the tentacle of *Noctiluca*, and perhaps also the ocellus of *Erythropsis*, 'we should have an organism whose structure would appear prophetic of the Cœlenterata and one whose affinities to that phylum and to the Dinoflagellata would be patent.' Or it may be that the older view is the correct one here, and that the first cœlenterate came from a spherical colony of simple holozoic flagellates, arranged something on the plan of *Volvox*, in which the posterior cells of the swimming colony, in whose wake food particles would collect, had become more specialised for nutrition than the rest.

Before proceeding, however, to consider the further progress of animal life, we must pause for a moment to ask in what direction plant life in the sea developed, from which the increasing animal life derived its nourishment. Here the striking fact is the lack of progress in the free, floating, plankton phase. The plant life of the plankton has never proceeded beyond the unicellular stage, for the plankton diatoms, which with the peridinians form the great, fundamental vegetable food supply of the sea, are only autotrophic flagellates which have lost their flagella, having acquired other means of flotation to keep them in the sunlit region of the upper water layers. Deriving their food, as these plants do, directly from molecules in the sea-water, the factor which is for them of supreme importance is the exposure of maximum surface directly to the water. Hence the minute unicellular form has been the only one to survive as phytoplankton. The marine region in which

[14] Kofoid and Swezy, 'The Free-living Unarmoured Dinoflagellata.' Mem. Univ. California, 1921.

plant life has succeeded in making some progress is the narrow belt along the shores, where a fixed life is possible, but this belt, limited by the amount of light which penetrates, extends only to a depth of about 15 fathoms. The available area is further restricted to rocky and hard bottoms, and is therefore nowhere great. This is the wave-lashed region of the brown and red sea-weeds. In the brown sea-weeds a history can still be traced,[15] from the fixture of an autotrophic flagellate to the building up, by laying cell on cell, of the essential structures which afterwards, on transmigration to the land, reached their climax in the forest tree.

But if the flagellate thus rose and gave origin to the flora of the land, it also degenerated, for it adopted a parasitic habit, living in and directly absorbing already formed organic matter. In this way the bacteria arose, whose activities in so many directions influence the life of to-day. This view exceeds in probability, I think, the suggestion often put forward,[16] that it is to the simpler bacteria we must look for the first beginnings of life.

After this digression on the botanical side we must return to the primitive cœlenterate and see on what lines evolution proceeded in the animal world. As a purely plankton organism, swimming freely in the water, the progress of the cœlenterate was not great, and reached, as far as we know, no further than the modern Ctenophore. The Ctenophore seems to represent the culminating point of the primary progression of pelagic animals, which derived directly from the autotrophic flagellate. Further evolution was associated with an abandonment by a cœlenterate-like animal of the pelagic habit, and the establishment of a connection with the sea bottom, either by fixing to it, by burrowing in it, or by creeping or running over it. At a later stage many of the animals which had become adapted to these modes of life developed new powers of swimming, and thus gave rise to the varied pelagic life which we find in the sea to-day; but this must be regarded as secondary, the primary pelagic life, so far as adult animals were concerned, having ended with the evolution of the Ctenophore.[17] Such is the teaching of embryology, the history of the race being conjectured from the development of the individual. In group after group of the animal kingdom, when the details of its embryology become known, the indications are the same—first the active spermatozoon, reminiscent of the plankton flagellate, then the pelagic larval stage, recalling the cœlenterate, and then a bottom-living phase.

[15] Church, *Botanical Memoirs*, No. 3. Oxford, 1919.

[16] Osborn, 'The Origin and Evolution of Life,' 1918. Waksman and Joffe, 'Micro-organisms concerned in the Oxidation of Sulphur in the Soil,' *Journal of Bacteriology*, VII. 2, March 1922. The authors claim that *Thiobacillus thiooxidans* will grow in solutions containing no organic matter. In view of the minute traces of organic matter that suffice for the growth of bacteria and moulds, care must be taken, however, in drawing conclusions from experiments made in flasks or tubes closed in the ordinary way with cotton-wool plugs and subsequently sterilised in flowing steam.

[17] There is perhaps a possibility that further knowledge of the embryology of Sagitta and its allies might make it necessary to modify this suggestion.

The primitive, free-swimming cœlenterate, adopting a fixed habit and becoming attached mouth upwards to solid rock or stone, gave rise to hydroids, anemones and corals, typical inhabitants of the coastal waters, for the sands and muds at greater depths offered few points of attachment sufficiently stable.

A Volvox-like colony of simple holozoic flagellates, according to MacBride,[18] commenced to feed upon miscroscopic organisms lying on the sea bottom, and under these circumstances only the cells of the lower half of the colony would be effective feeders. The upper cells, therefore, lost their flagella and became merely a protective layer, which finally grew downwards outside the others and fixed the colony to the ground. In this way a sponge was formed. The collar cell, so typical of the group, had been developed already by the flagellates, its first inception being perhaps a circle of protoplasmic hairs such as we find in Pedinella. But this adoption of a fixed habit, as it were mouth downwards, did not lead very far, and though there has been much elaboration within the group itself, the sponges have remained an isolated phylum, unable to develop into higher forms.

It is in a Ctenophore-like ancestor that we find the line of development to higher animal groups, and this ancestor must have been at one time widely distributed in the seas. Its immediate descendants are familiar to every zoological student in the well-known series of pelagic larval forms. Müller's larva, taking to the bottom, and in its hunt for food gliding over hard surfaces with its cilia, led to the flatworms; the Pilidium, developing a thread-like body and creeping into cracks and crevices to transfix its prey, gave rise to the nemertines. A Trochophore, burrowing in soft mud and sand, developed a segmented body which gave it later the power of running on these soft surfaces, and became an annelid worm. Another Trochophore, developing a broad, muscular foot, crept on the sand, and afterwards buried itself beneath it as a lamellibranchiate mollusc, or migrated on to harder surfaces as the gastropod and its allies. Pluteus, Bipinnaria, Auricularia, first fixing, as the crinoids still do, and developing a radial symmetry, afterwards broke free and wandered on the bottom as sea-urchin, star-fish and cucumarian. Tornaria developed into Balanoglossus, whose structure hints to us that the ascidians and vertebrates came from a similar stock. All the phyla thus represented derive directly from the free-swimming Ctenophore-like ancestor, and only one considerable group, the Arthropods, remains unaccounted for. The evolutionary history of an Arthropod is, however, not in doubt. Its marine representatives, the Trilobites and Crustacea, came directly from annelids, which, after their desertion of a pelagic life to burrow in the sea-floor and run along its surface, again took to swimming, and not only stocked the whole mass of the water with a rich and varied life of Copepods, Cladocera and Schizopods, but gave rise to Amphipods, Isopods, and Decapods, groups equally at home when roaming on the bottom or swimming above it.

Another important addition to the pelagic fauna we should also

[18] *Text-book of Embryology. Invertebrata.* London, 1914.

notice here. From the molluscs, creeping on solid surfaces, sprang a group of swimmers, the Cephalopods, which have grown to sizes almost unequalled amongst the animals of the sea.

All these invertebrate phyla had become established and most of them had reached a high degree of development in the seas of Cambrian times. Amongst animals then living there are many which have survived with little change of form until to-day. One is almost tempted to suggest that the life which the sea itself could produce was then reaching its summit and becoming stabilised. Since Cambrian times geologists tell us some thirty million years[19] have passed, a stretch of time which it is really difficult for our imaginations to picture. During that time a change of immense moment has happened to the life of the sea; but if we read the signs aright, that change had its origin rather in an invasion from without than in an evolution from within. From whence came that tribe of fishes which now dominates the fauna of the sea? It would be rash to say that we can give any but a speculative reply to the question, but the probable answer seems to be that fishes were first evolved not to meet conditions found in the sea, but to battle with the swift currents of rivers, where fishes almost alone of moving animals can to this day maintain themselves and avoid being swept helplessly away.[20] It was in response to these conditions that elongate, soft-bodied creatures, which had penetrated to the river mouth, developed the slender, stream-lined shape, the rigid yet flexible muscular body, the special provision for the supply of oxygen to the blood to maintain an abundant stock of energy, and all those minute perfections for effective swimming that a fish's body shows. The fact that many sea fishes still return to the rivers, especially for spawning, supports this view, and it is in accordance with Traquair's classical discoveries of the early fishes of the Scottish Old Red Sandstone, which were for the most part fresh- and brackish-water kinds.

Having developed, under the fierce conditions of the river, their speed and strength as swimmers, the fishes returned to the sea, where their new-found powers enabled them to roam over wide areas in search of food, and gave them such an advantage in attack and defence that they became the predominant inhabitants of all the coastal waters, and as such they remain to-day.

The other great migration of the fishes, also, the migration from the water to the land, giving rise to amphibians, reptiles, birds and mammals, must not be left out of account. The whales, seals and sea-birds, which after developing on land returned again to the waters and became readapted for life in them, are features which cannot be neglected.

And so we are brought to the picture of life in the sea as we find it to-day. The primary production of organic substance by the utilisation of the energy of sunlight in the bodies of minute unicellular plants, floating freely in the water, remains, as it was in the earliest times, the feature of fundamental importance. The conditions which control this production are now, many of them, known. Those of chief import-

[19] Osborn, *Origin and Evolution of Life*, 1918, p. 153.
[20] Chamberlin, quoted in Lull, *Organic Evolution*, New York, 1917, p. 462.

ance are (1) the amount of light which enters the water, an amount which varies with the length of the day, the altitude of the sun, and the clearness of the air and of the water; (2) the presence in adequate quantity of mineral food substances, especially nitrates and phosphates; and (3) a temperature favourable to the growth of the species which are present in the water at the time. Experiments with cultures of diatoms have shown clearly that if the food-salts required are present, and the conditions as to light and temperature are satisfactory, other factors, such as the salinity of the water and the proportions of its constituent salts, can be varied within very wide limits without checking growth. The increased abundance of plankton, especially of diatom and peridinian plankton, in coastal waters and in shallow seas largely surrounded by land, such as the North Sea, is due to the supply of nutrient salts washed directly from the land by rain or brought down by rivers. An exceptional abundance of plankton in particular localities, which produces an exceptional abundance of all animal life, is also often found where there is an upwelling of water from the bottom layers of the sea. These conditions are met with where a strong current strikes a submerged bank, or where two currents meet. Food-salts which had accumulated in the depths, where they could not be used owing to lack of light, are brought by the upwelling water to the surface and become available for plant growth. The remarkable richness of fish life in such places as the banks of Newfoundland and the Agulhas Banks off the South African coast, each of which is the meeting-place of two great currents, is to be explained in this way.

Our detailed knowledge of the steps in the food-chain from the diatom and peridinian to the fish is increasing rapidly. The Copepod eats the diatom, but not every Copepod eats every diatom; they make their choice. The young fish eats the Copepod, but again there is selection of kind. Even adult fishes like herring and mackerel, which were formerly supposed to swim with open mouth, straining out of the water whatever came in their way, are now thought largely to select their food.[21]

A result of extraordinary interest in connection with the food-chain has recently been brought to light by two sets of investigators working independently. In seeking to explain certain features which he had found in connection with the growth of the cod, Hjort[22] undertook a study of the distribution in marine organisms of the growth stimulant known as vitamin. Fat-soluble vitamin was already known to be present in large quantities in cod-liver oil, and is what probably gives the oil its medicinal value. Hjort was able to trace the vitamin, by means of feeding experiments on rats, in the ripe ovaries of the cod, in shrimps and prawns, which resemble the animals on which the cod feeds, and in diatom plankton and green algæ. Jameson, Drummond, and Coward[23] cultivated the diatom *Nitzschia closterium*, and by a similar method to that used by Hjort showed that it was extraordinarily

[21] Bullen, *Journ. Mar. Biol. Assoc.*, 9, 1912, p. 394.
[22] *Proc. Roy. Soc.*, May 4, 1922.
[23] *Biochemical Journal*. 1922.

potent as a source of fat-soluble vitamin. We thus conclude that this substance, so essential to healthy animal growth, is produced in large quantities by plankton diatoms, and passed on unchanged to the fish through the crustaceans which feed on the diatoms. In the fish the vitamin is first stored in the liver, and with the ripening of the ovary passes into the egg, to be used to stimulate the growth of the next generation. Again we see the fundamental importance of the food-producing activities of the lowest plant life.

Attention has already been drawn to the suggestion that fishes developed their remarkable swimming powers in rivers, in response to a need to overcome the currents, and that they afterwards returned to the sea, where they preyed upon a well-developed and highly complex invertebrate fauna already fully established there. Their speed enabled them to conquer their more sluggish predecessors, whilst they themselves were little open to attack. With the exception of the larger cephalopods, which are of comparatively recent origin, and were probably evolved after the arrival of the fishes, there are few, if any, invertebrates which capture adult fishes as part of their normal food. Destructive enemies appeared later in the form of whales and seals and sea-birds, which had developed on the land and in the air.

And now in these last days a new attack is made on the fishes of the sea, for man has entered into the struggle. He came first with a spear in his hand; then, sitting on a rock, he dangled a baited hook, a hook perhaps made from a twig of thorn bush, such as is used to this day in villages on our own east coast. Afterwards, greatly daring, he sat astride a log, with his legs paddled further from the shore, and got more fish. He made nets and surrounded the shoals. Were there time we might trace step by step the evolution of the art of fishing and of the art of seamanship, for the two were bound up together till the day when the trawlers and drifters kept the seas for the battle fleet.

There can be little doubt that in European seas the attack on the fishes in the narrow strip of coastal water where they congregate has become serious. A considerable proportion of the fish population is removed each year, and human activity contributes little or nothing to compensate the loss. We have not, however, to fear the practical extinction of any species of fish, the kind of extinction that has taken place with seals and whales. Fishing is subject to many natural limitations, and when fishing is suspended recovery will be rapid. There is evidence that such recovery took place in the North Sea when fishing was restricted by the War, though the increase which was noted is perhaps not certainly outside the range of natural fluctuations. Until the natural fluctuations in fish population are adequately understood, their limits determined, and the causes which give rise to them discovered, a reliable verdict as to the effect of fishing is difficult to obtain.

If such problems as these are to be solved the investigation of the sea must proceed on broadly conceived lines, and a comprehensive knowledge must be built up, not only of the natural history of the fishes, but also of the many and varied conditions which influence their lives. The life of the sea must be studied as a whole.

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY: FIRST PRINCIPLES AND SOME APPLICATIONS.

ADDRESS BY

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PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

In his address to this Section in Edinburgh last year, my predecessor, Dr. Hogarth, devoted some time to a consideration of the position of geography in the Universities of this country. He had no difficulty in showing that, from various points of view, this position still leaves much to be desired. My present concern, however, is not with the actual facts, but with a deduction which naturally follows from them. If it be true that the Geographical Departments of the Universities are, in most cases, insufficiently staffed and equipped, then it is surely clear that, despite all the progress which has been made in recent years, we have largely failed to convince the great mass of educated opinion of the value of our subject. For University chairs are only endowed, and departments equipped, when those established in educational high places realise the growing importance of the subject concerned. Usually, also, before that realisation can take place there must be a driving force in the shape of a body of enthusiasts, able and willing to convince the general public that the advance is necessary in the interests of the community.

Now, in the case of geography the body of enthusiasts does exist; where we have failed, as I think, is in making continued and determined efforts to convince others. The time seems to me to have come for a determined missionary effort, a deliberate attempt to make clear to the ordinary citizen that geography, in its modern aspects, is a subject of direct interest and value to him in his daily life.

Let me take first a single minor example of the need for such a policy. All those who have had anything to do with the arranging of lecture programmes for geographical societies are aware how largely accounts of exploration bulk in these. It may be said generally that any Committee meeting for such a purpose turns first to a consideration of what returned explorers are likely to be available at the time. More than this, whether geographers in the technical sense are well represented on such bodies or not, there is a general consensus of opinion that an explorer who has come through great dangers, or shown conspicuous personal courage, is, for a society which depends on public support, a much more valuable lecturer than one who has merely done careful and painstaking work, with no element of drama in it.

This means that even that section of the public sufficiently interested in geography to join a geographical society regards the subject as

primarily concerned with exploration, leading to the description of unknown or little-known regions of the earth. Even so, its interest requires stimulation by the personal factor. If this be the attitude of a somewhat specialised public, what is that of the world outside?

I do not think there can be much doubt as to the answer. In so far as that public is highly specialised and consists of students either of those separate sciences from which geography obtains much of its material, or of such subjects as history in its different branches, it tends in many cases to regard geography with tolerant contempt. Of the unspecialised public it may be said generally that the subject in its modern developments has scarcely come within its range of vision. Its older members, especially, are for the most part convinced that they learnt 'geography' at school, as they learnt reading, writing, and arithmetic there, and that, since mountains and rivers, capes and bays and the rest remain where they were, there is little left to be studied or investigated.

It seems to me, therefore, that the most clamant need at the present time is a continuous attempt to make it plain to the community at large that the main interest of geography is not in its facts as such—for if geography ceased to exist the geologists, meteorologists, botanists, zoologists, and so forth would continue to collect most of these. Rather does it lie in the way in which the geographer studies these facts in their relations to each other and to the life of man. Further, whatever place the study of the human response to the surface phenomena of the earth should take in the subject considered as a whole—and the topic was fully discussed by Dr. Hogarth last year—there can be no doubt that it is the aspect which makes the widest appeal. When, for example, we can take the sheets of a good atlas of physical geography and show that the facts represented there can be made to yield deductions of great interest and value to everyone, then we are going far to persuade the members of the public of the importance of geography; and not until they are so persuaded can we hope that the subject will obtain in the higher institutions of learning the position to which we believe it is entitled.

Now, I am well aware that such deductions have been and are being drawn by geographers, both at home and abroad. But their conclusions have so far reached only a very limited audience. It has seemed to me that an Address to this Section gives an opportunity of discussing certain interesting points of view which do not seem to have been fully treated hitherto. In so far, however, as I am addressing an audience of geographers in the technical sense, I wish it to be clearly understood that what I have to say is to be regarded less as a contribution to geographical science than as an attempt to carry out that forward policy which seems to me essential at the moment. Even if I fail to carry you with me throughout, I may at least hope to stimulate some of you to promote the aim already set forth by other and better methods.

For the reason already given I propose to take certain points in regard to the human response to surface phenomena for special consideration. Now, it is a somewhat curious fact that, although geo-

graphers are agreed that man's intelligence and power of acquiring and transmitting knowledge so differentiate him from animals that it is necessary to distinguish between human geography and animal geography; yet, so far as I am aware, little detailed consideration has been given to the question as to the respects in which his response to environmental conditions differs from that of the animals. This is unfortunate, more especially since, thanks to the biologists, we have a fairly clear idea as to the mechanism of the response in the latter case.

If, for example, we take two familiar animals, such as the rabbit and the common hare, we find that, though belonging to the same genus, and generally resembling each other in structure, they show certain minor differences in bodily form and habits fitting them for the environments in which they respectively live. Thus the long legs of the hare enable it to maintain the swift movements upon which it depends for escape from its foes, while the rabbit, inhabiting sandy uplands instead of open country, finds safety underground, and need only be able to move swiftly over short distances. Similarly, the young of the rabbit, born within the shelter of the burrow, are more helpless than the leverets, brought forth virtually in the open. The biologists are broadly agreed that these differences are an adaptive response to the different environments of the two animals. In explaining the origin of that adaptive response, most of them lay stress on the two factors of fixation to a particular environment and isolation—actual or physiological—within it, so that incipient variations are not swamped by intercrossing.

Now when we turn to look at man, two facts are at once apparent. In the first place, at the present time, he does not appear to respond to environmental influences by adaptive modifications of bodily form. Secondly, there was certainly a time, before he had come fully to his heritage, when he did so respond. We know this because the anthropologists are agreed that while man once ran into a number of species—and of genera—now all living human beings belong to the same species, and even the races show marked signs of being in process of becoming swamped by intercrossing. In other words, there was a time when there was no human geography, when man reacted to the sum total of the conditions as an animal does; but that time appears to have largely passed.

But there is certainly still a human response to environmental conditions. What precise form does it take? To a certain minor extent, apparently as an inheritance from what I regard as essentially the pre-human period, there is a direct structural response. One need only mention the presence of peoples with thin, almost unpigmented skins in Western Europe, and the tendency to increased pigmentation alike as the Tropics and the Poles are approached. But though determined efforts have been made to correlate in detail the physical characters of the great races with the climate and relief of the areas where they are presumed to have originated, most of these correlations remain uncertain and speculative.

Man's real response to the surface phenomena of the earth takes the form of a communal, not an individual response. It is the aptitudes

which the members of a community display, the tools which they use, the kind of knowledge which they accumulate, their modes of organisation, their type of material wealth, their traditions and ideals, which show the environmental imprint most closely, far more closely than the colour of their skins or the shape of their heads.

But when and how did the change in the two modes of response come about? To answer this question let us recall what has been already said as to the importance of fixation and isolation in the case of animals. The surface of the earth is almost infinitely diverse, and what the biologists call natural barriers, the major barriers like deserts, seas and mountain chains, or the minor ones produced by the transition from one type of plant formation to another—*e.g.* from the forested river valley to the grass-covered upland—separate different types of environment, and form obstacles to the distribution of most land animals. There must have been a time when groups of men, no less than the pigs in the forest or the asses on the steppe, were firmly gripped by the physical conditions, were isolated from other groups, forced to become fitted by structure and habit for a particular set of conditions, or to die out. But with his growing intelligence man escaped from this iron grip, learnt to make virtually every part of the surface yield enough for survival, proved capable of overcoming every kind of natural barrier. When this occurred the old mechanism of adaptation largely—though not completely—ceased to work. Evolution then might have ceased also, man might have become specially fitted to no environment because fitted for all, if the factors of fixation and isolation had not, in quite a different fashion, obtained a new hold.

He ceased, save in relatively few parts of the earth's surface, to be a continuous wanderer. He settled down afresh on particular parts of it, and there learnt to use his increasingly complex brain not only in utilising to their full the natural resources, but also in modifying the local conditions so that new resources became available. In other words, I wish to suggest that the cultivation of the soil was the great agent in ensuring the new type of fixation to a particular area which once again made evolution possible. But evolution now took the form of increasing development of communal life, or, in other words, the growth of what we call civilisation is the precise equivalent of specific differences in plant or animal.

Further, just as, in the case of the animal, isolation is necessary before an incipient species can become fixed, so in the case of human communities a measure of protection from the inhabitants of neighbouring areas—a measure, that is, of isolation—is essential before civilisation can develop.

Again, in the case alike of plants and animals we know that where the local conditions are such that the incipient species is limited to a very narrow area, there highly specialised forms of adaptation may occur, as they do, for example, on many islands, or in isolated mountain chains; but that specialised type of development is associated with the loss of the capacity to vary, to acquire adaptations fitting the organism for a wider area. So in the case of human communities, where the isolation is too complete the power of adaptation tends to be lost, and such groups, though their civilisation may, along its own lines,

be of a highly specialised type, are easily overwhelmed when contact with the outside world does occur, just as island animals tend to disappear before introduced forms.

Now with these general statements as starting-point, let us consider some facts in regard to the development of civilisation in Europe and the margins of the adjacent continents.

In this area history has seen three successive great foci of civilisation, each based on well-marked and distinctive geographical conditions. The development of the three types has been successive and not simultaneous, and there has thus been a steady shift in time of the main focus, a shift westward and north-westward. The three types of human societies alluded to are, of course, (1) the river valley type as represented in Babylonia and early Egypt; (2) the Mediterranean type on parts of the seaboard of the Midland sea; (3) the forest type of Europe proper, itself becoming progressively more and more influenced by the greater ocean to the west, so that forest influences have steadily given way to maritime ones.

We have to ask ourserves, then, what effects the factors already considered have had on the origin, growth, and further development, or decay, of each of these three. In other words, what in each case were the geographical causes which first fixed man to a particular area in which he was able to cultivate useful plants? What gave the necessary isolation and safety during the early stages? Finally, to what extent were the conditions such as to give that necessary safety without leading to the loss of the power of continued adaptive modification, as expressed either in the capacity to spread over adjacent areas showing progressively increasing differences, or in that of responding to changes within the home area?

In the case of the river-valley areas, as represented in the Tigris-Euphrates region and the Nile valley, and in that of the Mediterranean seaboard, several geographers, among whom Prof. Myres may be especially mentioned, have discussed the conditions favourable to the early development of civilisation. It is therefore not necessary to consider the geography of these areas in detail. But, beginning with Babylonia and Egypt, I should like to put the causes which seem to me to have promoted fixation quite briefly. Among them we must certainly include the primitive natural resources, scanty though these doubtless were. The birds of the valley marshes, the relatively small number of mammals, the fish of the rivers, must have supplied a certain amount of the animal food. The date palm, in the Tigris-Euphrates areas at least, would, even in its wild state, doubtless yield a fruit of some value in the very early days.

But as an important factor in the development of cultivation, I would lay especial stress upon the presence of what the botanists call the 'open' plant formation. Native trees, as we know, are very few, the date palm, one of the most characteristic, being strictly limited in distribution by its need for water at the roots. For the greater part of the year the ground between the scattered trees is naturally either devoid of vegetation, or this is represented only by a few desert plants. But after the periodic flooding by the rivers, an abundant growth of vegetation springs up. The plants may be annuals,

whose seeds ripen as the ground dries, and lie dormant till moisture comes again; or they may be bulbous and tuberous forms, having but a short period of vegetative activity, but possessing underground stems capable of withstanding prolonged drought. The result is that man did not require to clear land for crops, Nature periodically cleared it for him. He had but to make the fairly obvious deduction that water alone was necessary for the apparently barren soil to blossom like the rose, and from all the choice of plants which the flooded ground offered, to pick out those of some use to him, and learn to suppress the rest. As has often been pointed out, he did not need to trouble greatly about renewing the fertility of his lands, for the flood-water did this for him.

So soon as he had learnt the initial lessons of cultivation, he was tied to the area normally flooded at certain seasons, or to which he could lead the flood-water. He intercalated his crops along one of Nature's lines of weakness, in a transitional area which passed periodically from one climatic zone to another, being, according to the seasons, either a desert or fertile. Fixed in this fashion he could, and did, adapt his mode of life to the natural conditions as precisely as ever bird or insect became structurally fitted for life on an island.

The bordering desert ensured isolation, and, continuing the island metaphor, we may say that it represented the sea. Its effect was to throw the whole energy of the community towards the centre, for the periphery formed an area in which the characteristic mode of life could not be practised. Similarly, it gave protection, for it is unsuited to any save a highly specialised culture, which must have been of relatively late origin. So far as it formed the boundaries of the incipient state, therefore, the desert constituted a barrier preventing the ingress of potential foes. In neither case, of course, was the desert rim complete, and the conditions upstream varied in the two areas, and were, as has been often pointed out, from the point of view of safety, on the whole less favourable in the case of Babylonia than in that of Egypt.

As to the third point, it is, I think, easy to show that while the isolation of the areas was markedly conducive to the rise of civilisation and to its growth up to a certain point, in the long run it became a danger. In the first place, the contrast between the belt which could be watered and that to which, with the means available, water could not be carried, was exceedingly sharp. There was little possibility of a gradual spread into areas becoming slowly but progressively different, where new aptitudes could be acquired, new experience gained, and new forms of wealth stored. Specialisation was high within the favoured tract, but the limits set by Nature could not be passed.

Again, as has often been noted, the conditions led necessarily to a centralised and imperialistic form of social organisation. If there was a sharp line of demarcation between the areas which could and could not be watered, there were great possibilities in the direction of extending by artificial means the belt over which the flood-water spread. This involved the gradual growth of an elaborate irrigation system, and for the maintenance of this a centralised power was essential. This brought with it, as a correlated advantage, the possibility of organised defence when developing neighbouring communities attempted to

encroach. But if the attack was made with sufficiently powerful forces, the centralisation became a menace. An attacking foe able to destroy or damage seriously the irrigation system could cut off at its source the basis of prosperity, and render reconstruction on the old scale almost impossible. In other words, the community became adapted to artificial conditions created by itself; if and when those conditions were destroyed, the survival of the old culture became impossible.

Turn next to the Mediterranean region, that is to the area in which the typical Mediterranean climate prevails. In so far as the native plants are concerned, this area shows certain broad general resemblances to the river valleys, with some striking differences. Thus the characteristic plant formation is alternately open and closed; closed during the cooler season of the year when the winter rains cause a brief but intense growth of annuals and bulbous or tuberous plants, open during the drought of summer when the trees and shrubs stand apart from each other with bare earth between. But the contrast is due, as indicated, to the rainfall conditions, not to flooding. There is thus no natural renewal of fertility, and plants which require much water can only thrive in the cooler season, so that growth is less intense than in either the Nile or the Euphrates-Tigris valley.

On the other hand, because of the climatic conditions, trees and shrubs, alike as regards individuals and species, are far more numerously represented in the Mediterranean region. Here, however, we come to a very curious fact, which, though it is familiar enough, does not seem to have been considered in all its bearings. This is that, despite the (relative) wealth of native species of shrubs and trees, those which are cultivated seem to have been for the most part introduced. This is apparently true even of the supremely important olive. The tree occurs in the fossil state, and the olivaster of the maquis is believed by many to be truly wild, not feral. Yet it would appear almost certain that the *cultivated* olive was introduced, into Europe at least. The same thing is true of great numbers of other species, and of all the fruit-bearing trees now grown in the area there are few indeed which can be reasonably regarded as having originated there as cultivated forms. Now, the deduction that I would draw is that the Mediterranean area is one in which lessons first learnt elsewhere could be easily practised, but one rendered unsuited by the natural conditions for the taking of the first steps. Putting the point in another way, I would suggest that when we see, in any part of the area, olives or fig-trees rising from above a plot of wheat or barley, we have to say to ourselves that this is an adaptation to a new set of conditions of the *type* of cultivation first practised on any scale in Babylonia or Egypt, olive or fig representing date palm and the accompanying trees, the narrow plot of corn the local modification of the broad fertile fields of the river valleys.

Man was doubtless first attracted to the area, as in the case of the river-valleys, by the natural resources, small though these must have been, even with the addition of the sea fisheries. He became fixed to it when he learnt that the hill spurs gave safe sites for settlements, while affording easy access to the slopes on which his special form of

intensive cultivation could be carried on. That form, as already suggested, was a derived and not an original one. He replaced the native trees and shrubs by useful cultivated varieties or species, which had, certainly for the most part, originated elsewhere. He intercalated short-lived annuals like corn crops and beans along the line of weakness indicated by the periodic opening and closing of the natural vegetation. But one of his great difficulties was always that the absence of much level land and the climatic conditions rendered the growth of such crops relatively difficult, much more difficult than in the river-valleys.

If we think of the early settlements as showing a general resemblance to the Berber villages of the Algerian Atlas to-day, we realise that they were more or less isolated the one from the other, so that the social polity was of a wholly different type from that existing either in Babylonia or in early Egypt. But, and this seems to me important, although the natural conditions—especially the fact that fertility was limited to certain areas—made a measure of isolation inevitable, yet the sea gave a possibility of free movement in all directions which was absent in the river-valleys. Thus oversea, if not overland, spreading could take place, and the changes in the geographical conditions as the sea is traversed westward are relatively small, not outside the limits of adaptation. Thus we have the spread of the higher forms of Mediterranean culture from the eastern end of the sea towards the west, with the founding of new settlements of generally similar type to the old. Greece could, and did, send daughter colonies to Sicily, and those colonies broadly repeated in their new homes the conditions which they had left in their old. This possibility of free movement brought with it a wider range of adaptability, a constant willingness to profit by new experiences, which has proved of enormous value to the world at large.

But with all its advantages the Mediterranean area, as already stated, had the great disadvantage that bread-stuffs were difficult to produce in quantity. Two methods of getting over that difficulty could be and were practised. For example, the ancient Greeks, having, it would appear, learnt the lesson from the Phœnicians, dared, in course of time, to descend from their hill-spurs to the sea-coast, in order to supplement the scanty resources of their limited lands by sea-trading. After a long interval the mediæval cities, especially of Italy, did the same thing on a greater scale and with the advantage of a wider market. Between the two periods Rome tried the other possible method, that of holding in subjection the areas, outside that of the characteristic climate, which were corn-producing. Her failure was, at least in part, due to geographical causes. The great advantage of the method of sea-trading was the increase in the power of adaptation which it brought, as a result of the continual peaceful contact with other lands and other peoples. The decay of the splendid mediæval cities of Italy came when the Mediterranean ceased to be a great highway of commerce, and the vivifying breezes from the outside world which had swept through it took another course—once again, that is, a civilisation based upon a delicate adjustment to a particular set of conditions fell when those conditions changed.

Let us turn next to the third great area where, comparatively late, a complex civilisation grew up, that of the forest belt of Central and Western Europe. Here the conditions appear relatively so unfavourable that man could scarcely have solved the problem of fixing himself permanently to particular areas, and adapting himself to them, were it not for the help of the experience gained elsewhere. The great agent in transmitting that experience was, of course, first the Roman Empire, and then the Church which was the direct heir of the empire.

The essential difficulty here was that the characteristic plant formation was the closed temperate forest. At first sight there appears to be within it no line of weakness along which cultivated plants can be intercalated, and the establishment of cultivation seems to depend upon the complete destruction of the natural vegetation, involving the slow and peculiarly laborious clearing of the forest. The significance of this is admirably illustrated by Mr. Delisle Burns when, in his *Greek Ideals*, he contrasts Aristophanes' laudation of the agricultural life in the *Peace* with that of the free and noble life in the forest as set forth by Shakespeare in *As You Like It*. In the one case the fig-cakes and the figs, the myrtle and violets by the well, the olives, the beans, the barley and the grapes, the rain which God sends after the sowing, which are the elements in the picture, all speak of man's age-long endeavour to mould Nature; but the merry life under the greenwood tree speaks of a thin scattered population, still finding, in theory at least, that Nature unaltered yields all he needs.

Had the temperate forest been in point of fact as continuous as we are apt to assume, the problem would have been so difficult that the hunter's life in the forest might have lasted much longer than it did. We know, of course, that there were always 'islands' in the sea of green, and of these the most important, from the point of view of the development of cultivation, were the loess areas and the lower uplands, especially those over chalk. In the former case the friable, well-drained soil seems to have carried originally but scanty trees; clearing was therefore fairly easy, and the cleared soil proved exceedingly fertile. In the chalk uplands the local conditions made tree growth difficult or impossible, so that land was again readily available for crops or pasture.

We have, therefore, as our starting-point in this case scattered settlements in the woods—not compact ones like those of the Mediterranean region. In essentials these were doubtless quite comparable to those made by fugitive Serbs in the Shumadja, from which modern Serbia finally took origin, though the first foci were almost certainly the natural clearings already mentioned. As in the case of the Serbs, the basis of life was a combination of pastoral industries and arable farming, the pig being the most important source of animal food, and itself finding most of its food in the woods marginal to the settlement.

As to the next stages, the surrounding wood must be regarded from two points of view. Initially it formed a protection, the protective influence being strongest where the ground was ill-drained, owing to the dense thickets which covered the marshy ground. But, in contrast to both the types of region already considered, given the necessary tools for the clearing of the land, the particular type of cultivation

could be extended almost indefinitely on the level, while leaving the woods on the rising ground to supply the necessary fuel, building material, and pannage for the swine. This was a great advantage, but it meant that the necessary protection was soon lost.

Now, in North-Western Europe that protective influence was peculiarly necessary for one geographical reason, as it was on the eastern margin of the continent for another. It was necessary in the west especially, because the sea-coasts, owing to the local wealth of fish, early attracted population. But in many regions those coasts, exposed to the oceanic type of climate in its most pronounced form, were unsuited to cultivation. At the same time, on account of their sheltered inlets, parts of those coasts were well fitted to breed a seafaring folk. Unable, or able only to a very small degree, to supplement their natural resources by cultivation, having at the same time command of the sea, those seafarers tended constantly to raid the painfully cleared and cultivated lands of their more fortunately situated neighbours. These, as many old tales inform us, did, time and again, find their encircling woods a protection. We must suppose, therefore, that the tendency to clear more and more land would be checked by this need for the shelter of the woods.

But it seems to me that we may regard the growth of feudalism, from one point of view, as an adaptive device by which the growing agricultural settlements obtained, at a price, the necessary protection. Feudalism in the form, for example, in which it grew up in England before the coming of the Normans was a means of ensuring the existence of a kind of organisation which permitted clearing of forest land to go on indefinitely, while diminishing the risk of perpetual raiding.

It was also, more especially in Eastern Europe, something more, for it tended to fix the cultivator to the land. The tendency to wander may be said to be almost universal in the case of forest-dwellers carrying on primitive agriculture. Its wide distribution is due to the great difficulty of maintaining there the fertility of the land, more especially when exhausting crops, like the different kinds of grain and flax, are grown. To this day, when we contrast the advanced agriculture of Western Europe with the more primitive type practised in the Eastern part, we have to remember that the Western Europeans have largely evaded their problem by using their easy access to the great ocean to draw upon all parts of the world for feeding-stuffs for their large herds of cattle, and mineral fertilisers for their arable lands. In early days the difficulty of keeping many cattle through the winter scarcity, combined with the merely moderate fertility of the deforested lands, made the restoration of material taken out by the crops a matter of great difficulty, got over by a variety of devices, including, of course, fallowing.

Feudalism helped in the solution of this problem by checking the natural tendency of the cultivator to abandon exhausted lands and move on to new ones. But even apart from this particular device, the problem of maintaining fertility had to be tackled early in the West, because the relief made the forest far less continuous, far less uniform, than in the East. It must have been obvious quite early

that it was not illimitable. Conditions were different in the forest region of the East, where the vast, almost uniform plains, the absence of well-marked relief, the breadth of the continent, made the forest a more permanent, a more unmanageable element than in Western Europe. Here, therefore, we find in suggestive combination two peculiar features. The first is that the wandering instinct, the instinct that brought the Slavs from their eastward forest home far into Central and Southern Europe, still persists. It is said to be quite well marked in parts of Russia, despite all the artificial checks which existed under the old *régime*. Part of the difficulty of the Slav problem also lies in the fact that the effect of the habit of small groups of wandering constantly from one wooded tract to another is written large on the ethnological map.

The second peculiar feature is that feudalism, and feudalism in a very harsh form, survived here far longer than in Western Europe, and in fact, if not in law, had scarcely disappeared when the war broke out. I would suggest that the great significance of this form of social policy here was that it helped to counteract the effects of the natural conditions, that it was fundamentally an artificial device for rendering the population stationary, and enabling it to adapt itself to the local relief and associated phenomena.

Now, whatever its value in earlier days, the present chaos in Eastern Europe shows clearly enough that ultimately it checked social evolution, and became a serious menace. It was fundamentally the erection of an artificial barrier round the rural community, and led to the apparent loss of the power of slow adaptation to changing conditions, alike on the part of the overlords and of the freed serfs.

But in the eastern chaos another factor has to be borne in mind. In the Old Russia, south of the forested area, and extending both into what is and was Rumania, lie the great treeless plains. Parts of these, as the nineteenth century showed, are extraordinarily fertile and well adapted for cereal production. But, from the point of view adopted here, they suffered from the enormous disadvantage that there is nothing in the natural conditions to fix their inhabitants to special areas, thus enabling them to acquire qualities fitting them for life there; nothing to give protection from constant inroads from Asia. Literally wastes for long centuries, these plains were for the most part ultimately incorporated in Imperial Russia, and deliberately colonised, often with colonists from a distance. The colonists were brought from areas of other characters, possessed traditions and aptitudes due to long experience of different geographical conditions, and were in the grip of a Government which had itself evolved under those conditions. There was thus no question of the possibility of the evolution of a type of culture bearing the imprint of the local conditions.

In consequence Russia to-day—as well as to some extent Rumania—is faced with a double problem. In both regions parts of the constituent lands are fitted for the mixed cultivation of the forest belt, and in them the old social policy has shown itself unfitted for modern conditions, and a new one has yet to be evolved. Other parts, again, have never developed even an imperfect social policy which was a response to their own local environment. Their apparent prosperity,

till the outbreak of the war, was due to the fact that they were, economically though not politically, of the nature of colonies in relation to the industrialised West, were, fundamentally speaking, the equivalents of Imperial Rome's corn-producing lands in North Africa and the Danubian plains. The chaos in Eastern Europe is thus having a reflex disturbing effect upon the West. The West has lost an important market, but that is perhaps in itself less important than the fact that over a large tract of European land man and his environment have been thrown out of gear, a catastrophic condition which inevitably disturbs equilibrium elsewhere. Just as in the later days of the Roman Empire disturbances in the marginal corn-producing lands shook and ultimately overthrew the centre, so are the centres of Western European civilisation to-day trembling under the impact of shocks emanating from the East. We can well understand, therefore, how it is that there are those who believe that the focus of civilisation is destined to undergo another shift, and that the day of the predominance of North-Western Europe is drawing to a close.

The subject is not one which can be discussed here. But if I may sum up briefly the points I have been trying to make, I would say that the human geographer should have before him a twofold purpose. In the first place he should strive to show that the deductions which the biologists have slowly and painfully laid down in the course of the last sixty years apply, though with an essential difference—which requires careful definition—to the life of man. Second, he should use his precise knowledge of the surface of the earth to work out detailed applications of those deductions. In other words, human geography is the biology of man, and, on account of man's vast power of modifying his environment, necessitates a fuller knowledge of that environment than can be required of the biologist in the narrower sense. Investigations along these lines would, I think, promote greatly the interests of geography as a whole, both by making clear to the general public its value and in justifying that intensive study of the surface relief and the associated phenomena which must always remain its basis.

EQUAL PAY TO MEN AND WOMEN FOR EQUAL WORK.

ADDRESS BY

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PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

Contents.

SHOULD men and women receive equal pay for equal work? This question is in a peculiar degree perplexed by difficulties that are characteristic of economic science. They arise from the presence of a subjective or psychical element that is not encountered in the purely physical sciences. Outward and visible wealth cannot be quite dissociated from the inward feeling of welfare. But the ideas of welfare —well-being, or satisfaction—are deficient in the simplicity and distinctness which conduce to accurate reasoning. It may be, indeed, that there is something indefinite and metaphysical about certain conceptions which the higher physics now involve. But the practical uses of those sciences are not thereby impaired. Speculations about four-dimensional time-space do not much interfere with the work of the engineer. But the connexion of our studies with things higher than material wealth affects injuriously the reasoning even about material wealth. Sentiment exercises a disturbing influence—a disturbance peculiarly to be apprehended in dealing with a question which touches not only the pocket but the home. Nor even when this danger is avoided

does the logic of political economy escape the consequences of its connexion with the higher parts of human nature. The most correct and unbiassed economic conclusions are liable to be overruled by moral considerations. This fate, too, is particularly to be apprehended for arguments on the present subject. Guarding against these difficulties, I propose to distinguish and to discuss separately two inquiries into which the proposed question may be subdivided, according as it is referred to external wealth only, or also to the attendant internal feeling of welfare.

2. The disturbing effect of sentiment or prejudice makes itself felt at the very outset of the discussion in the definition of the issue to be discussed. In masculine circles the question is often dismissed with the remark that the work of women never, or hardly ever, is equal to that of men. The truth of this proposition will be considered later (below, 14). Here it is relevant to observe that even if the proposition were true the question would not be stultified. For the term 'equal' is evidently not to be interpreted, for the purpose of this inquiry, as identical in amount. Equality, as Aristotle says, is of two kinds, numerical and proportional, meaning that the share of A is to the share of B as the claim or worth (ἀξία) of A is to that of B. So when Adam Smith propounds a maxim in the observation of which, he says, consists what is called the equality of taxation, it would be trivial to object that the subjects of the State are not all equal in respect of ability to contribute. Of course he meant, as he says in the context, taxation 'in proportion to their respective abilities'; not implying that the abilities are equal. The question then arises (in economics as well as in politics), What is the criterion of that worth (the ἀξία) which governs distribution, according to which shares are to be distributed? 'Pay in proportion to efficient output,' the phrase used by the War Cabinet Committee on Industry, expresses the meaning approximately. By 'equal efficient output' may be understood, in the phrase of Dr. Bowley, 'equal utility to the employer.' To the same effect others speak of equal 'productivity' or 'productive value.' With these phrases there must be understood a certain equality on the side of the employee as well as on the side of the employer or community. Thus, when the Children of Israel were compelled to gather straw in the fields, the bricks which they made might have been of the same utility to the taskmaster as when the raw material was obtained gratis. But if the workers received the same renumeration per dozen of bricks as before, we should not say that, as compared with the former terms, they were receiving equal pay for equal work. Again, there might be nothing to choose from the workers' point of view between carrying a certain quantity of silver or the same weight of lead for the same distance; while the employer or customer might derive a much greater advantage from the transportation of lead than from that of silver. If now the carriage of silver is restricted (by custom, say, or favouritism) to a class defined by some attribute unconnected with the value of their service (uncorrelated with speed, security, punctuality, and so forth), the carriers of lead and silver would not be receiving equal pay for equal work, although each class received a pay propor-

tional to the utility of its service. In short we must understand with the term 'equal work' some clause importing equal freedom in the choice of work. This condition should include equal freedom to prepare for work by acquiring skill. There are thus presented two attributes: equality of utility to the employer as tested by the pecuniary value of the result, and equality of disutility to the employee as tested by his freedom to choose his employment. These two attributes will concur in a *régime* of perfect competition. For then, theoretically, each employer will apply labour in each branch of his business up to the point at which the return to the unit of labour last applied is equal to the cost of that unit, and the same (*ceteris paribus*) as in all branches of each business. Likewise, in the state of equilibrium which characterises perfect competition the employee cannot better himself by taking the place of another. The question thus conceived may be restated: Should there be perfect competition between the sexes? The question thus put requiring a categorical answer, Yes or No, may be labelled A, to distinguish it from the question of degree, B, which may be asked, if a categorical answer is not forthcoming, namely, What sort or amount of competition between the sexes is advisable?

In the question thus stated equal work is defined objectively by the fact that as between two tasks the worker is indifferent. This fact, like the action or inaction of Buridan's ass, is ascertainable by the senses. But something more than what is given by physical observations seems to be implied in ordinary parlance with reference to our question. Some comparison between the feelings of the workers seems to be implied in statements such as the following: 'The remuneration of the peculiar employments of women is always, I believe, greatly below that of employments of equal skill and equal disagreeableness carried on by men' (J. S. Mill, *Pol. Econ.* ii., xiv., 5). 'Men and women often work side by side in the same schools; . . . and we are satisfied that the work of women, taking the schools as a whole, is as arduous as that of men and is not less zealously and efficiently done' (Report on Teachers in Elementary Schools, Lond., Cmd. 8939). 'An unfortunate female does not receive for thirteen or fourteen hours' close daily application during six days as much as a man for one day of ten hours' (referring to Philadelphia early last century; cp. Carey, 'Social Science,' vol. iii. p. 385). If equal work is interpreted as equal disutility, in the sense of fatigue or privation of amenity, then equal pay may be interpreted equal satisfaction obtained from earnings. Equality in this sense is not always predicable of equal external perquisites. It is conceivable, for instance, that a quantity of solid food, or a gaudy livery, might in general have more attraction for one sex than for the other. This second question, which is presented by the subjective interpretation of the terms, like the first, may be subdivided according as (*a*) a categorical answer is demanded, or (*b*) the question is one of degree.

In the first of the two inquiries which have been distinguished we may, if we can, maintain the position assumed by Jevons when he disclaimed any attempt to 'compare the amount of feeling in one mind with that in another,' when he affirmed that 'every mind is inscrutable

to every other mind, and no common denominator of feeling seems to be possible ' (' Theory of Political Economy,' p. 15). The second inquiry presupposes the faculty which forms the main theme of Adam Smith's ' Theory of Moral Sentiments,' Sympathy; in addition to the self-interest which is prominent in his ' Wealth of Nations.' The first inquiry belongs to political economy in a strict or ' proper ' sense, which we may call pure economics. The second inquiry belongs to political economy in a larger sense, which includes the satisfactions attending the possession and use of wealth—say the economics of welfare. The second inquiry is wider than and comprehends the first; since an increase in welfare is, *ceteris paribus*, apt to attend an increase in wealth. As equality in the first sense, concerned with production only, tends to maximise the national income, so equality in the second sense, affecting distribution, tends to maximise that aggregate of welfare which the utilitarian legislation increases, which wise taxation diminishes as little as possible.

Above both these aims, higher even than economic welfare, is well-being other than economic—moral or spiritual good; a hurt to which may well outweigh a gain in satisfactions less independent of material conditions. But the ' should ' in the question with which we started is to be interpreted as referring only to advisability in the first or second sense. The answers to the question thus limited may at least afford materials for the answer to it in all its bearings. For the present I confine myself to the question in its first sense. In a sequel I hope to consider the question in its second sense.

3. To the question (A) whether competition between the sexes should be restricted it may seem sufficient to reply that competition between all classes should be unrestricted. In the immortal words of Adam Smith, ' all systems, either of preference or of restraint, being completely taken away, the obvious and simple system of natural liberty establishes itself. Every man, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest his own way, and to bring both his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man or order of men.' This system tends to increase ' the real value of the annual produce of its (the society's) land and labour,' or, as we now say, the national income. It is pointed out by Professor Pigou that, in order to secure a maximum of produce, productive resources must be so distributed that the net product of the unit last applied in each branch of industry—the marginal productivity —may be the same for all branches. To this proximate end *laisser faire* is a means. A maximum of wealth will thus in general be attained by unrestricted competition.

4. But a *maximum* is not always the *greatest possible* value of which a quantity is susceptible. The top of a hillock presents a maximum; but it is not always the highest attainable height. Half-way up Mount Everest is higher than the top of Snowdon. So it may happen that the unrestricted play of competition between short-sighted, self-interested employers and desperately poor workers, though securing a temporary maximum of production, may bring about that *degradation of labour* which the warmest champions of competition have appre-

hended; notably Francis Walker ('Wages Question,' ch. v. and 'Political Economy,' Art. 343 *et seq.*). There may occur the 'strange and paradoxical result' described by Marshall ('Principles of Economics,' vi., iii., 8; cp. iv., 1): employers adhering to old methods which require only unskilled workers of but indifferent character, who can be hired for low (time-) wages. Suppose that some doctrinaire despot imbued with misinterpretations of the classical economists as deeply as Lenin with the worst interpretations of Marx' dogmas, should insist on absolutely unrestricted competition (subject only to prohibition of force and fraud). He would rule out *minimum wage* and *standard of life*, and other fine phrases (as he would describe them), which disguise the fact that wages are determined by supply and demand. He would prohibit combinations of workpeople. If such conditions could be enforced there would probably result throughout a considerable part of industry a breakdown, or at least a gradually deepening depression. To this *débâcle* the competition of women would largely contribute. It would be particularly effective owing to three incidents. First, the minimum of requirements for efficiency, of actual as distinct from conventional necessaries, is less for a woman than a man (in the ratio of 4 : 5 according to Rowntree). This circumstance might acquire a dangerous importance in a struggle for bare life, though not of much significance, it may be hoped, in prosperous conditions. Secondly, wives and daughters are apt to be subsidised; and though subsidies do not always lead to the offer of work on lowered terms, this result may be anticipated in the case contemplated. Last, and not least, the woman worker has not acquired by custom and tradition the same unwillingness to work for less than will support a family, the same determination to stand out against a reduction of wages below that standard. Altogether, if we are convinced that some action must be taken to avert the evils which have been glanced at (cp. Marshall, vi., xiii., 12), it seems that our question (A) cannot receive a categorical answer in the affirmative.

5. I dismiss section A with the following cautions: (α) Let us not forget the general presumption in favour of *laissez faire*. It may be true that the top of a hill is not so high as that of a neighbouring mountain. It may be probable that by getting down from the hill and getting up on the mountain we shall ultimately attain a position higher than the hilltop. But the transition, over unknown ground perhaps, is not without danger. For example, many who have left the simple path of Free Trade in order to attain greater prosperity through the protection of infant industries have not bettered themselves. (β) Let us remember that there are limits to the effects of regulation. It is well to prescribe: 'The best way to secure the necessary advances in wages would be to set up Trade Boards for all industries and instruct them to bring minimum wages for men as well as women as soon as possible to a level which would fulfil the conditions indicated above (enabling the man to marry and support a family and the single woman to live in decent comfort). The rise will be made possible by the increase of productivity.' But unfortunately, such is the uncertainty of human affairs, the required increase of productivity does not always

follow the determination of a desirable minimum, as the Australians have lately experienced. In the fixing of minimums, as in the cutting of coats, regard must be had to the amount of material or means available. (γ) In view of the uncertainties attending our course once we leave the obvious and simple system of natural liberty let us advance with great caution. Our motto should be *pedetentim* testing each foothold before committing ourselves to an irrevocable step; prepared to retract if the ground prove unsafe. An excellent example of the appropriate method is afforded by the English Trade Boards. The Committee to which they owe their institution (1908) recommended that 'Parliament should proceed somewhat experimentally,' that legislation should at first be 'tentative and experimental' (Report on Home Work, 1908, No. xv., 40, 54). The first step having proved encouraging a further step was tried. But that further step having proved unsafe is to be retracted, as recommended by the Cave Committee [Cmd. 1645].

6. B. Under section B, dealing with the question as one of degree, there might perhaps be included the comparative treatment of male and female workers among the classes which shall have been excluded from open competition. Thus, according to Charles Booth's plan of segregating the feckless class who spoil the labour market, his class B, what will be the distribution of work and pay (or should we say rations?) as between the sexes? But such questions belong rather to our less purely economic sequel. In any case I shall not be expected to pronounce on hypothetical cases as numerous as the Socialistic schemes which are in the air. Under head B it must suffice to consider a state of things in which, desperate competition having been somehow ruled out, there remain competitors freed from the deranging effect of extreme poverty and incompetence. The case is that of which Charles Booth said that the 'hardy doctrines' of the individualism system 'would have a far better chance in a society purged of those who cannot stand alone ('Life and Labour,' vol. i., p. 167, ed. 2). Or we may recall Mr. Seebohm Rowntree's distinction between wages below and above his minimum: 'the former should be based on the human needs of the workers, the latter on the market value of the services rendered' ('Human Needs,' p. 120). It is the latter kind of wages only that are now to be considered. Let us simplify the problem by at first (1) abstracting the circumstances of family life, considering the labour world as if it was composed of bachelors and spinsters.

7. I. Competition now being freed, the Smith-Pigou principle (above (3)) resumes its authority. The best results will presumably be obtained by leaving employers free to compete for male or female labour. Thus equal pay for equal work will be secured in our sense of the term; which does not imply that the earnings of the sexes should be equal (2). Equality in our sense would be realised in the conceivable state of things which a high authority (Professor Cassel) appears to regard as actual when he argues that but for the inferiority of female labour 'it is not clear why the employer should not further (than he does) substitute female labour for the dearer male labour' ('Theoretische Sozial-Economie,' p. 293). There is much force in Professor Cassel's argument; and his conclusion would be perfectly true if the implied

premiss, the existence of perfect competition, were true. But competition is not perfect while it is clogged by combinations both of employers and employed. An employer of many workmen is in himself virtually a combination, as Dr. Marshall has pointed out. Men being generally better organised than women have exercised an unsymmetrical pressure on the employer to their own advantage. For instance, 'London printing-houses dare not employ women at certain machines unless they are prepared to risk a long and costly fight' (Mrs. Fawcett, *Economic Journal*, 1904, p. 297, cp. 1892, p. 176). I have been told of similar proceedings elsewhere.

8. The concession of the employer to male pressure is facilitated by the circumstances that, though the use of male labour beyond a certain limit is to his disadvantage, yet it is probably not *very much* to his disadvantage. This circumstance is deducible from a proposition pertaining to the theory of maxima, of which I hereafter shall make much use. It may be stated thus: If y is a quantity which depends upon—increases and decreases with—another quantity, x, the change of y consequent on an assigned change of x is likely to be particularly small in the neighbourhood of a value of x for which y is a maximum. For example, in ascending a dumpling-shaped hill from a point of the plane on which the hill stands, the first hundred yards of advance in the direction of the summit might correspond to an elevation of fifty yards above the plane. But as the summit is approached the same change of length measured along the surface may be attended with a change of height that is a hundred times, or even a thousand times, less than what it was at a distance from the summit. The principle is illustrated by the well-known proposition that a small tax on a monopolised article forms a *very small* inducement to the monopolist to raise the price and reduce the output of the taxed article. Thus, in an example given by Cournot (to illustrate another property of monopoly) a (specific) tax amounting to 10 per cent. of the price before the tax will afford a motive to the monopolist to raise the price, but a very weak motive, since by making the change he will benefit himself only to the extent of ½ per cent. of his profits. A tax of 1 per cent. would afford a very much weaker motive. By raising the price to the figure which (after the imposition of the tax) yields maximum profit he stands to gain (to save upon the loss caused by the tax) about a twenty-thousandth part of his original profits!

9. The pressure of male trade unions appears to be largely responsible for that crowding of women into a comparatively few occupations, which is universally recognised as a main factor in the depression of their wages. Such crowding is *primâ facie* a flagrant violation of that free competition which results in maximum production and in distribution of the kind here defined as equal pay for equal work. The exclusion of women from the better-paid branches of industry may be effected less openly than by a direct veto, such as the 'No female allowed' in the rules of an archaic society ('Industrial Democracy'). Withholding facilities for the acquisition of skilled trades comes to much the same as direct prohibition. A striking instance is mentioned by Mrs. Fawcett with reference to the allegation that women are unable to 'tune' or

'set' the machines on which they work. They were never given the opportunity of learning how to perform these operations (*Economic Journal*, 1918, p. 4). Exclusion may also be effected by regulating that women entering an industry should conform in every particular to arrangements which are specially suited to male workers. Of such rules Mrs. Fawcett has well written, 'to encourage women under all circumstances to claim the same wages for the same work would be to exclude from work altogether all those women who were industrially less efficient than men. A woman who was less capable of prolonged physical toil, who was less adaptive and versatile than the average man, would be forbidden to accept wages which recognised these facts of her industrial existence' (*Economic Journal*, 1894, p. 366; cp. 1904, p. 296). The exclusiveness of male trade unions has been in the past at least fostered by prejudices and conventions that are becoming obsolete. Before the Labour Commission, for instance, a witness was asked, 'What is there unwomanly in steering a barge?' Answer: 'It is a work that is entirely unfit for women'; also 'it reduces the wages of men.' Before an earlier Committee it was testified of another occupation: 'It is most degrading for women . . . it weakens their constitution . . . and not only so, but it is depriving men of their proper labour.' It should be remembered, however, that many of the prohibitions and prejudices here mentioned as contravening free competition were adapted to avert that catastrophic competition (4) which we here conveniently suppose to be excluded.

10. The oppressive action of male unions should be counteracted by pressure on the part of women workers acting in concert. Suppose now that these balanced forces encounter the resistance of the employers, themselves perhaps associated, what will be the resultant? We may assume that the resulting arrangement will not be in strong conflict with the natural forces of competition. Probably an arrangement that the weekly earnings of women should be the same as those of men, though the actual value of a woman as a worker was about 30 per cent. below that of an average man employed in the same capacity (as testified by a majority of employers before a Committee of the British Association, Kirkcaldy, 'Credit Industry and the War,' 1915, p. 108) could not be maintained without tyranny on a Russian scale. But within limits thus prescribed there is room for a considerable variety of arrangements. On what principle, then, will a more exact determination be obtained? The principle most congenial to the present subsection is that which is suggested by Walker's doctrine, that 'competition, perfect competition, affords the ideal condition for the distribution of wealth' ('Political Economy,' 2nd ed. s. 466; cp. s. 343). We should then not only keep within those limits outside which it would be futile to set up any arrangement, as it would be swept away by the forces of competition, but also within the wide tract thus delimited we should endeavour to find the particular point which would be determined by ideal competition. The first of these precepts may conceivably be carried out by a board of employers and employees. But the second is evidently a counsel of perfection. As Professor Pigou says with reference to railway rates, 'it

is plain that anything in the nature of an exact imitation of simple competition is almost impossible to attain' ('Wealth and Welfare,' p. 267 *et seq.*). In the case before us the task of the board would be particularly difficult. For, first, even if the labour contract were of the simplest possible type—so much energy applied, so many foot-pounds raised, in return for so much standard money—it appears from the mathematical theory of demand and supply that, even if competition between employers and employed were as free as can be supposed, a determinate position of equilibrium would not be reached. And the contracts with which we have to do are not simple. As well explained in the First Report on Wages and Hours of Labour (1894, C. 7567) and elsewhere, the wage-rate proper to each kind of work is obtained by numerous extras and deductions corresponding to variations from a standard article or process with specified price—a standard which is itself far from simple. Here, for instance, is, or was, the definition of the standard woman's boot: 'Button or Balmoral, 1½ in., military heel, puff toe; 7 in. at back seam of leg machine sewn, channels down or brass rivets, pumps or welts, finished round strip or black waist.' The extras (and likewise the deductions) may be presumably calculated on the principle described by Mr. and Mrs. Webb as 'specific additions for extra exertion or inconvenience,' so as to obtain 'identical payment for identical effort.' Are these additions, and also the standard to which they are referred, to be determined objectively as what would result from the play of ideal competition? Or must we call in Socialistic, or, as I prefer to say, Utilitarian, principles of distribution in order to fill in the details left blank by the award of competition? However this deep question is decided, it remains true that on the suppositions here made (B I) the distribution of work and pay between the sexes ought to be conducted upon the same principles as between any other classes of workers.

11. On the general principle of distribution I have nothing to add to the little that I have said here and elsewhere. I subjoin some suggestions for carrying out the principle in the case before us. They relate to the comparative efficiency of the sexes, concerning which assumptions are to be made with caution. There are to be avoided two opposite misconceptions: the one exaggerating the comparative efficiency of men, the other that of women. The first exaggeration is countenanced by Plato when, notwithstanding his admission of women to the highest posts in his Republic, he yet holds that they are inferior to men in all the arts. Even in those arts in which they might be expected to excel, such as weaving and cookery, he seems to say that they are beaten by men. In the modern world, however, it appears that women excel in certain branches of the textile art. 'Having smaller hands they are able to handle the twist and weft with greater dexterity than men' (Cmd., 167, 79). Superiority is claimed for them, too, in typewriting and in telephoning. As nursery-maids they are certainly more efficient. The opposite exaggeration is committed by feminists when they maintain, in the words of a generally impartial expert, that 'there is no reason save custom and lack of organisation why a nursery-maid should be paid less than a coal-miner.' No doubt it is difficult to disprove, and even to define, this proposition with reference to employments that are

not common to both sexes. The comparison would seem to be as to the time-wages, say the average weekly earnings, of the two classes. The institution of the average presents difficulties. Still, I submit it as an inference based on general impressions and ordinary experience that, even if all restriction of the competition between male and female workers were removed, we should still find the average weekly earnings of the former to be considerably higher.

12. The following fuller statement of the matter is submitted as intelligible and probable. Let us suppose at first that work can be defined in such precise and neuter terms that it makes no difference to the employer whether a unit of work is performed by a man or a woman. The definition should include not only a specification of the product, as in the case of the boot above instanced, but also the time taken up (affecting the 'overhead' charge), the expenditure on apparatus (which may be greater for weaker persons), and so forth. In ideal competition men and women shall be equally free to choose any of the occupations so defined. It may be expected that there are some branches of industry into which women only will enter, others into which they will never, or hardly ever, enter. Let us call the former A, B, C, . . . F, and the latter, M, N, ... Z. Let the average weekly earning in each of the former occupations be a, b, c, . . . f; and in the latter m, n, . . . z. Then I submit that the average of a, b, c, . . . f will be less than the average of m, n, ... z. There remain occupations that are entered by both sexes: say G, H, I, K, L. For any one of these, I, the (rate of) pay, say ι, for unit of work in the sense above defined is the same for men and women; but the weekly earnings will not be the same, say i_1, for the female and i_2 for the male workers; i_1 less than i_2. The letters may be applied so that f_1, g_1, h_1, . . . l_1 will form an increasing series; on which supposition it may be expected that g_2, h_2, . . . l_2, m_2 will also form an increasing series, rising from the female to the male level.

The conception thus presented may be illustrated by an Australian ruling. Judge Higgins fixed the minimum rate for fruit picking at one shilling an hour, observing that 'the majority of fruit pickers are men,' that 'men and women should be paid on the same level,' the employer being left free to employ persons of either sex. But for the operations in the packing-sheds the minimum for (women) workers in these processes, in which men are hardly ever employed, should be fixed at 9*d*. per hour ('Commonwealth Arbitration Reports, 1912,' vol. vi., p. 72, and context). Fruit-picking and the operations in the sheds might correspond to our L and G respectively.

If the rates attached to each specification of work are proper the distribution will be ideal. Suppose that a slightly different system of rates, α', β', . . . ι', . . . μ', ν' . . . &c., is adopted. There will be a slight difference in the distribution of work and pay. But by the property of a maximum above noticed the difference to the community considered as a sort of collective monopolist, the difference to the national income will be not merely slight, but *very* slight.

13. It should be understood that the preceding representation relates only to the present, or rather to a short period in the immediate

future. The period must be long enough for the removal of trade-union restrictions to be realised, for training hitherto denied to be acquired; but not long enough for a material change in physique, arts and customs. If in the course of evolution the female sex became as strong as, or even stronger than, the male, if in the progress of practical science muscular strength became less and less in demand, then the average of $a, b, \ldots f$ might no longer be less than the average of $m, n, \ldots z$. Again, a conceivable change in desiderata would affect the truth of our representation; for instance, if type-writing, telephoning and the like became more in demand than coal-mining and ironworks. Again, if the vast amount of household work that is now unpaid could only be obtained by paying for it, the demand for woman's labour and its price might be considerably raised. The general principle of equal distribution above indicated would hold good notwithstanding these changes; but the suggestions made for its working would require modification. The changes, however, do not appear very imminent.

14. Existing institutions being presupposed, it should be noticed that the supposition above made of work defined irrespective of sex is somewhat abstract. It would be appropriate in the Socialist community imagined by Anatole France ('Pierre Blanche'), where the employer would not inquire whether an applicant for work was a man or a woman. He would not be informed by the garments of the applicant, identical attire having been introduced along with equal conditions of work. But in the present state of things it will often be within the knowledge of the employer that it is more profitable to employ a man than a woman, although the work performed by each is identical so far as it can be defined by the most exact rate. For a woman, unlike a man, is 'liable to go off and get married just as she is beginning to be of some use,' as a candid champion of equal pay has observed (*Economic Journal*, 1917, p. 59). Again, a woman is generally less useful in an emergency. As a witness before the Committee on the Employment of Women put it, 'A woman punching a ticket may appear equal to a man, but she is not so useful in case of a breakdown or runaway.' Of course these 'secondary' differences, as they might be called, are much less serious in some industries than in others. In some permanence may be less a desideratum, a breakdown less to be apprehended. Among secondary differences is hardly to be reckoned the alleged inability of women workers to 'tune' the machines on which they work; for that regularly recurring need can be allowed for by a properly constructed rate. But it is otherwise with the risks which hardly admit of actuarial calculation. Besides, even if the probability could be calculated precisely, the compensation to the employer for carrying the risk is not to be measured by the mathematical 'expectation' thereof. This point has been well brought out with reference to risks in general by Mr. Keynes in his great treatise on Probability. The point is of importance here as it contravenes what *primâ facie* seems the simplest solution of the difficulty: that is, in all the industries where secondary differences between the sexes are operative to lower the rates for female work correspondingly. Thus

in industry E, instead of the rate ε which would be proper in the absence of secondary differences, we should put the somewhat lower rate ϵ'. Likewise in I (above (12)), instead of the common rate ι for men and women equally, we should put a lower rate ι' for women retaining ι for men. Such an adjustment seems to carry out the recommendations of the (majority of the) War Cabinet Committee when they contemplate 'a fixed sum to be deducted from the man's rate' corresponding to the 'lower value of the woman's work,' if proved by the employer (par. 10 (5) p. 4). The adjustment would be in accordance with the definition of equal pay for equal work given by those who are best qualified to interpret the claim: 'Any permanent disadvantage that adheres to women workers as such should be allowed for by a *pro rata* reduction in their standard rates' (Mrs. Fawcett, citing Miss Eleanor Rathbone, *Economic Journal*, 1918, p. 3). But the reduction corresponding to the demand of the employer for women as compared with men workers could not well be calculated objectively by a board. It could only be determined by the play of ideal competition, which exists only in idea. There would be incurred the danger either (α) of the women's rate being fixed high above the point for which production would be a maximum, or (β) its being 'nibbled' by the employer. The former danger is probably, as things are, not very serious; the latter is much apprehended by experts. Altogether it would seem better to proceed on the lines of Mrs. Sidney Webb's 'occupational rate,' rather than on the plan recommended by the majority of the Committee. Instead of fixing two rates, ι and ι', let us fix (for the defined unit of work) a single rate for men and women alike, say ι'', less than ι, which would have been the rate in the absence of 'secondary' differences. The readjustment will result in a redistribution of male and female work. The men would back out of occupations in which previously it had been worth their while to take part; the employment of women would be correspondingly extended. The process may be illustrated by an incident which Mr. and Mrs. Webb have recorded. The reduction of a farthing in the pay for a dozen of stockings resulted in that branch of the industry being deserted by the men and occupied by the women ('Industrial Democracy,' II., p. 502). If the reduction, from ι to ι'' was inconsiderable the consequences to the consuming public would be negligible upon the principle above explained (8). Otherwise a great drop from ι to ι'' might have as bad an effect on production as fixing a women's rate, ι', too near ι, the men's rate, so as to incur the danger above labelled α.

15. The specious arrangement by which secondary differences may be masked through the adoption of a uniform rate is not applicable to another kind of difference between the work of the sexes which occurs in the case of some personal services. The vexed question of schoolmasters' pay illustrates this 'tertiary' difference, as it may be called. If teaching were an art as mechanical as turning a prayer-wheel, if teachers were literally, as some of them used to be called, 'grinders,' then (apart from secondary differences) it would be unreasonable that men should be paid more than women for the same operation. But supposing that the presence and influence of a master, say in dealing

with the bigger boys, is something different from that of a mistress, and that it is considered indispensable, it is not unreasonable (in a *régime* of pure economics) that the desired article should be purchased at the market price. The market price of a master is higher if he comes from a class between our M and Z (14), for which the average is higher than a corresponding class of women between A and F. His higher pay is quite consistent with the finding of the teachers above cited (2), that 'the work of women, taking the schools as a whole, . . . is not less zealously and efficiently done than that of men.' They might, indeed, be more diligent and in most branches of education better teachers than men. A steel knife is a more useful implement for general purposes than a silver blade. But if silver is required to preserve the flavour of dessert, the epicure must pay for the metal which has the greater value in exchange. A good cab horse may, for all that I know, draw a vehicle as well as a high-stepping thoroughbred. But if for purposes of State and show the high-paced animal is required, high prices must be paid for the high paces. The distinction, it will be noticed, turns upon the nature and presence of the horse. If for the carriage of parcels one kind of horse was as efficient as the other, then, indeed, a carrier who charged a higher price for the delivery of parcels because he employed a particular breed of horse could only maintain this differential charge through a, presumably noxious, monopoly. That is the difference between the case of the schoolmistress and the case of Mrs. Jones, whose grievance is recorded by Mrs. Fawcett. Mrs. John Jones during the illness of her husband passed off her own work as his to the firm of outfitters which employed him to braid tunics. 'When, however, it became quite clear, John Jones being dead and buried, that it could not be his work, . . . the price paid for it by the firm was immediately reduced to two-thirds of the price paid when it was supposed to be her husband's'! (*Economic Journal*, 1918, p. 1). Here, in the absence of tertiary (and presumably also secondary) differences, the differentiation of wage was certainly contrary to the principle of equal pay for equal work.

On behalf of the schoolmistresses it may still be urged that the market price of male work is artificially raised by inequitable laws and customs. To this the Teachers' Committee might reply that if the time in this respect is out of joint, they were not created to set it right. But it is here questioned whether the time is so much out of joint. It has been submitted that the average earnings of male labour $(m-z)$ would probably be higher than the female average $(a-f)$, even if there had been introduced the most perfect freedom of competition that is thinkable in the present state of things (12). If so, the higher pay of masters for similar work does not violate the rule of equal pay for equal work in the first, purely economic sense of the rule (2). The unequal pay for equal effort does violate the rule in the second, utilitarian or hedonic, sense. In fact, the instance is well suited to bring into view the essential difference between the two definitions of the formula. The political Socialist who aims at a closer approximation of pay to efforts and needs, the Utilitarian moralist who desiderates, indeed, that ideal, but has regard to the danger of pursuing it too directly, naturally do

not acquiesce in the present arrangements (cp. Report on Women in Industry, Cmd. 135; Minority Report by Mrs. Sidney Webb, sections 12 and 6) But these considerations lie outside pure economics, and must be postponed to our sequel.

16. II. The presumption in favour of free competition and the methods of putting it in practice require to be reconsidered when we restore the abstracted circumstances of family life. We now encounter the dominant fact that men very generally out of their earnings support a wife and family. 'It is normal for men to marry and to have to support families. . . . It is not normal for women to have to support dependants' (Seebohm Rowntree, 'Human Needs,' p. 115). These words express a very general belief and sentiment. It is a norm accepted throughout the civilised world. It is embodied in the Australian determination of minimum wage, one of which, by Judge Higgins, has been above cited (12). Another Australian Judge rules: 'the man, and not the woman, is typically the breadwinner of the family' ('South Australian Industrial Reports,' vol. ii., 1918-19). Justice Jethro Brown grounds an award on 'the traditional social structure which imposes on men the duty of maintaining the household.' So Professor Taussig, 'For a man wages must normally be enough to enable a family to be supported and reared. The great majority of working women are not in this case' ('Principles,' ch. 47, s. 9, vol. ii., p. 144). It cannot be supposed that these authoritative expressions of belief have no correspondence with reality. Indeed, the wiser and more moderate advocates of equal pay for women admit it to be 'unlikely that any large proportion of married women will aim at earning their own living as the norm or standard' (Miss B. L. Hutchins, 'Conflicting Ideals,' p. 63). Few would agree with the authoress of 'A Sane' (*sic*) 'Feminism' that 'domestic morality and feminine dignity make it essential for the married woman of to-morrow to be independent of her husband's income, and therefore normally dependent on some occupation outside the home, . . . a work to be continued throughout married life, with occasional lapses incidental to child-bearing' (pp. 111, 113). Even Mill admits that 'in an otherwise just state of things it is not . . . a desirable custom that the wife should contribute by her labour to the income of the family . . . the actual exercise in a habitual or systematic manner of outdoor occupations, or such as cannot be carried on at home, would . . . be practically interdicted to the greater number of married women' ('Subjection of Women,' pp. 88-89). Does it not follow that the husband must support the family, so far as he is not assisted by contributions from adult children or the occasional—not 'systematic'—work of the wife?

17. It has been sought to evade this stubborn fact by the contention that the occupied single woman is responsible for the support of as many dependants as the man. On the strength of an investigation conducted by the Fabian Research Committee it is maintained that 'two-thirds of the wage-earning women are not only entirely self-supporting, but have others to maintain besides themselves.' But grave doubts are thrown upon these figures by the more elaborate investigation which Mr. Seebohm Rowntree has recently conducted. He finds from an

extensive observation of samples that 'only 12.06 per cent. of women have either partially or entirely to support others beside themselves' ('Responsibility of Women Workers,' p. 36). If we except the cases due to the death of 'the normal breadwinner'—admittedly requiring special treatment—the proportion is reduced to 4.12 per cent. The figure would not be serious even if it proved on further inquiry to be somewhat greater. For the figure has not the same significance as that which relates to the dependants of the male wage-earners. The sustentation of the old and infirm cannot be compared, as regards at least economic importance, with the support of the young, the cost of which normally falls on the male breadwinner. The world got on tolerably before the institution of Old Age Pensions; but it could not have got on at all without the support of young children by their fathers.

18. If the bulk of working men support families, and the bulk of working women do not, it seems not unreasonable that the men should have some advantage in the labour market. Equal pay for equal work, when one party is subject to unequal deductions from his pay, no longer appears quite equitable. It is hardly to be expected that the representatives of female interests should look at this question from the masculine point of view. The ladies who have shown this unusual degree of sense and sympathy are entitled to a very attentive hearing. Miss B. L. Hutchins, in her 'Conflict of Ideals,' has discerned with remarkable insight the antithesis between the traditional status of the husband and father, expected to support a family, and the modern *régime* of contract tending to universal competition. Miss Hutchins does not see her way to ending the conflict: 'it is almost impossible to make any logical scheme or theory that will fit the woman and the young child exactly into a commercially organised society based on exchange values' (*loc. cit.*, p. 69). Miss Eleanor Rathbone, equally discerning the difficulty, is more confident about the solution. She proposes a scheme which has certainly the merit of being logical, the endowment of motherhood, as set forth in her article on the 'Remuneration of Women's Services' in the *Economic Journal* for 1917. The plan deserves consideration here as a step towards that freedom of competition which has been prescribed. The plan may also be advocated as conducing to advantages less purely economic than those now considered. When those other advantages come to be thrown into the scale, the weight of the economic arguments which I now attempt to estimate will still be a relevant datum.

As text of the plan to be examined we may take the pamphlet entitled 'Equal Pay and the Family,' the report of the Family Endowment Committee formed in 1917 at the suggestion of Miss Rathbone. With this pronouncement should be placed the proposal independently made by Mrs. Sidney Webb in her evidence before the War Committee (1919, Cmd. 135). The bright and clear *résumé* of the arguments given by Mrs. Stocks in the booklet entitled 'The Meaning of Family Endowment' is also to be considered.

The purpose of the scheme may be summarised in the words of the Endowment Report: to secure 'that *within each class of income* the man with a family should not be in a worse position financially because he has a family than the single man *in that class*.' For the partial

attainment of this purpose, allowances for children being paid only for six years, there would be required an annual grant of 154,000,000*l*. For the fuller realisation of the plan, continuing allowances for children up to the age of fifteen, the cost would be 240,000,000*l*. (*loc. cit.*, p. 44). 'Something like 250 millions sterling annually' is the estimate of Mrs. Sidney Webb (*loc. cit.*, p. 307).

Let us separately consider, firstly the advantages, secondly the disadvantages, which this plan presents, and, thirdly, whether there is any alternative course by which much of the good result with little of the evil may be obtained.

19. i. One main advantage is thus stated in the Endowment Report: 'When the national endowment of mothers and children becomes an accomplished fact this excuse for the under-payment of women (that men have families to keep) will no longer hold good and women will be free to claim—and men to concede to them—whatever position in industry their faculties fit them for, at a wage based on the work they do, and not on their supposed necessities' (p. 18). The endowment 'would do away with the present involuntary blacklegging of men by women, by depriving employers of their one really plausible, if not actually valid, excuse for paying women less than the standard rates; so putting the competition between the sexes for the first time on a basis which is at once free and fair.' The endowment would certainly facilitate the adoption of that free and fair competition which has been above recommended (9). But that recommendation presupposed that there had been ruled out a sort of competition which is described by some high authorities as not free, which is at any rate generally regarded as deleterious. That tendency to the degradation of labour is, as above explained (4), aggravated by the competition of women. Now the endowment of motherhood would not suffice to remove this danger. The transitory and episodical character of female labour would still threaten male wages. It may be objected that men, freed from the obligation of supporting a family, would no longer have a reason for not competing *à l'outrance* with equally free women. They might not have any reason; but they would surely long retain the habit, the 'social custom' as it has been called, engendered by their traditional position as at least potential heads of families. In short, the proposed endowment would not remove all the difficulties attending competition between the sexes, but only those attending the ordered competition for which alone I venture to prescribe (Class B above). How large an endowment would be required to counteract the consequences of removing the restrictions on female competition? A measure is afforded by the extent to which male wages would be depressed. In making this computation we may, I think, omit to take account of wives' earnings. For if, on the one hand, the greater efficiency, and possibly the greater number, of married women competing in the labour market tend to depress male wages, on the other hand there is a countervailing gain to the family. We need only, then, consider how much male wages are likely to be diminished by the liberated competition of spinsters. In making this estimate we have to take into account the elasticity of labour, the probability that the greater supply of work

will be met by a corresponding demand for work. We have to take into account also the probability above suggested (12), that the demand for goods in the production of which men's labour plays a great part greatly exceeds, and will continue to exceed (13), the corresponding demand for women's work. When these two circumstances are taken into account it may be doubted whether any great reduction of male wages would follow on the improvements suggested—better training of women, hours and appliances suited to their requirements, in short every degree of freedom that does not evidently tend to the degradation of labour. A comparatively small endowment, then, might suffice to deprive men of a reason for objecting to free competition. The excuse, indeed, without the reason might remain. And no doubt the more completely that the burden of supporting a family is taken off the shoulders of men, the more effectually will the excuse be stopped. But a reason more specious than stopping an excuse may be advanced in favour of a large endowment. If we are about making an endowment, why confine ourselves to the one advantage of smoothing the way for free competition? Let us take the opportunity of securing a second advantage.

ii. The second advantage is the possibility of distributing the resources available for the nurture of children in such wise that the requirements of the larger families may be met more adequately than on the present system. This advantage is thus forcibly stated by Mrs. Sidney Webb: 'In the actual course of Nature the distribution of children among households varying from none to a dozen or more; the number who are simultaneously dependent on their parents varying from one to more than half-a-dozen; and the time in each family over which this burden of dependent children extends, varying from a year or two to ten times that period—bear, none of them, any relation to the industrial efficiency either of the father or of the mother; or to the wage that either of them, or both of them, could obtain through individual bargaining by the higgling of the market; or yet to any actual or conceivable occupational or standard rates to be secured by them, either by collective bargaining or legislative enactment' (Report of the War Cabinet Committee [Cmd. 135], p. 306). By a children's allowance payable to the mothers in all the households of the United Kingdom it may be secured that 'adequate provision is made for children not by statistical averages, but case by case.' This second advantage, as well as the first, would certainly be considerable, if it were unmixed.

20. I will now enumerate some disadvantages; in no particular order, seeing that the relative importance of the objections will not be the same for different mentalities.

i. To some the Socialist character of the scheme will form a prime objection. The increase of bureaucratic routine, the deadening of individual initiative, will be apprehended.

ii. The end proposed by the Socialist is commendable: to give the hungry a larger share of the good things produced by the community. But if the grain which would have been sown for the harvest of next year is used to fill the hungry with cakes this year, the participants of future harvests may be worse off than they would have been if the

resources of the provident had not been thus applied. It requires the subtlety of a Pigou to devise transferences from the rich to the poor which shall not have the effect of curtailing the national dividend (cp. 'Economics of Welfare,' pt. v., ch. ix., ss. 7, 8). But there is reason to apprehend that no such subtlety would be exercised in the case before us. The Endowment Committee touch lightly the question of finance. They mention as an alternative to income-tax a levy of so much per cent. on all incomes, including those of the class not paying income tax. But is it likely that this method will be employed? Mrs. Sidney Webb thinks it better that the children's fund should be 'provided from the Exchequer (that is to say, by taxation, like any other obligation of the community)' (*loc cit.*, p. 309). No doubt a graduated income-tax would play a great part in the formation of the fund. Much of the popularity which the scheme enjoys in labour circles is probably due to the prospect of transferring hundreds of millions from the income-tax-paying classes to the families of working-people. The imposition of an enormous additional burden on the former class would surely tend to check saving.

iii. The scheme would resemble the quality of mercy in having an effect both on him that gives and him that takes. But the resemblance would end there. The effect on the contributor will be depressing, but the effect on the recipient is likely to be more seriously deleterious. It does not require much knowledge of human nature to justify the apprehension that in relieving the average house-father from the necessity of providing necessaries for his family you would remove a great part of his incentive to work. There is doubtless much exaggeration in evidence which has been given to the effect that when wives earn husbands idle. Yet there is probably an element of truth in the saying which is thus reported by one of our most experienced lady-inspectors, 'I almost agree with the social worker who said that if the husband got out of work the only thing that the wife should do is to sit down and cry, because if she did anything else he would remain out of work' (Report on Home-Work, 46, Question 1027, cp. 1024-5). A gratuitous allowance to the mother would have an effect in this direction at least as great as her earnings have. A homely truth is expressed by Rudyard Kipling with his usual vigour when he describes how the workmen, at the Congress convened by 'Imperial Rescript,' received the invitation to adopt Socialistic motives:

'To ease the strong of their burden, and help the weak at their need.' The English delegate replies, 'I work for the kids and the missus'; and the workers of all countries join in declaring,

'We will work for ourselves and a woman for ever and ever. Amen.'

I owe this quotation to Mrs. Fawcett, who has used it with effect in the course of a powerful protest against a scheme similar to that now under consideration, proposed by a member of the Endowment Committee (*Economic Journal*, 1907, pp. 377-8).

It may be urged that similar objections were made to Old Age Pensions, which yet have proved a success. But the motives affected by pensions given to parents were not exactly the same as those now considered; the very mainspring of industry was not equally touched

Nor was the measure so tremendous a step in the dark. The initial cost of Old Age Pensions was but a twentieth part, and the present cost is but a tenth part, of the colossal sum demanded for the endowment of motherhood.

iv. It will be gathered from the two preceding objections that the proposed scheme is likely to result in a diminution of the provisions at Nature's feast, to use a Malthusian metaphor. It is now to be added that the number of guests will probably be increased. There will be a serious stimulus to population. Now the pressure of population on resources may not be very alarming in this country at present. But it is tenable that as regards this danger we are only enjoying a reprieve, 'an age of economic grace' (cp. Marshall, *Economic Journal*, 1907, p. 10). Is it wise to commit the country to a system which may prove unsuitable, yet unalterable?

v. The increase of population might be welcomed if it consisted of the higher types. But in the current proposals one sees no security for the improvement of the race. It is not suggested that Governments might use for this purpose the power which they will acquire as distributors of a bounty. Rather it is to be apprehended that the least desirable classes, say Charles Booth's Class A and Class B, will be encouraged to increase and multiply. It is argued, indeed, that the better class of artisans will be encouraged to keep up their good stock; while the undesirable class are already so improvident that no stimulus could add to their recklessness. But these arguments, based on a calculation of motives, seem precarious in view of the enormous risk involved. There are degrees of improvidence; there must be many who are not so improvident but that they may be made more so by encouragement. The endowment of parents in these classes at the expense of the income-tax-paying classes may realise the gloomiest anticipations of Dean Inge. The effect will be 'to penalise and sterilise those who pay the doles'; to precipitate the ruin of the great middle class, to which England owes so much (*Edinburgh Review*, April 1919).

21. Let us now consider some alternative arrangements which make for the advantages and avoid the dangers which have been described.

Some arrangements calculated to render the freedom of competition more acceptable follow automatically from that liberation; for the removal of restrictions on the work of women is calculated to increase their efficiency, and an increase in their efficiency will be attended, *ceteris paribus*, with an increase in their contributions to their families.

i. The burden of the family borne by its head does not increase in proportion to the number of children; for some contribution towards family expenses is often made by the elder children. It appears from an investigation recently made by Professor Bowley that in rather more than a third of the households which he examined there were 'earning children.' It is presumable that they contributed something over and above their keep to the maintenance of the family (cp. Bowley, 'Livelihood and Poverty,' p. 31). The family would be losers pecuniarily by the removal of these children. Many of these members would be daughters, by hypothesis in the future more efficient than at present.

ii. Where the number of the children is small, may not some contribution often be expected from the wife? 'It is possible to foresee piece-work arrangements to suit women who cannot work too many hours' a high authority, Mrs. Pember Reeves, observes. It may be hoped that in the future the only alternatives open to married working women will not be a whole day's work away from home, or work in a home made intolerable by the conditions of home work (as strikingly described by Mr. and Mrs. Webb for instance, in 'Industrial Democracy,' p. 541). Something better may be expected from the progress both of physical and of economic science. Leroy-Beaulieu, who is sanguine as to this resource, characteristically hopes much from science and nothing from legislation.

iii. Leroy-Beaulieu also hopes for the contribution to a prospective family made by spinsters who expect to be married. 'The girl accumulating a *dot* by work in the factory, in order to remain at home as a married woman and bring up her family in comfort (*dans de bonnes conditions*)—this is the only real and practicable progress' ('La femme ouvrière . . . ' p. 425). Mr. Cadbury's observations on the ways of the factory girl do not encourage us to hope much from this resource in this country at present. 'Only in very few cases are they (savings) accumulated in readiness for a marriage outfit' ('Women's Work and Wages,' p. 244 and context). But we may suppose an improvement in economic character as well as conditions.

iv. A more obvious compensation to men for the loss of wages—not, like the preceding, indirectly resulting from the circumstance which occasions that loss—would be afforded by an extension of the allowance now made in furtherance of education. They should be in *kind*; conforming to Mill's principle that what Government may provide with most propriety is the commodities which people would not have spontaneously demanded (*Pol. Econ.*, v. xi., 8).

These compensations may suffice to meet the male objection to removing restrictions on female competition.

For the further object of equalising the application of resources to the nurture of children within each grade a further extension of the last-named allowances (21, iv.) may be risked. But they should be guarded against the dangers objected to the endowment scheme (20, ii., iii. and iv.). Are those dangers sufficiently guarded against by Miss M. E. Bulkley when, in a work prefaced approvingly by Mr. R. H. Tawney, she recommends the provision of a free meal for all schoolchildren ('Feeding of Schoolchildren,' pp. 223-6)? The cost would be 12,500,000*l.* a year. That is for one meal, dinner. But of course breakfast would often be required (p. 228).

v. A plan for equalising the burden of dependent children would be especially serviceable in the case when the family is larger than the average. That case might be met by the comparatively modest subsidy proposed by Mr. Seebohm Rowntree ('Human Needs'). He estimates that the allowance necessary to secure physical efficiency 'in case of more than three dependent children' would come to only 8,000,000*l.* (if only families with incomes below a certain figure are to be subsidised).

Here may be the place to observe that Mr. Rowntree's proposal to treat widows with dependent children more generously than at present is not nearly so open to the objections above enumerated as the endowment of motherhood in general.

vi. Some further suggestions may be obtained from the schemes now under consideration in Australia. It is proposed to levy on every employer a tax of so much per employee, and from the proceeds to form a fund which is to be distributed among mothers according to the size (perhaps also the needs) of the family. The proposal—like that of the Endowment Committee—probably owes its chance of being accepted partly to the belief that the cost of the plan will not fall on those who are benefited by the plan, but on the employer, or the capitalist, or that supposed independent and abundant resource, the State.

But if equality of provision for children within each class is sincerely desired—without the *arrière pensée* of equalising the incomes of different classes—a simpler plan is suggested. It is open to any association of men—a trades union for example—to resolve that each member of the association should contribute a quota of his earnings towards the formation of a fund which is to be distributed among the wives of members in accordance with the size of their families. This plan would be much less open to the objections above enumerated than the endowment of motherhood by the State. It would not disturb the labour market or the financial system. It would not require legislation. Persuasion would suffice. Those who believe that such equalisation is desirable, and that there is a chance of its being accepted, should start a campaign of argument and exhortation. Bachelors and childless husbands should be persuaded to support a fund by which they may hope one day themselves to benefit as future fathers of families.

22. To sum up; equal pay for equal work, in the sense of free competition between the sexes, has been advocated, with some reservations and adjustments. Desperate disordered competition, tending to the degradation of labour, is supposed to be excluded. There are suggested compensations to families for the loss sustained by the male breadwinner through the increased competition of women. Among such compensations the endowment of motherhood on a large scale by the State is not included. The advantages weighed are economic in a strict sense. The balance may be affected when welfare or well-being in a wider sense is taken into account.

APPENDIX.

[The references are to the sections of the text and to the paragraphs of the sections.]

1. Locke considers that the 'complexedness' of moral ideas renders demonstration difficult. But 'clearly distinct ideas,' though moral, admit of demonstration ('Human Understanding,' book iv., ch. 3, ss. 8, 19). We may extend this remark from demonstration of certainties

to deduction of probabilities (*loc. cit.*, ch. 17, s. 2); and so hope that the reasoning about welfare in the sequel may be as legitimate, if only the ideas are clearly distinct, as the more familiar purely economic reasoning proposed to the present study.

2, par. 1. The definition given by the (majority of the) War Cabinet Committee is at s. 211 of their Report [Cmd. 135], 1919. Professor Bowley's definition is in the first column of p. 177 of (Appendices to) the *Report on Women in Industry* [Cmd. 167], 1919. Mrs. Fawcett adopts Miss Eleanor Rathbone's definition, which is substantially identical with our first definition, the one proper to the present study (*Economic Journal*, 1918, p. 3). It is quoted in part below (14).

2, par. 3. The isolation professed by Jevons is perhaps more easily maintained in dealing with Exchange and Interest than when with respect to Population. When considering the future of a population as affected by different economic conditions it is natural to have in mind a quantity of the kind which Burke, referring to the population of America, described as 'so large a mass of the interests and feelings of the human race.' I follow, however, classic precedent when I include in the present study, though purporting to be purely economic, some reference to the effect of proposed measures on the growth and condition of the population (below, 20, iv., *et passim*).

2, par. 3. It may well be that the 'complexedness' (above note to s. 1) of the objective aggregate, the national income (as to which see Bowley, *Economic Journal*, March 1922), may exceed that of the subjective aggregate, which will constitute the central conception of the sequel dealing with welfare.

4. As to the relation between maximum and greatest possible advantage, see Pigou, 'Economics of Welfare,' Part II., ch. ii., s. 7 *et seq.*, restating the doctrine of his 'Wealth and Welfare,' which has been paraphrased by the present writer in the *Economic Journal* for June, 1913, p. 215.

4, (*bis*). As to the effect of subsidies see Pigou, 'Economics of Welfare,' Part V., ch. vii., s. 3, restating 'Wealth and Welfare,' Part III., ch. viii., s. 3. *A priori*, if we construct Supply-and-Demand curves of the ordinary type, the abscissa representing the quantity of work offered, and the ordinate the corresponding rate of wage, different cases are presented. If the Supply curve consists of a horizontal line at a certain height, corresponding to the classical conception that any amount of labour will be forthcoming at the cost fixed by the labourer's necessaries, then the effect of a small or moderate bounty will be to lower wages by the full amount of the supplement. A case like this is supposed in sections 4 and 20. But the effect of a considerable subsidy may well be to alter the balance between work and leisure, to change the shape of the Supply curve, raising it and rendering it inelastic in such wise as to make the market better for competitors that are not subsidised. Examples of both results, according to circumstances, will be found in the evidence given by Miss Collett and others before the Commission on Home Work, 1907, No. 86. It will not be irrelevant to quote Miss Collet's judgment about the effect of a large subsidy. 'The girl who earns 100*l.* a year by her work and receives

another 100*l.* a year in one form or another from her father is in all probability not underselling anyone, but may, even by her liberal views of what is a good salary, be inciting her less luxurious colleagues to raise their standard of living and remuneration' (*Economic Journal*, 1898, p. 544).

4 (*ter*). On the all-important question where to draw the line which separates the genuine labour market from those whom it is desired to rule out as spoiling the market, I cannot pretend to an important opinion. It may be granted that strong measures and exceptional treatment are required for the 'residuum of persons who are physically, mentally, or morally incapable of doing a good day's work with which to earn a good day's wage' (Marshall, 'Principles,' p. 714, ch. 5). But it is often proposed to fix a minimum at a higher point; so high as to exclude great numbers. Consider, for example, a case suggested by Professor Taussig ('Minimum Wage for Women,' *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 1915). Suppose that a large proportion (we need not suppose with Taussig a large majority) of the women in a community living at home, and so realising the advantages of co-operation, 'the economy of family life,' do well for themselves and the families by earning $6 a week. They are not to be ruled out as 'parasitic'; given that the family would be worse off if an earning daughter were removed (*loc. cit.*, pp. 418-419). Now suppose that the 'necessary cost of proper living' for a woman dependent on herself is authoritatively determined to be $8 a week. Would it be 'immoral' on the part of the home-residents to take less than $8, as might perhaps be inferred from some authoritative dicta? (Cp. *Economic Journal*, 1915, p. 627, and 'What we want and why,' 1922, p. 245.) What is to be done about independent women workers in such a labour market? Shall we adjust the minimum wage to the family rather than the individual? (Cp. Marshall, *loc. cit.*, especially note to p. 419.) I do not feel able to add to what Professor Taussig has wisely written on the subject.

It should be recalled that throughout this inquiry we are abstracting humanitarian considerations; on classical lines we are seeking purely economic advantages, including the production of an efficient progeny.

5. The advantages theoretically obtainable by the scientific protection of infant industries are well exhibited by Professor H. O. Meredith (*Economic Journal*, 1906). But he adds: 'I know no case in which Protection has demonstrably done more good than harm.'

6. The property of a maximum referred to as relevant to the present study and the sequel is thus stated by Dr. Marshall: 'When the adjustment is such as to give the best results a slight change in the proportions in which they (resources) are applied diminishes the efficiency of that adjustment by a quantity which is very small relatively to that change—in technical language, it is of "the second order of smalls"' ('Principles of Economics,' p. 409, note, edition 5). Mr. Bickerdike has made an interesting application of the property to the theory of Free Trade (*Economic Journal*, Dec. 1906). His argument is discussed by the present writer in the *Economic Journal*, for September 1908. As a simple illustration of the property under consideration there is adduced the incident that in the neighbourhood of

the summer solstice during eight days there is no change at all in the length of the day as given in 'Whitaker's Almanack'; whereas in other months there is a difference of two or three minutes from day to day. A more exact illustration may be obtained from the 'Nautical Almanac.' There the average hourly change in the distance of the sun from the celestial equator (due to his movement on the celestial sphere along the ecliptic) is given from day to day. For the year 1923, on June 22 the variation of the ('apparent') Declination in an hour (at noon) is given (in the volume published in 1920) as .04 of a second (angular measure). Whereas on March 19 the corresponding hourly change was 59.29 seconds. Thus, considering the distance of the sun from the equator (the North Declination) as the dependent magnitude, dependent on the time, we find that the dependent magnitude when in the neighbourhood of its maximum varies per unit of the independent variable by an amount which is 1,482 times less than the variation at another date. The contrast is less striking, but still marked, if we observe a neighbourhood less close to the maximum and do not select the most favourable date for the purpose of comparison. The change in the neighbourhood of a maximum (or minimum) would often be thirty times less than the change at a distance. Similar contrasts are presented by the Declination of the Moon; for which the average change per period of ten minutes is calculated for every hour. With less precision than in physical science (it is not ours to calculate what will happen in every ten minutes of 1923), this characteristic property of a maximum is fulfilled in economics.

An illustration from the theory of monopoly is given in the *Economic Journal*, 1908, p. 401, where the law of demand is supposed (after Cournot) to be

$$y = a / (400 + p^2).$$

9. Among the many who, following J. S. Mill (*Pol. Econ.* II. xiv, 5), have noticed the crowding of women into comparatively few occupations may be specially mentioned Mr. J. H. Jones, who contributes the supplementary proposition that these occupations (before the War) 'resembled each other far more closely than they resembled the avenues which were closed to them (women) by rule or custom' (*Report on Women in Industry* [Cmd. 167], 1919, p. 182, col. 2, par. 2). Query whether much importance now attaches to the supplementary proposition submitted by Leroy-Beaulieu ('Le travail des femmes . . .' p. 136) that the specially feminine occupations do not admit of much division of labour or frequent intervention of mechanism?

10. The grounds of the assertion that the equilibrium of the labour market is apt to be, even theoretically, somewhat indeterminate are to be sought in the writer's essay on 'Mathematical Psychics.' We may begin by considering two extreme abstract cases: (1) a market consisting of an equal number of masters and men; subject to the conditions (α) that no man can (or at least does) serve two masters simultaneously, (β) no master employs more than one man; (2) a market in which the number of masters (though absolutely large, and so favourable to competition) is small relatively to the number of men; subject to con-

dition α, but not to condition β. In the first case equilibrium is thoroughly indeterminate (*op. cit.* p. 46). In the second case the employers competing against each other can beat down profits to a determinate point (the point ηξ in fig. 1 on p. 28, the point T in fig. 5 on p. 114 *op. cit.*) But when a start is made at a point more favourable than that to the men, the competition of the men against each other (owing to condition α) being imperfect, there does not exist a determinate position towards which the higgling of the market will tend. It may be presumed that this conclusion remains true of the concrete labour market in which condition α is almost universally fulfilled.

10, par. 2. On the utilitarian principle of distribution, in the absence of perfect competition, I may refer to what I have said in the *Economic Journal*, 1897, p. 552, and to my lecture on 'The Relations of Political Economy to War,' p. 15 *et seq.*

11. Plato hardly commits himself ('Republic,' 455D) to the statement too roundly attributed to him by Grote 'that women were inferior to men in weaving no less than in other things.' But no doubt he considered them to be generally less efficient: ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἀσθενέστερον γυνὴ ἄνδρος.

11 (*bis.*) Professor Cannan, in his important contribution to our subject ('Wealth,' p. 202 *et seq.*), realises the difficulty of comparing the earnings of a children's nurse with those of her brother in his occupation of, say, carting coal. Professor Cannan appears to regard as possible what I have described as probable, that even if all restrictions on entry into occupations and on education were removed, the field within which women show themselves superior to men would continue to be smaller than that in which men show themselves superior to women (*loc. cit.* p. 205—the smaller capacity implied in this statement may be 'in part the explanation' of the present lower wages of women).

12. With respect to the presumption that, even if all restrictions were removed, the (time-) earnings of women would normally be less than those of men, some specific evidence is forthcoming in the case of the cotton-weaving industry—a strong case if women are particularly well qualified for that work. Yet even in that industry, 'though the earnings are computed on the same table of piece-work prices, the men average more per week than the women' (Mrs. Sidney Webb, *New Statesman*, August 1914, p. 525). This statement is borne out by the 'Report on Earnings and Hours' [Cmd. 4545], 1906, where the average weekly earnings for men are stated to be 29*s.*, for women 18*s.* 8*d.* (p. xxxv).

14. With reference to 'secondary' differences between the sexes, Mr. J. H. Jones's observations on the 'potentiality' of the worker (*Report on Women in Industry* [Cmd. 167], p. 185, col. 1) are instructive. They show that 'equal pay (in our sense) would mean to the employer a higher piece-rate for the man than the woman for precisely the same job . . . economic value is not always fully represented in the actual product from week to week.'

14 (*bis*). With respect to the two systems whereby secondary differences can be allowed for, either two separate rates for men and

women (ι and ι'), or one common rate (ι''), Prof. Henry Clay well says: 'While the second system (of which the one first named here may be considered a species) is theoretically more economical, I do not think it is practicable. Except where a district list of straight piece-rates is possible, varying earnings are a cause of discontent and friction. Varying rates, whether time or piece, are difficult to establish, because productivity is difficult to measure. . . . A single rate . . . is the only safe policy to pursue'; 'it is probably cheaper to face the disadvantages of the single-rate system' ([Cmd. 167], p. 178, col. 2). Cp. Mrs. Sidney Webb [Cmd. 135], p. 280.

14 (*ter*). The student may be advised to illustrate the working of the different systems diagrammatically. The following hints may be serviceable. Represent the number of employees in an occupation in which only men or only women are employed by a segment of the abscissa, and draw an ordinate representing the normal weekly wage for an individual in that occupation. In the case of an occupation in which both sexes are employed the segment may be divided into two parts; the right representing the number of men, the left the number of women. The ordinate on the right would generally be higher than the one on the left. The *rates* might be represented by perpendiculars to the abscissa measured downwards. The effect of substituting for the rate which would be best in the absence of secondary differences, either a system of two rates, 1 and $1'$, or a single rate $1''$ (<1), would be made visible.

15, par. 1. On the payment of school-teachers, Mrs. Sidney Webb, in the course of her interesting articles on the right of the woman to free entry into all occupations, in the *New Statesman* (July-August 1914), states that 'educationists think there are already too few men on the teaching staff.' In this connexion it is well said by Mrs. Webb: 'Sex, like youth or middle age, is a peculiar characteristic which sometimes qualifies and sometimes disqualifies persons for particular tasks.'

19, par. 1. It is suggested that the proposed allowances would not abolish the difference of mentality which is thus well expressed by Professor Henry Clay: 'Men's wages are higher than women's, because, having as a rule dependants to maintain, men will stand out for higher wages; the social custom so established imposes itself on the considerable minority of men who have no dependants.' 'Women, having in the majority of cases only themselves to support, will not stand out for a family wage; a social custom is established in this case also' (*Report on Women in Industry* [Cmd. 167], p. 179, col. 1). This force of habit, surviving after the cause which engendered it may have been removed, no doubt weakens—though it does not, I think, remove—the objection stated below under the head iii.

19, par. 1 (*bis*). See Pigou, 'Wealth and Welfare,' pp. 88-89, 321 *et seq*; and 'Economics of Welfare,' Book V., ch. iii., s. 8—where reference is made to the present writer's statement of the proposition as a postulate implied in the theory of free trade.

21, pars. 5 and 6. The objection numbered iv. would not be applicable to Professor Karl Pearson's scheme of endowment, according to

which ' Births beyond the sanctioned number would receive no recognition ' (' Free Thought,' p. 444). Nor would objection v. be valid against Professor W. McDougall's proposal to differentiate in favour of the better breeds ' (' National Decay ').

21, par. 11. The origin and features of the Australian plans for the endowment of children are described in the *Economic Journal*, 1921, by Professor Heaton. (See also Miss Eleanor Rathbone's description of the South Australian scheme in that Journal, 1922). Justice Higgins's classical decision in 1907 had defined as a ' fair and reasonable ' minimum or ' living ' wage one which provided for ' the normal needs of the average employee regarded as a human being living in a civilised community '; these needs including the support of a wife and three children. In 1920 it was found (by the Royal Commission on the Cost of Living), partly by taking account of the rise in prices, partly through the use of statistics not available to Justice Higgins in 1907, that to carry out his ideal of a living wage there would be required a much higher figure than he had fixed, no less than 5*l*. 16*s*. weekly for the average adult male worker. Now, as pointed out by the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Piddington, there being in Australia (in round numbers) a million workers, the resources of the country would not be sufficient to furnish an average wage of this amount. But he added that so high a wage would not be required in order to make provision for children. Say there were 900,000 dependant children in all, and that 12*s*. a week was an adequate provision for each child. By giving the average workman enough to support three children provision would be made for supporting three million children—above two million ' phantom children ' in addition to the actual numbers. Accordingly he proposes to fix 4*l*. as the basic wage sufficient to support man and wife without children, and to make provision for the children by a tax of so much per employee, payable by the employer.

Suppose now (as in the text above) that the children's fund is raised by (associations of) the workers themselves. The Australian statistics enable us to form an idea of the quota which would be required from each member. On Mr. Piddington's reckoning it was thought reasonable that, while a million times 4*l*. per week accrued to the workers, 900,000 × 12*s*. should be provided for the children. Supposing, then, that the whole of the provision came directly out of the workers' hands (4*l*. remaining for the use of man and wife), this would mean that on an average the worker contributed to the children's fund 10.8*s*. out of a wage of 90.8*s*., that is, about 11 per cent. The proportion might be applied to actual earnings, as distinguished from a legal minimum, in other countries (with correction if necessary for a difference in the proportion of young children to adult men). The provision for children would not be so generous as that demanded by the Endowment Committee. But it would avoid some of the objections to their scheme.

RAILWAY PROBLEMS OF AUSTRALIA.

ADDRESS BY

PROFESSOR T. HUDSON BEARE, B.A., B.Sc., D.L.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

In 1914 the Association held its annual meeting in Australia, and, thanks to the excellent arrangements made by the Local Committees and the Commonwealth and State Governments, the visiting members had exceptional facilities for travelling over extensive areas of the great island continent. The visitors on arriving in Western Australia found that they were still cut off from the rest of Australia by a sea journey of 1025 miles, the East-West Transcontinental Railway being then still uncompleted; they also found later on that the railway journeys from Melbourne to Sydney and from Sydney to Brisbane involved in each case a change of carriage at an intermediate station, owing to break of gauge; they thus had practical experience of the need of the solution of the two railway problems I propose to discuss in this address.

I began my professional career in the service of the Public Works Department of South Australia, at that time engaged on an important scheme of railway development in the rich wheat-growing northern areas of that province, under what was called the Boucaut policy, and I have since that date followed closely the development of the railway systems of Australia, as in the methods of construction and working there were important differences from railway practice in this country. While in Australia in 1914 I specially devoted my time to a study of the two great problems which were then and are still engaging the attention of the people of the Commonwealth—namely, (1) the unification of the existing railway gauges, which are such a serious handicap to railway transportation between the various States, and (2) the opening up of the tropical areas of North Australia by a system of railways linking up with the existing railway systems of the southern and eastern areas of the continent.

The first is a problem which in great measure affects only the people of Australia, though, as will be shown later, its solution involves the expenditure of such a large sum of money—much of which will go in the purchase of permanent way material and rolling-stock—that the manner in which it is solved must be a matter of considerable interest to the iron and steel industries of this country. The second question is one which I venture to suggest is of paramount importance to the whole of the Empire. The future safety of Australia depends upon securing such a rapid increase in the rate of the growth of its population that any idea of a hostile attack upon it would become a hopeless proposition. The vast empty spaces of Central and North Australia are a temptation to the rapidly increasing races of certain Asiatic

countries, which must be removed if the white Australian policy is to be maintained, as I personally hope it will be. It is impossible to expect any satisfactory development of the natural resources of the tropical areas of Australia, and the much-needed closer settlement, until there are safe and speedy means of communication between this part of Australia and the southern and eastern areas; this can only be provided by railways.

Unification of Gauge.

When railway construction was started about 1854—practically simultaneously in New South Wales and Victoria—it was intended to adopt the 5 ft. 3 in. gauge in both States, but a change of professional adviser at Sydney brought about a change of view, and the New South Wales Government decided to adopt the standard 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge, and this gauge has been maintained up to the present date on all the New South Wales railways. Victoria, on the other hand, adopted the 5 ft. 3 in. gauge from the first, and has, with the exception of a trifling length of 2 ft. 6 in. gauge track, built all her State lines on that gauge. South Australia, when railway construction was begun in 1855, also chose the 5 ft. 3 in. gauge and adhered to this gauge for some years; later on, however, in order to reduce the first cost of construction, a considerable length of railway mileage was constructed on the 3 ft. 6in. gauge. Queensland and Western Australia, when they began railway construction, selected the 3 ft. 6 in. gauge because of the possibilities the narrower gauge offered in reduction of capital outlay. Briefly, therefore, four of the five mainland States have uniform gauges in their respective areas, and there are three of these gauges—5 ft. 3 in., 4 ft. 8½ in., and 3 ft. 6 in.—while the fifth State has two gauges, 5 ft. 3 in. and 3 ft. 6 in. The Commonwealth, when it was decided to build the East-West transcontinental line, chose the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge.

As soon as the four capitals—Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane—were connected by railways the delays and additional working expenses inevitable with any change of gauge began to be realised, and as early as 1888 Mr. Eddy, Chief Commissioner for the New South Wales Railways, drew attention to the matter and urged that steps should be taken to secure unification of gauges. In 1897 a Premiers' conference, held in Adelaide, instructed the various State railway commissioners to report on the whole question of the unification of gauges. A conference was therefore held in Melbourne in August 1897, and this conference unanimously agreed to recommend that 4 ft. 8½ in. be adopted as the standard Australian gauge; the decision was based on the fact that it would be cheaper to convert the 5 ft. 3 in. to 4 ft. 8½ in., and that 3 ft. 6 in. was too narrow a gauge for main-line traffic. It was estimated that the cost of unification would be about 23,600,000*l*. None of the States took any steps to carry out the recommendations of the conference.

In 1903 it became necessary to decide upon the gauge which should be adopted for the East-West transcontinental line to connect Western Australia with the eastern provinces, the length of the line being about

1063 miles. A conference of the Engineers-in-Chief of the five States unanimously recommended that 4 ft. 8½ in. should be the gauge of this important line, and eventually the line was built on this gauge. This decision was later on confirmed at a meeting in 1911 of the Railway War Council, attended also by the Chief Commissioners of the various State Railways.

Mr. Hales, a well-known engineer of Launceston, Tasmania, in 1911 urged the Commonwealth Government to reconsider the question as to which gauge should be adopted as the standard for the whole of Australia: he was of opinion that the 5 ft. 3 in. gauge would enable locomotives of 20 per cent. more power to be used as compared with the 4 ft. 8½ in., and 10 per cent. more traffic could be carried on the same mileage, and that it would be easier to secure a market for discarded 4 ft. 8½ in. stock. Mr. H. Deane, the Chief Engineer of Railways to the Commonwealth, was, as a result of Mr. Hales' memorandum, instructed to reconsider the whole question of the standard gauge and to report as to whether it would be advisable to reverse the earlier decisions and to select the 5 ft. 3 in. gauge. Mr. Deane in his report advised that the decision to adopt the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge should be adhered to; he was opposed to the adoption of any narrower gauge than that, and he pointed out that a 5-chain curve could be used even on a 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge track under certain conditions, and that such lines had been constructed not only in Australia but in other countries. On the other hand, the speed limit for a 3 ft. 6 in. line was far below that which could be safely adopted on a 4 ft. 8½ in. line, even on a straight track in flat country. In concluding his report Mr. Deane urged the need of a prompt settlement of the matter, as each of the States was steadily increasing its railway mileage and every year unification was postponed meant that the cost would be steadily mounting up. Unification of the gauges would facilitate the transfer of rolling-stock from one State to another during any emergency, and considerable economies in running expenses would be obtained by better utilisation of existing stock; for example, a train from Sydney, reaching Albury (the change-of-gauge station) in the early morning, was compelled under existing conditions to remain idle in that station all day before returning to Sydney.

With regard to the method of conversion, Mr. Deane advocated the third-rail method, and he gave in his report a brief account of the various methods which had been adopted in other countries where unification of gauges had been carried out. In the United States, where the rolling-stock is always of the bogie type, the method adopted had been to remove the bogies of one gauge and substitute those of the other—quite a cheap and convenient method, but obviously impossible with four-wheeled stock. Various methods had been suggested for dealing with the problem of four-wheeled stock, such as the use of divided axles with inside bearings or a sliding axle, but there were serious practical difficulties in both methods, and both methods introduced a sense of insecurity. Another method, which had been proposed by Mr. Bolton, was to fit a third wheel just inside one of the wheels of the broader gauge stock; again, there were substantial practical difficulties—the third wheel must be kept always on one side of the track, without

turning the vehicle, and it would be difficult to carry this out at junctions where branch lines came in from both the right and the left. Mr. Deane's own idea was that the third rail producing a mixed gauge would be the best solution of the problem. This would involve difficulties at points and crossings. Mr. Brennan, the well-known torpedo expert, had prepared a design for compound switches, and a model of this had been made at the Sydney Railway Interlocking Workshops. Mr. Deane was of opinion that this design of Mr. Brennan would probably overcome the difficulties introduced by the use of the third rail, and he suggested to the Commonwealth Government that two or three full-size sets of the switches should be constructed and tried at an important junction station. Mr. Deane was of opinion that the change-over as regards Victoria and South Australia, if carried out on these lines, would occupy from five to ten years. The table which follows gives the lengths of the various gauges, the original capital cost, and the cost per mile of the State Railways on June 30, 1910, that is at the date when Mr. Deane was preparing this report.

Mileage and Gauge of Australian Railways on June 30, 1910.

State	Gauge			Capital Cost	Cost per Mile
	5 ft. 3 in.	4 ft. 8½ in.	3 ft. 6 in.	£	£
New South Wales	—	3,643	—	48,925,348	13,430
Victoria . .	3,383	—	—	42,453,801	12,549
South Australia .	599	—	—	6,670,794	11,136
South Australia .	—	—	1,313¼	7,737,738	5,892
Northern Territory	—	—	145½	1,180,155	8,111
Queensland .	—	—	3,661	24,336,372	6,648
Western Australia	—	—	2,144½	11,377,062	5,305
Tasmania . .	—	—	445¾	3,949,441	8,860
Total . .	3,982	3,643	7,710	146,630,711	—

In 1913 a further conference of the Engineers-in-Chief was held, and this conference adopted two resolutions of considerable importance:

1. That it was advantageous that the work of unification should be undertaken at once, since the longer the work was delayed the greater would be the cost.

2. That the relative advantages of the 5 ft. 3 in. and the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauges from the point of view of efficiency and economy of working, and discarding the question of interest on cost of conversion, approximately balanced one another, and that, since the cost of conversion of the wider to the narrower gauge was much less than for the converse operation, they recommended the adoption of the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge.

This conference estimated that the cost of converting all the railway lines of Australia to the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge would be 37,164,000*l.*, but, if it were decided merely to unify the main-line routes connecting the various capitals, the cost would be 12,142,000*l.* Of this latter sum the new lines which would be required would account for 4,847,000*l.*, and the conversion of the existing 5 ft. 3 in. lines (all the Victorian but only some of the South Australian) would cost 7,295,000*l.*

This conference emphasised the need of an early solution of the problem by drawing attention to the fact that, while the cost of converting the New South Wales 4 ft. 8½ in. lines to 5 ft. 3 in. had been estimated in 1897 at about 4,250,000*l.*, the conference now estimated that this work would cost 19,250,000*l.*; and, similarly, the cost of converting the Victorian and South Australian 5 ft. 3 in. lines to 4 ft. 8½ in. had been estimated in 1897 at 2,250,000*l.*, and the new estimate was 7,250,000*l.* To account for this greatly increased cost it was pointed out that in the sixteen years which had elapsed between these two estimates being prepared the railway mileage in New South Wales had nearly doubled, traffic and rolling-stock had greatly increased, and the cost of wages and materials had gone up from between 50 per cent. to 150 per cent.

The decision of the Commonwealth Government to adopt the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge for the East-West transcontinental line, and the construction of that line on that gauge, ought to have settled definitely the choice of the standard railway gauge for Australia, but the question was reopened, and a Royal Commission was appointed on February 8, 1921, to report on the whole question of the standard gauge which should be adopted for Australian railways, and to submit estimates of the cost of conversion and recommendations as to how the work should be carried out. This Royal Commission unanimously recommended that the previous decisions as to the adoption of the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge should be adhered to; they were of opinion that no important gain in the carrying capacity of the railways would be secured by using the wider 5 ft. 3 in. gauge, while the reduction in the cost of conversion would be considerable if the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge were adhered to.

Much confusion has arisen in discussing the gauge question by the failure on the part of many of those who took part in the controversy to appreciate the difference between 'track gauge' and 'load or structure gauge.' At the present time locomotives are in use on 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge lines giving a static pressure of 35,000 lb. between the rail head and the wheel tread, and such a pressure produces probably the maximum permissible deformation in the metal of the rail head and the wheel tread, hence it is the quality of the metal used in the rails and in the tyres which determines ultimately the carrying capacity of the 4 ft. 8½ in. or any other gauge. On the other hand, the structure gauge determines the density the load must have in order to load the wheels to their maximum capacity; and it is, therefore, to structural gauge changes that attention should in the first place be given. The Australian 1905 uniform structure gauge, when outside cylinder locomotives are used, permits, as a matter of fact, the use of bigger diameter engine cylinders on a 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge track than on a 5 ft. 3 in. gauge line, as shown in the lantern plate. On the other hand, the 5 ft. 3 in. gauge permits a higher centre of gravity with the same stability and ease of riding, but this higher centre of gravity is unobtainable with the usual goods traffic on Australian lines. Undoubtedly it would cost less to change from the wider to the narrower gauge than to carry out the converse operation, since in the former the same sleepers can be used, and no changes in banks, cuttings, and ballast are required, and in the conversion of the rolling-stock the change

from the wider to the narrower means shortening the axles of the rolling-stock wheels, a simple matter, while to carry out the reverse operation of lengthening these axles would be practically impossible. At the present time there are about 60,000,000 sleepers on the Australian railway lines, of which about half are on the 3 ft. 6 in. gauge lines. The average life of a sleeper in Australia is about twenty years, and, therefore, the annual renewals run to about 3,000,000 sleepers, but, owing to the results of war conditions, the annual renewals at the present time are nearly 5,000,000. Some 75 per cent. of the 3 ft. 6 in. sleepers now in use are 7 ft. long, and such a sleeper could be used with a 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge if for each rail four new 8-ft. long sleepers were introduced along with old 7-ft. sleepers, one at each end and the other two equally spaced in between, provided that only 60-lb. rails were used and that the traffic was neither heavy nor fast. If such an arrangement were adopted there would be a saving of something like 12,500,000 sleepers during the process of conversion of the gauges.

The Commission considered very carefully the various proposals which had been made to obviate the need of the conversion of the running track, such as, for example, the third-rail method and the many mechanical devices which had been suggested for allowing the same rolling-stock to be run over different gauges, and unanimously turned them all down; in fact, a special board of experts had been appointed in 1918 to examine and report upon a number of these mechanical devices and suggestions, and had been unable to report favourably on any of them. All such devices were merely in the nature of temporary plans for postponing the ultimate conversion to a uniform gauge; they therefore involved additional expenditure and an increase in the final total cost of conversion. The Commission recommended that the unification should be carried out gradually by shifting one of the two rails of the 5 ft. 3 in. gauge inwards, and shifting both the rails in the case of the 3 ft. 6 in. gauge outwards, the work to be done in stages and temporary change stations to be arranged for, the traffic being diverted as far as necessary while the length of track between two change stations was being altered.

This Royal Commission went very fully into the cost of the work of conversion; first, for the provision of a main line only on one gauge from Fremantle to Brisbane, leaving all other State lines unconverted; and, secondly, from the point of view of bringing the whole railway system of Australia to one uniform 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge, and independent estimates were prepared for each scheme.

Cost for Converting the Main Line only, from Fremantle to Brisbane, to a Uniform 4 ft. 8½ in. Gauge.

Three alternative routes were proposed (as shown in the lantern plates):

Route	Cost	Length of Track. Miles
	£	
A . . .	17,850,000	3,356
B . . .	19,583,000	3,243
Modified A . . .	18,579,000	3,356

It may be pointed out that the present mileage from Fremantle to Brisbane is 3,448 miles, and that the chief reduction in the mileage would be brought about by adopting a coastal route from Sydney to Brisbane instead of the present route, shortening the distance between these capitals from 715 to 616 miles. If the main-line route alone were provided for, serious complications and a great increase in the cost of operating the unconverted 5 ft. 3 in. lines in Victoria and South Australia would ensue, and the Commission therefore were of opinion that the other 5 ft. 3 in. lines in both States would have to be converted at once to the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge, bringing up the total cost to somewhere about 21,600,000*l*.

Conversion of all Lines to the 4 ft. 8½ in. Gauge.

The Royal Commission estimated this would involve a capital expenditure of about 57,200,000*l*.; this estimate made provision for the necessary transfer temporary stations as well as the actual work of conversion, but did not provide anything for the cost of transfer of goods and passengers during the transition period, or for interest on capital expenditure while the work was being carried out.

The Commission recommended the appointment of a director to carry out the whole work, who should be assisted by a competent professional staff. In forwarding their report to the Commonwealth Government the Chairman raised the important question as to whether the huge expenditure which would be required would be justified under existing conditions of the money market and the present high cost of all engineering works.

Method of Changing the Track from the 5 ft. 3 in. Gauge to the 4 ft. 8½ in. Gauge suggested by the Royal Commission.

On the existing 5 ft. 3 in. lines the rails are usually canted inwardly from about 1 in 20 to 1 in 26, though actually in practice the canting varies from 1 in 12 to 1 in 40, and at crossings the rails are kept flat. As far as is known at the present time there is no practical or theoretical reason why one rail of a track should not be on the flat while the other rail is on a cant. It would much facilitate the work of removing inwards one of the rails if this rail could be laid on the sleeper in its new position on the flat, the other rail being left undisturbed. It would be desirable, however, to test this question experimentally by actually altering one of the rails on a short length of existing main track from the canted to the flat position; if it were found that high-speed traffic could be safely carried on under such a condition, the experiment might be further extended by converting to this condition a length of about 50 to 60 miles; if again the running results were satisfactory, this method might be adopted throughout during the process of conversion. If this plan were adopted there would be no necessity to adze the sleepers for the new rail position, and the only operation required on the sleepers would be the boring of the holes for the dog spikes in the new position of the rail; this could be done throughout before any attempt was made to move the rails. It would be better from the point of view of securing a symmetrical position of the rails on the sleepers to move both rails inwardly by the necessary small amount,

but this would involve boring double sets of holes, and one set of holes on each side could not be bored out until the rails were lifted from their existing position. The work could be carried out in the following order: Temporary permanent-way gangs would carry out the work of adzing (if this were necessary) and boring the sleepers for the new position of the rails, and would partly drive in most of the inside spikes for the new location of the rail, drawing at the same time many of the old inside spikes. When this work was complete the next operation would be to draw the remaining spikes of the rails to be shifted and then to push inwards the rails in long lengths; there would be no necessity to interfere with any of the fish-plates. The permanent gangs of platelayers would follow up the work of these temporary gangs and would complete the accurate gauging and spiking of the track, and at the same time they would draw any spikes left in the old position. Two constructional trains, one of the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge following up, and one of the 5 ft. 3 in. gauge going ahead, would be needed. At all tunnels and stations it would be necessary to slew over the whole track 3½ inches in order to keep the existing track centres.

With regard to the rolling-stock, if details were carefully worked out beforehand, no serious practical difficulty would occur in changing from the 5 ft. 3 in. to the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge, though, in the majority of the locomotives, new fire-boxes would be necessary besides the requisite alterations to the frames and axles.

Changing over from the 3 ft. 6 in. Gauge to the 4 ft. 8½ in. Gauge.

This would be a much more elaborate and difficult job, as both rails must be moved outwards 7½ inches, and all earthworks, bridges, and tunnels widened so as to be suitable for the increased gauge and new width of formation; there would be, therefore, considerable dislocation of traffic while the work was being carried out, and it would be necessary to divide the country up into a series of areas and deal completely with all the lines in one particular area before any work was started in another area.

Cost of Conversion.

In preparing their estimates for the cost of the conversion of the main lines only, the Commissioners based their figures on the employment of an 80-lb. rail and the necessary consequent improvements in road-bed, bridges, &c., to allow for the heavier rolling-stock which would be employed if an 80-lb. rail were in use. They had also in their estimates provided for the cost of the temporary transfer stations and the new permanent stations which would be required at Adelaide (estimated cost 500,000*l.*), Melbourne (estimated cost 880,000*l.*), Brisbane (estimated cost 150,000*l.*). If, however, it were decided to convert all the 5 ft. 3 in. lines at once to the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge, much of this costly main station expenditure would not be required. The estimate prepared by the Commissioners of the expenditure required for the work of complete conversion differs very greatly from the estimate submitted by the five State Railway authorities, and the attached table shows the enormous discrepancies between the two sets of estimates.

Estimated Cost of Converting all the Railway Lines to a Standard 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge.

State	Estimate of Royal Commissioners	Estimate of State and Commonwealth Railway Authorities
	£	£
Commonwealth . . .	2,648,000	7,320,904
Western Australia . .	11,823,000	35,669,092
South Australia . . .	8,737,000	16,782,487
Victoria . . .	8,324,000	14,798,522
New South Wales . .	—	—
Queensland	25,668,000	53,332,028
Gross total . .	£57,200,000	£127,903,033

The discrepancy arises largely from the fact that the State Railway authorities based their estimates upon a high-standard 4 ft. 8½ in. track with 80-lb. rails for every mile of line in the State. In Western Australia, for example, where the State authorities prepared a total estimate amounting to about 35,669,000*l.*, the estimate would be reduced to about 15,000,000*l.* if lighter earthworks and 60-lb. rails were adopted on most of the tracks, and in Queensland a similar procedure reduces the original estimate of 53,332,000*l.* to about 32,000,000*l.*, but even these modified State estimates greatly exceed the figures given by the Commissioners.

Chief Works required to give a Uniform 4 ft. 8½ in. Gauge Line suitable for fast, heavy Traffic from Fremantle to Brisbane.

As regards Western Australia, it will be necessary to lay a new line on the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge alongside the present 3 ft. 6 in. gauge from Perth to Kalgoorlie, and to construct an entirely new bridge over the river Swan. In South Australia there is at present a very unsatisfactory length of line on the 3 ft. 6 in. gauge, with severe gradients and awkward curves, between Terowie and Port Augusta. This would be eliminated by the construction of a new 4 ft. 8½ in. line from Port Augusta to Lochiel, and by the conversion of the existing 5 ft. 3 in. line from Lochiel to Salisbury to the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge. These two pieces of work would at once cut out two of the three present change-of-gauge stations in South Australia—viz., those at Adelaide and Port Augusta, and the Terowie change-of-gauge station would be transferred to Salisbury. The reduction in the existing heavy grades is shown by the fact that while on the present route on the 3 ft. 6 in. line there is a summit level of 2,000 ft., the summit level on the proposed new line would not exceed 400 ft. This work, if taken in hand at once, would cost about 800,000*l.*, and would in itself, without any other changes, greatly improve the present railway facilities between East and West Australia. In converting the 5 ft. 3 in. line from Adelaide to Melbourne the most important work would be a new bridge over the river Murray, suitable for the heavier rolling-stock—an expensive piece of work. In Victoria the Commissioners suggested three alternative routes, as shown in the lantern plates, but they pointed out that Route A would be very costly and difficult to work, and therefore it

would be much more satisfactory, if the remaining 5 ft. 3 in. gauge lines in Victoria were not to be converted, to adopt Route B. There is no doubt, however, that the adoption of either Route A or Route B would prove extremely unsatisfactory as regards the working of the remaining railway systems of Victoria; it would be much better to decide to convert at once the whole of the 5 ft. 3 in. Victorian lines to 4 ft. 8½ in., carrying out the work in a series of stages, as shown in the lantern plate.

Since all the New South Wales railways are on the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge, the only works required in the State would be the completion of the coastal route northwards from West Maitland; much of the constructional work on this coastal route is already completed. When it is completed as far as Richmond Gap, and when a new 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge line is built southwards from Brisbane to join the New South Wales line at Richmond Gap, a greatly superior route will be provided between the capitals of Sydney and Brisbane. The present inland route has a maximum summit level of 4,450 ft., while the coastal route would not have a greater summit level than 800 ft.

The report of the Royal Commission was considered at a Premiers' Conference held at Melbourne in November 1921. Mr. Groom, the Federal Minister of Works and Railways, in view of the enormous cost for complete conversion, advocated that the work of providing the main-line route connecting all the capitals by a 4 ft. 8½ in. high-standard line should be undertaken at once, and also the work of the conversion of all other Victorian and South Australian 5 ft. 3 in. gauge lines to 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge. The total cost of these two pieces of work would be about 21,000,000*l*. The Premier of South Australia, however, raised serious objections, the principal one being the difficulties which would arise in the working of the local railway traffic owing to the 3 ft. 6 in. lines of that State being left unchanged, and he pointed out that his State Railway officials disagreed entirely with the estimates of the Commission in regard to the cost of the conversion of all the railway lines in South Australia to the standard gauge. They were of opinion that instead of the cost amounting to about 8,737,000*l*., as estimated by the Commissioners, it would be more like 14,750,000*l*., and, in addition to this heavy capital outlay, there would be a serious loss of revenue brought about by delays in operating the traffic during the process of conversion. He was of opinion, and his views were apparently supported by the Premier of Victoria, that the whole cost of conversion of the railways in Australia to a 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge would not be far short of 100,000,000*l*. sterling, and he thought that it would be very much wiser to spend this huge sum of money on public works which would be more quickly reproductive.

The Premiers' Conference eventually accepted the decision of the Royal Commission with regard to the adoption of the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge, but postponed decision as to when the work should be undertaken.

The Australian Prime Minister in March last, in a public speech, drew attention to the steadily increasing cost of the work of conversion, and to the considerably increased loss in working the existing State and Commonwealth railways. For the year ending June 30, 1920, he

stated that after paying interest on loans and all working expenses there was a total deficit of 1,744,000*l.*, and in 1921 this had risen to 3,946,000*l.* He expressed the view that very important economies in working expenses would be brought about by unification of gauges.

In giving this summary of the history of the break-of-gauge problem of Australia I have endeavoured to arouse interest in this country in this question. A great scheme of railway work, which is to cost anything from 50,000,000*l.* to 100,000,000*l.*, and which will involve the manufacture of an enormous quantity of material, must surely be of interest to the engineers and manufacturers of this country, even if it were being carried out in a foreign country, and still more so when it is being carried out in one of our great oversea Dominions.

In spite of the decision of the Royal Commission in regard to mechanical devices for overcoming the break-of-gauge difficulties, I think the problem might still be solved by such means, though it must be admitted that none of the mechanical devices brought forward up to the present time have offered a satisfactory solution. In March last a Mr. Mathews, of Victoria, showed a model before the South Australian Railway Commissioners by which he claimed a solution of the whole problem without changes in the permanent way, except at the terminal stations where break of gauge occurred. His proposals were for certain improvements in the bogies of railway carriages and the under-carriages of trucks, so as to allow an automatic alteration from 5 ft. 3 in. to 4 ft. 8½ in. without manual labour or without power gear. Mr. Mathews claimed that a whole train could be changed to the new gauge in ten minutes, and that the only labour required for the alteration would be that of the ordinary train staff.

As I have only seen brief newspaper accounts of Mr. Mathews' proposals I can give no technical details, nor can I express any definite opinion as to the feasibility of this latest proposal. There is certainly a possibility that some mechanical device might be designed which would prove satisfactory in operation, and would postpone the need to incur at the present time the heavy charges required for complete conversion to one gauge, though undoubtedly sooner or later it is inevitable that complete conversion must be undertaken.

North-South Transcontinental Railway.

The South Australian Government, at that time in control of the Northern Territory (annexed to South Australia by Royal Letters Patent in 1863), on December 10, 1902, advertised that they were prepared to accept tenders up to May 2, 1904, for the construction on a land grant system of the 1,063 miles of railway between Oodnadatta, the northern terminus of the South Australian railway system, and Pine Creek, the southern terminus of the line from Port Darwin. The gauge was to be 3 ft. 6 in., rails not less than 60 lb. per yard, and the mileage was not to exceed 1,200 miles. This was pursuant to an Act of the South Australian Parliament passed in 1902, entitled the Transcontinental Railway Act. The lantern plate shows the proposed route.

The minimum land grant specified in the Act was 75,000 acres per mile of track; the State was prepared, therefore, to surrender about 80,000,000 acres of land as a prize for the construction of the line.

An interesting publication was issued by the State Government giving full details, as far as then known, of the nature of the country through which the line would be constructed, and of the possibilities of its future development from the agricultural, pastoral, and mining points of view. The total area of the Northern Territory was estimated at 335,116,800 acres, with a seaboard of some 1,200 miles to the Indian Ocean. The pamphlet in an appendix gave a full bibliography of the literature on Northern Australia published up to that date.

Unfortunately, owing to change of the State Ministers and to other circumstances, this scheme fell through, and no further action in the matter of the transcontinental line was taken until the control of the Northern Territory was handed over to the Commonwealth on January 1, 1911. The Commonwealth took over at the same time (1) the national debt of the Territory, largely incurred in constructing the railway line from Port Darwin to Pine Creek and other necessary works of development; (2) the 3 ft. 6 in. line from Port Augusta to Oodnadatta, the South Australian railway department continuing to work the line, but any deficit on the working and the interest on cost of construction being met by the Commonwealth Government. The Commonwealth further undertook to complete the North-South Railway under certain conditions.

The Darwin to Pine Creek railway, a 3 ft. 6 in. line, single track, with 41-lb. rails, was opened on October 1, 1889, its total length being 145½ miles; it was intended to be the first instalment of the northern portion of the transcontinental line. In 1913 the Commonwealth authorities decided to extend this line a further 54½ miles to the Katherine River, and the railway station at this river now forms the southern terminus of the line from Darwin.

In order to obtain the necessary information to enable the Commonwealth Government to implement their undertaking to complete the transcontinental railway a Royal Commission was appointed on March 28, 1913, to report upon the following matters in their relation to the development of the Northern Territory: (1) On the routes of the necessary railways and the classes of such railways; (2) the desirableness and practicability of creating new ports. The Commission, after taking evidence at Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, and Brisbane from the railway authorities and others interested in the development of North Australia, visited the Territory, and travelled by sea, by river, and on land some 3,000 miles; during their journeys local witnesses were examined, and the report of the Commissioners was submitted to the Commonwealth Government on February 20, 1914.

As a proof of the inaccessibility of this vast province from the rest of Australia, and of the need of railway development, I may mention that when returning to this country in 1914 after the meeting of the British Association in Australia, I left Sydney on the s.s. *Mataram* on October 1, and did not reach Darwin, the capital and seaport of the Territory, until October 15, the sea journey being 2,620 miles; from Brisbane it is 2,100 miles. In an interesting paragraph of their report the 1913 Commissioners point out that it takes longer to go by sea from the nearest State capital (Brisbane) to Darwin than it does to go from that port to Singapore or Hong-Kong. How perilous such a state of

things might be to the Commonwealth in certain contingencies needs no words from me to bring home to those who are fighting so strenuously for the white Australian policy.

Royal Commissioners' Suggested Railways.

The Commission recommended the following lines:—

1. The construction of the main North-South line from Katherine River to Oodnadatta via Renner and Alice Springs, mileage about 1,020 miles, the gauge to be 3 ft. 6 in., and work to be commenced from each end.

2. The construction of a branch line from the main line, near or at Katherine River, to serve the Victoria River pastoral area, should it be found impossible to give such a westerly swing to the main line from Katherine to Willeroo as would serve the same purpose.

3. The construction of a railway from a proposed new harbour in Pellew Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria to the Barkly Tablelands, the line following the McArthur Valley to Anthony's Lagoon.

The Commissioners further expressed the view that it would be essential for the Queensland Government to extend their railway systems to Camooweal, and for the Commonwealth to connect both the main North-South line and the Barkly Tablelands line by branch lines with Camooweal, so as to give direct railway connection between the Territory and the Eastern States of Queensland and New South Wales.

The Commissioners estimated the cost of the main transcontinental line at 5,000,000*l.* for a 3 ft. 6 in. gauge, and 7,500,000*l.* for a 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge.

The lantern plates show (1) routes of proposed lines; (2) isohyets for the Territory; (3) relation of proposed lines to existing Australian railway systems; (4) alternative railway routes suggested by Mr. Coombes in a minority report.)

In 1915 the House of Representatives referred to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works a proposal to extend the Darwin Railway a further distance of about 64 miles in a south-easterly direction from Katherine River Station to Bitter Springs; this would be a further link in the transcontinental line, and would open up to profitable exploitation the newly discovered tin mines at Marranboy. The cost of construction was estimated at 320,000*l.* for a 3 ft. 6 in. line, single track, 60-lb. rails, using, however, sleepers long enough for a 4 ft. 8½ in. line, should it be decided later on to change the whole line over to this gauge; the ruling gradient was to be 1 in 100, and the sharpest curve 40 chains; the time of construction was estimated as one and a-half years.

Mr. Hobler, Commonwealth Engineer for Ways and Works, stated that the cost of the Pine Creek and Katherine River extension would be 6,000*l.* per mile, and he estimated the extension to Bitter Springs (now called Mataranka) would cost 4,938*l.* per mile. He further said it was intended to make a permanent survey of a proposed further extension to the Daly Waters telegraph station, 95 miles south from Mataranka and 360 miles from Darwin. There can be no doubt that whatever route is finally adopted for the central portion of the transcontinental

line the existing telegraph route must be followed, at any rate as far as Newcastle Waters, 90 miles south of Daly Waters and 450 miles from Darwin.

The Standing Committee, in recommending that this extension be authorised, expressed the view that it was inadvisable to use the longer sleepers, and they recommended further experiments on the possibility of using reinforced concrete sleepers on steep banks and curves. On the original Darwin Pine Creek line steel sleepers were used, and these had worn well except on the coastal section, but their use on the southern extension was impossible owing to the great increase in their cost.

The 1913 Royal Commissioners in their report had recommended a westerly swing of the main line to Willeroo to serve the Victoria River district, but the Standing Committee disapproved of this suggestion, owing to the difficult nature of the country, which would much increase the cost per mile, and would considerably increase the length of the line. A Sub-Committee of three members of the Commission inspected in July and August 1916 the whole of the country along the alternative routes, and the final finding of the Standing Committee was based on the report of this Sub-Committee.

This Committee emphasised the need of settling population on the areas already opened up by railways, not merely by taking people away from other parts of Australia, but by the introduction of European settlers. This would be facilitated by inducing railway construction men to bring out their families, and by offering land settlement facilities to them when the railway construction work was completed.

Since the report of the Royal Commissioners in 1914 a fierce controversy has been going on in the Commonwealth and South Australian Parliaments and in the public Press in regard to the North-South line, and as to the precise meaning which must be attached to the words in the agreement made between the Commonwealth and the State of South Australia when the latter ceded the Northern Territory in 1911—viz., the Commonwealth shall 'construct, or cause to be constructed, a railway line from Port Darwin southwards to a point on the northern boundary of South Australia proper,' and 'construct, or cause to be constructed, as part of the Transcontinental Railway, a line from a point on the Port Augusta Railway to connect with the other part of the Transcontinental Railway at a point on the northern boundary of South Australia proper.' The Eastern States assert that it would be a waste of national money to construct the due North and South line, as so much of the country it traverses is useless for pastoral or any other purpose, and they maintain that the line should deviate easterly from, say, Newcastle Waters into Queensland to Camooweal, and that South Australian interests would be completely met by a new line in that State, running in a north-easterly direction from Maree on the Port Augusta line to a connection with the Queensland railways near Birdsville. South Australia, on the other hand, insists that a bargain is a bargain, and that this new proposal is entirely at variance with the real meaning of the terms of the agreement. They further allege that much of the land declared worthless would be quite good country for sheep and cattle rearing if railway facilities existed and if water conservation on sound lines was carried out.

In consequence of this divergence of views as to the nature of the country through which a transcontinental line would pass, a Sectional Committee of the Commonwealth Joint Standing Committee of Public Works travelled in 1921 across the continent from Oodnadatta to Darwin by motors, explored a considerable area of country both east and west of the overland telegraph line, and examined local witnesses in order to ascertain the views of those already settled in these areas as to the most suitable routes for the proposed transcontinental lines. This Committee was accompanied by Mr. Hobler, Commonwealth Engineer for Ways and Works, who had already in 1920 travelled over the Kimberley area of West Australia, and had submitted a report on the railway lines which were required in order to open up that great cattle-rearing area, and to give that district satisfactory facilities for marketing their stock.

The Standing Committee, after receiving the report of their Sectional Committee, began to take evidence in the Southern States, and at a meeting held in Sydney last May Mr. Hobler submitted a lengthy report setting forth the conclusions he had come to in regard to the best routes not merely for a transcontinental line, but for the various other railways which were required in order to connect the undeveloped tropical areas of Australia with the southern temperate districts already fairly well provided with railway facilities. Mr. Hobler's proposals were based on the principle that the pastoral and cattle industries must be considered to be the primary ones; mining development would only, he thought, begin at a later date, and agricultural developments would only start when the primary industries were firmly established and population had begun to increase.

Two alternative transcontinental routes were suggested by Mr. Hobler, with certain essential branch lines, viz.:—

Western Route.

Oodnadatta to Emun-ga-lan	(Main line) 1,018 miles .	.	Cost £12,077,803
Newcastle Waters to Camooweal	(Branch line) 359 miles .	.	Cost £3,921,750
(Average cost per mile about £11,300)			
	Total mileage . 1,377	Total cost .	£15,999,553

This proposal would apparently satisfy the claims of South Australia, and would at the same time give a direct connection between the Eastern States and the Northern Territory.

Eastern Route.

Maree to Emun-ga-lan via Boulia, Camooweal and Daly Waters	1,320 miles; Cost £14,329,864
(Average cost per mile about £11,000)	

The lantern plates show these suggested alternative routes.

The eastern route, which was the one preferred by Mr. Hobler, would mean a saving in capital cost of 1,669,689*l.*, to which would be added a further saving of 2,759,584*l.* if the widening of the existing 3 ft. 6 in. gauge line between Maree and Oodnadatta were postponed.

If this eastern route were finally adopted it would probably be necessary, in order to secure the assent of South Australia, to extend

the present 3 ft. 6 in. line from Oodnadatta to Alice Springs, 297½ miles, in order to open up for development the pastoral and mining McDonnel Range country. This line could be built at a very economical cost if permanent way, released by the widening of the existing track from Maree to Port Augusta, were utilised and practically a surface track laid, the cost working out at about 1,490,502*l.*, or 5,010*l.* per mile. Taking into consideration the cost of this line, the adoption of the eastern route would secure a saving in capital cost of 2,938,771*l.* as compared with the western route.

With regard to working expenses and receipts, the western route complete was estimated to show an annual deficit in the early years of 17,024*l.*, to which must be added interest on capital 973,927*l.*, making, therefore, an annual charge on the Commonwealth Treasury of about 1,000,000*l.* The eastern route, including the Oodnadatta to Alice Springs line, would probably have an annual excess of receipts over expenditure of 107,832*l.*, the interest on capital would be 852,638*l.*, making the annual charge on the Treasury about 744,806*l.* The eastern route would, according to these estimates, mean a saving of about 250,000*l.* sterling per annum as compared with the western route, in addition to the saving of nearly 3,000,000*l.* in the original capital outlay.

Should the eastern route be adopted Mr. Hobler anticipated a rapid development of Port Augusta. The erection of large meat works and the deepening and extension of the harbour would make this port the natural outlet for the pastoral, agricultural, and mining products of an immense area of Central Australia.

It will be seen that there is very little to choose between the two routes as regards mileage of new lines and the cost per mile. The main factor in the comparison of the two routes and the one which is most open to dispute is the expected annual charge upon the Commonwealth finance for a good number of years. Since these proposed railways are primarily development lines, they cannot possibly become a paying proposition until the expected increase of population and resultant more thorough and complete development of the great natural resources of this hitherto almost unutilised area of Australia have had time to materialise.

A very recent suggestion by the Surveyor-General of South Australia is that the transcontinental line should start from Tarcoola on the East-West line, thence run direct to Oodnadatta (a new line), from there follow the overland telegraph line to Barrows Creek, deviate then easterly, but return to the telegraph line route at Powell's Creek, and continue to follow it till it reaches the terminus of the existing line at Katherine River.

Of the two problems, the one which seems most urgent and calls for a prompt solution is the transcontinental line, with its various proposed branches. Capital can only be provided for either the unification of the gauges or for the transcontinental lines by borrowing, and it is obvious that borrowed money, for the interest on which annual provision must be made, is better spent upon railway work, which will at once increase the output of the primary products of Australia and provide work for an increased population. I would therefore urge that

an early decision should be arrived at with regard to the route of the transcontinental line, and that the work of construction should be immediately started. Mr. Hobler's scheme seems to satisfy all requirements and to involve the least capital expenditure and the least probable annual charge upon the Exchequer.

With regard to the unification of gauges, I think this work should be postponed, except in regard to two improvements which might be carried out at moderate expense. These improvements are the construction of a 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge direct line from Port Augusta to Salisbury. The southern half of this line is already constructed, or is being constructed, on the 5 ft. 3 in. gauge, and this portion could easily be converted to a 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge. From Salisbury through Adelaide and Melbourne to Albury should be maintained as it is on a 5 ft. 3 in. gauge. The second improvement would be the completion of the New South Wales coastal line from West Maitland to Richmond Gap; not very much work is required upon this, and the line is on the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge. A comparatively short new south line on this gauge from Brisbane to Richmond Gap would give an uninterrupted 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge line from Albury to Brisbane. If these two improvements were made there would be a quite appreciable shortening of the total railway mileage between Brisbane and Fremantle, and there would be only three stations on the route of 3,356 miles of track where passengers would have to change trains—viz., Albury, Salisbury, and Coolgardie.

In this question of the unification of gauges British engineers might help their brethren in Australia by devoting serious attention to the problem of devising adequate mechanical means of coping with the difficulties brought about by break of gauge. If the loading and unloading of trucks at each break-of-gauge station could be obviated the question of break of gauge would be a very unimportant one. As regards passenger traffic, it is not an important problem; it is only when heavy goods traffic has to be dealt with that the problem becomes a serious one from the point of view of working expenses and rates for transport of goods.

SECTION H.—ANTHROPOLOGY.

THE STUDY OF MAN.

ADDRESS BY

H. J. E. PEAKE,

PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

In all sciences there comes a time when it is well to pause and to take stock of our labours, to consider our position and to focus our attention upon our ultimate goal. Such a time seems to have arrived in the study of Anthropology, and, though it would have been better that the agent had been one with more right to speak for the science, this occasion seems not unfitting for the purpose.

During the last ten or twelve years a change has been creeping over the science, and the outlook has altered. Twelve years ago anthropologists in this country, with scarcely an exception, were devoting their energies to tracing out the evolution of customs, institutions, and material culture, assuming in all cases that, where similarities were found in different parts of the world, they were due to independent origins and development. It was assumed that the workings of the human mind were everywhere similar, and that, given similar conditions, similar customs and culture would originate and develop on the same lines. The evolution of civilisation was looked upon as a single line of advance, conditioned by the unalterable nature of the human mind, and that barbarian and savage cultures were but forms of arrested development, and indicated very closely past stages in the history of civilised communities.

But during the last twelve years a fresh school of thought has come into prominence. According to this new view discoveries are made but once, and when resemblances are found between the cultures of different communities, even though widely separated, this is due to some connection between them, however indirect. According to the new school of thought the development of civilisation has been proceeding by many different paths, in response to as many types of environment, but these various advances have frequently met, and from the clash of two cultures has arisen another, often different, more complex and usually more highly developed than either of its parents.

The old school looked upon the advance of culture as a single highway, along which different groups had been wandering at varying paces, so that, while some had traversed long distances, others had progressed but a short way. The new school, on the other hand, conceives of each group as traversing its own particular way, but that the paths frequently meet, cross or coalesce, and that where the greatest number of paths have joined, there the pace has been quickest.

The older school, basing its views of the development of civilisation upon the doctrine of Evolution, has called itself the Evolutionary School.

The newer, while believing no less in Evolution, feels it a duty to trace out minutely the various stages through which each type of civilisation has passed by independent inquiry, rather than to assume that these stages have followed the succession observable elsewhere; thus, as historical factors form a large part of its inquiry, it has been termed the Historical School.[1]

The first note announcing the coming change was sounded from this chair eleven years ago,[2] and during the interval which has elapsed since then the new school has gained many adherents. All of these will not subscribe to the dictum that no discovery has been made twice, for was not the safety-pin patented early in the nineteenth century by someone who must have been ignorant that the same device had been employed at the lake-dwelling of Peschiera about 1400 B.C.? Nevertheless, there is a tendency at present not to assume an independent origin for any custom or device until it has been proved that such could not have been introduced from some other area where such custom was practised or such device known.

These tendencies have led the anthropologist to inquire more fully into the history of the peoples whose civilisation he is studying, and to note, too, minute points in their environment, which may have suggested customs or modifications in practice in use elsewhere. At the same time geography, which had been growing into a more living study, and ceasing to be a mere record of places and statistics, began in some centres to take special note of man and his doings. This anthropogeography concerned itself mainly with inquiring into the reactions between man and his environment, and though at first the environment was the main object of the geographer's attention, its effect upon man has become more and more pronounced of late. Thus anthropology and geography have been drawing closer together during the last few years, and as the latter is a recognised and popular subject in the curriculum of our schools, no small amount of anthropological knowledge has been instilled into the minds of our boys and girls, and with that knowledge a still greater measure of interest in the subject.

It might have been expected that before the geographers the historians would have been attracted to the anthropological approach, but recent political events have up to now engrossed the attention of most historical students. Signs have not been lacking, however, especially during the last year, that the study of peoples and their customs, rather than of kings and politicians, is gaining ground, and we may, I think, look with confidence towards closer relations between the studies of history and anthropology in the near future.

Again, we may notice an increasing interest in our subject among sociologists and economists. These have rightly focused their attention upon the social organisation and economic well-being of highly civilised communities such as our own, with a view to presenting an orderly array of facts and principles before our political leaders. There

[1] Rivers, W. H. R., 'History and Ethnology.' *History*, v. 65-7, London (1920).

[2] Rivers, W. H. R., 'The Ethnological Analysis of Culture.' *Report of Brit. Assoc.*, 1911, 490-2.

has, however, been a tendency during the past few years to trace these modern conditions back into the past, sometimes into the remote past, and to use for purposes of comparison instances drawn from the social organisation or economic conditions of communities living under simpler conditions. While these studies must, to some extent, overlap those of the anthropologist, their methods, and especially their points of view, are different. We are working from the simple to the complex; they begin with more highly developed conditions and thence work back to the more primitive.

Lastly, we must not forget the students of the classical languages. These studies have been severely attacked of late, and their value to humanity disparaged. In spite of many advantages which they possess at schools and universities, they have been losing in popularity, and the reason is not far to seek. So long as there were fresh works to be studied and commentated, and imperfect texts to be emended and elucidated, there was no lack of devotees to classical literature. This was the case in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Later on comparative philology gave fresh life to such studies, and there was work to be done in comparing Greek with Latin and both with other Aryan tongues; certain views current among mid-nineteenth-century philologists gave also an impetus to the re-study of Greek mythology. But about 1890 such studies became unfashionable in this country, and many classical scholars, at a loss for a line of research, turned to anthropology with great advantage both to themselves and to us. This movement was crystallised by the appearance of 'Anthropology and the Classics' in 1908, and since that date the two studies have kept in the closest touch.

It is doubtless as a result of these converging movements that the general public is taking an intense interest in anthropological studies at the present time, and that works of a general nature, summing up the state of knowledge in its different branches, are in great request by the general reader. The educated public, and many, too, whose opportunities for study have been more restricted, wish to know more of the Science of Man, yet I fear they are too often perplexed by the discordant utterances of anthropologists, many of whom seem to be far from certain as to the message they have to deliver.

In their turn not a few anthropologists feel a like uncertainty as to the ultimate purpose of their studies, and are far from clear as to how the results of their investigations can be of any benefit to humanity. These are points well worthy of our serious consideration; for, as we were reminded from this chair two years ago,[3] anthropology, if it is to do its duty, must be useful to the State, or at least to humanity in general. Even the scope of the science is by no means clear to all, and would be differently defined by various students. It may not be out of place, therefore, first of all to consider in detail the scope and content of anthropology, then its aims and the services it may render to mankind.

To the outside world anthropology seems to consist of the study of

[3] Karl Pearson; Address to the Anthropological Section. *Brit Assoc. Report*, 1920, 140-1.

flint implements, skeletons, and the ways of savage men, and to many students of the subject its boundaries are scarcely more extensive. Yet civilised people also are men, and if anthropology is the science of man it should include these within its survey. That other scientists, such as historians, geographers, sociologists, and economists, study the doings of civilised man is no reason why the anthropologist should fail to take them into account, for his point of view is in many respects different from theirs. I would suggest, therefore, that all types of men, from the most civilised to the most primitive, in all times and in all places, come within the scope of anthropology.

That anthropology is the study of man is a commonplace, but we need a more accurate definition. A former occupant of this chair has declared that 'Anthropology is the whole history of man as fired by the idea of Evolution. Man in evolution—that is the subject in its full reach.' He adds: 'Anthropology studies man as he occurs at all known times. It studies him as he occurs in all known parts of the world. It studies him body and soul together.'[4]

Anthropology may, therefore, be defined as the study of the origin and evolution of man and his works, provided that we realise that the works of men's brains are as important to the anthropologist, even more important than the works of men's hands. What, then, separates anthropology from the other studies which are concerned with man and his many activities is, that the anthropologist studies man from all points of view—that his is a synthetic study; above all, that Evolution is his watchword; that his study is, in fact, not static but dynamic.

If, then, we grant that anthropology is the synthetic study of the evolution of man and his manifold activities, we are dealing with a subject so vast that some subdivision becomes necessary if we are to realise what the study involves. Such divisions or classification must, to some extent at least, be arbitrary, but in the first instance we may safely consider the subject as primarily divided into two main categories: 'man' and 'his works.'

But man himself, the human organism, cannot be considered from one aspect only, and various partitions have been made by theologians and philosophers. For his purpose it seems more fitting that the anthropologist should consider the division as twofold, that man consists of body and mind; the study of these is the special province of the anatomist and physical anthropologist on the one hand and of the psychologist on the other.

Here, again, it may be asserted that anatomy and psychology are distinct sciences, and in no way to be considered as parts of anthropology, and in a certain sense this is true. But anatomy, in so far as it helps us to understand the evolution of man from his simian ancestor, and again as it helps us to trace the variations in the human frame, and so to follow the movements of different types of men as they mingle with one another in successive ages, is and always has been reckoned a definite branch of anthropology.

Again, in the case of psychology, which has made such immense strides during the last few years, there is much which is not, strictly

[4] Marett, R. R., *Anthropology*, p. 1.

speaking, anthropological. On the other hand, in so far as psychology enables us to trace the development of the human mind from that of the animal, and in so far, too, as it can interpret the causes which have led to the various forms of human activity which meet us in different times and different places, so far is it a branch of our science. If, too, it can help us to ascertain whether certain fundamental mental traits, due perhaps to a long-continued environment in the far past, are normally associated with certain physical types, psychology will provide anthropologists with a means of interpreting many of the phenomena which they have noted but cannot fully explain. Much, therefore, which is included in the studies of anatomy and psychology may justly be included within the scope of anthropological studies.

The works of man are so numerous and varied that it is by no means an easy task to classify them. We may, however, first distinguish the work of man's hands, his material culture, from his other activities. Under this heading we should include his tools, weapons, pottery, and textiles; his dwellings, tombs, and temples; his architecture and his art. Nor need we confine our attention to their primitive stages alone, for as anthropologists we are concerned with their evolution from the simplest to the most complex.

Next, we have the problems concerned with language, which we may consider as dealing with the means whereby men hold intercourse with one another and communicate their wishes and ideas. This heading might well include gesture at the one end and writing at the other, for gesture, language, and writing all subserve the same end. Hitherto anthropologists have confined their attention too exclusively to the tongues of backward tribes, and left the speech of more advanced peoples to the philologists. I would plead, however, that language is such an essential element in human culture that comparative philologists might well consider themselves as anthropologists, and their studies as an important part of our science.

Lastly, we have social organisation and all that may be included under the terms 'customs' and 'institutions'; a varied group, leading on the one hand to the study of law, and on the other to that of comparative religion. Here, again, we come in contact with other studies—those of the lawyer, political economist, and theologian; but though the anthropologist is to some extent studying the same series of facts, his range is wider and his outlook more dynamic.

Thus it will be seen that in the three divisions of men's work, as well as in the two aspects of man himself, the anthropologist finds other workers in the field. But whereas these other sciences are concerned only with some part of man and his works, and limited frequently to recent times and civilised communities, it is the province of the anthropologist to review them as a whole, in all times and in all places, and to trace their evolution from the simplest to the most complex.

If we accept the views of the Historical School, anthropology becomes a new method of treating historical material. It is, in fact, the history of man and his civilisation, drawn not so much from written documents as from actual remains, whether of material objects or of customs

and beliefs. It is concerned with wars only so far as these have produced a change in the population or language of a region. It is interested in kings only when these functionaries have retained customs indicative either of priesthood or divinity. It is interested less in legal enactments than in customary institutions, less in official theology than in the beliefs of the mass of the people; the acts of politicians and diplomats concern it not so much as do the everyday habits of the humbler folk.

From some points of view anthropology may be considered as a department of zoology, but whereas other branches, such as entomology or ornithology, deal with classes containing innumerable species, anthropology deals with one family only, and that containing but one recent species; and, although this species has a number of varieties, these are fertile *inter se*. Many aspects of his subject, which occupy much of the attention of the zoologist, such as taxonomy and phylogeny, form but a small part of the anthropologist's inquiry; on the other hand, though the zoologist, when dealing with the higher groups, studies instinct, the nests and songs of birds, and the organisation of bees and ants, such inquiries are slight as compared with the corresponding problems which face the anthropologist.

A century ago zoologists were largely engaged in studying the higher groups of animals—vertebrates, insects, and the like—and for a time neglected the 'radiate mob.' Then there was a sudden change; all interest was focused upon lowly forms, and the protozoa occupied a disproportionate part of their attention. Lately, again, their work has been more evenly distributed over the whole field, and attention has been paid especially to those groups which most affect mankind for good or ill.

This choice of groups for special study was by no means due to mere caprice; there was a sound reason behind it. The more obvious forms of life were first studied; then, as microscopes improved, attention was focused for a time upon the simpler organisms; for, from the study of these, the zoologist was better able to grasp the underlying principles of life. These lessons learnt, he was able with greater certainty to attack the problems affecting the welfare of mankind.

So with the student of man. For many centuries historians, philosophers, and theologians have been studying the ways of civilised humanity, though not always quite by the methods of the modern anthropologist. For, just as they were attracted by the higher groups of men, so were they also fascinated by the more conspicuous individuals in those groups rather than by the general mass. During the nineteenth century students were attracted towards the backward types of humanity, partly, perhaps, because of their very unlikeness to ourselves, and of recent years largely because they felt that the customs of these primitive peoples formed most important scientific evidence which was fast disappearing. But from a scientific point of view the paramount reason was because it was felt that in such simple societies we should find the germ from which human civilisation had begun, and that we should there discover the ancestral form from which our modern culture had developed.

Much of the force of this last argument is disappearing as the

Evolutionary School gives place to the Historical. By degrees we are becoming aware that the civilisation of backward peoples is more complex than was at first believed; that they, too, have had as long a history as ourselves, even though it may have been less eventful. We are giving up the belief that such people are human fossils, and that they have preserved our ancestral types alive to the present day, for we are realising that they represent not so much our ancestors as our poor relations.

On the other hand, though, perhaps, we must abandon the ancestral view, and cease to believe that these backward communities represent accurately to-day the conditions under which we dwelt in long past millennia, the customs and institutions of these folk are in many respects less complex than our own, and it is possible to study them from every aspect with far greater ease than we could do in the case of one of the higher civilisations. Since it is one of the functions of anthropology to study man synthetically, this is a great advantage. When dealing with these simpler problems we can evolve a method and a discipline to be applied in more complicated cases. Again, the backward peoples have, as a rule, no written history, and we are forced in this case to restore their past by other means. This has led to the development of fresh methods of attacking the problems of the past, which may prove of value in the case of more advanced communities, where written evidence exists, it is true, but is, to some extent at least, faulty, imperfect, or unreliable.

For these reasons the study of backward peoples still has great value for the anthropologist. He has not yet solved all the problems concerned with the dawn of civilisation, nor has he yet perfected his methods and discipline. Although vast quantities of observations, good, bad, and indifferent, by trained workers and dilettante travellers, have been placed on record, especially during the last half-century, there is much more to be collected from this fast disappearing mass. More workers and expert workers are needed in this field, and so it is that our universities devote the greater part of their energies to training students for this purpose.

But there are many students, equally interested in the evolution of man and his works, who cannot, for one reason or another, visit wild lands to study the ways of their inhabitants. Some of these, it is true, may sift and arrange the vast mass of material collected by their more fortunate colleagues, though they will be at considerable disadvantage when undertaking this work if they have had no personal experience of the lands and the people with which their material is dealing.

The time seems to have arrived when anthropologists should not concentrate so exclusively upon these lowly cultures, but might carry on their researches into those civilisations which have advanced further in their evolution. Not that I wish to be understood as deprecating in any way the study of backward peoples, or as discouraging students from researches in that direction. But I would suggest that the time has arrived when some anthropologists might initiate a closer inquiry into the conditions of more civilised peoples, not in the place of but in addition to the studies already described.

Quite apart from such states of society as are neither wholly primitive nor entirely advanced, we have in the Old World three great centres of culture, each of which has in its turn been in the van of progress, and each of which has contributed no little to the advance of the others. These are the civilisations of China and the Far East, of the Peninsula of Hindustan, and what, for lack of a better term, I must call the European Region.

Though our relations with China and Japan have been intimate, and on the whole friendly, for several generations, and many of our compatriots are fairly familiar with both countries and their languages, it is surprising how little we know of either of these people from the strictly anthropological standpoint. This is the more to be regretted since for more than half a century Japan has been undergoing a change and adopting fresh features from Western civilisation, while there are signs that the same movement is beginning to take place in China. So far those who have had an opportunity of working in these countries, and have made themselves familiar with the languages of the Far East, have studied the art, literature, philosophy, and religion of these regions, rather than those aspects which more properly belong to our subject. I have no desire to minimise the value of such studies, but as part of the science of man we need to know more of the physical form and mental traits of these people, more, too, of their ordinary material culture as it was before it came into contact with and borrowed from the West, more of the dialects spoken in their provinces, and particularly more about their social and territorial organisation, and about the beliefs and superstitions which have survived alongside of their official religion. Certain fragments of such information are, it is true, to be found among the writings of Westerners who have lived long in the East, but there are so many gaps in our knowledge that it is not easy to piece them together into an intelligible whole.

What concerns us more nearly in this country is the Indian Region. Here we have a well-defined province, peopled by successive waves of different races, speaking different languages, and with different customs and beliefs—an apparently inextricable tangle of diverse elements in various stages of cultural evolution. A vast amount of material has been gathered in the past, though such collecting has not been proceeding so fast during the last generation; but basic problems are still unsolved, and seem at times well-nigh insoluble. Perhaps it is this superabundance of material, or it may be the apparent hopelessness of the task, which has diminished the interest taken in these studies during the past few years. This attitude is regrettable, and the only redeeming feature is the extremely active and intelligent interest in these problems now taken by various groups of Indian students, especially in the University of Calcutta.

I have suggested that perhaps the lack of interest in such matters among Anglo-Indians, and especially among members of the Indian Civil Service, may be due to the apparent hopelessness of reaching a solution of any of the problems involved. It may also be due to the fact that they are sent out from this country to govern a population with different cultures and beliefs, and traditions wholly unlike those

of this continent, without having received in most cases any preparation which will enable them to study, appreciate, or understand an alien civilisation. Thus, with the best of intentions, they misunderstand those among whom they are sent, and are in turn misunderstood. Guiltless of any evil intent, they offend the susceptibilities of those among whom their lot is cast, and acts are put down to indifference or ill-nature which are only the product of ignorance. After making their initial mistakes the more intelligent and well-meaning set to work to study the people committed to their charge, but faced with problems of extreme intricacy, and without any previous training, more often than not they give up the attempt as hopeless.

That candidates for the Indian Civil Service should receive a full training in anthropology before leaving this country has been pleaded time after time by this Section and by the Anthropological Institute, and though I repeat the plea, which will probably be as useless as its predecessors, I would add more. The problems confronting the anthropologist and the administrator in India are of such extreme complexity that it needs a very considerable amount of combined action and research even to lay down the method and the lines along which future inquiries should be made. Such a school of thought, such a nucleus around which further research may be grouped, does not yet exist; the materials out of which it can be formed can scarcely yet be found. And yet until such a nucleus has been created, and has gathered around it a devoted band of researchers, no true understanding will be found of the problems which daily confront both peoples, and the East and the West will remain apart, subject to mutual recriminations, the natural outcome of mutual misunderstanding.

One solution only do I see to this dilemma. For many years past there have been institutions at Athens and Rome, where carefully chosen students, with the best of qualifications, have spent several years studying the ancient and modern conditions of those cities and their people. By this means a small but well-selected group of Englishmen have returned to this country well-informed, not only as to the ancient but the modern conditions of Greece and Italy. Besides this we have had in each of the capitals of those two States an institution, subserving no political or diplomatic ends, which has acted as a centre or focus of research into the civilisation of those countries. Although the main objects in both cases have been the true understanding of the cultures of the distant past, the constant intercourse of students of both nationalities working for a common end has resulted in a better understanding on the part of each of the aims and ideals of the other. I have no hesitation in saying that the existence of the British Schools at Athens and Rome has been of enormous value in bringing about and preserving friendly relations between the people of this country and those of Greece and Italy.

I cannot help feeling that a similar institution in India, served by a sympathetic and well-trained staff, to which carefully selected university men might go for a few years of post-graduate study, would go far towards removing many of the misunderstandings which are causing friction between the British and Indian peoples. Such a British School

in India, if it is to be a success, should not be a Government institution, but should be founded and endowed by private benefactors of both nationalities. It would be a centre around which would gather all anthropological work in the peninsula, while it would enable the British students to arrive at a truer understanding of Indian ideals and help Indians to grasp more fully the relations subsisting between the Indian and European civilisations.

Lastly, we come to that great area which I have termed the European Region, extending southward from our continent to the southern confines of the Sahara, and eastwards to Mesopotamia and beyond. Throughout all this vast region the racial basis of the population is similar, though the proportion of the elements varies. Also throughout the region there has been, from the earliest days of which we have evidence, free communication and no great barriers to trade and migration.

Until the last fifteen hundred years the civilisation of this area was fairly uniform, though its highest and earliest developments were in the south-east, while the northern zones lagged behind and were on the outer fringe. Still, with the possible exception of North Russia, it formed from palæolithic times one cultural region, and this became more marked and homogeneous during the flourishing days of the Roman Empire. Two forces from without, coming from the outer fringe of this region, destroyed that mighty empire and divided the region into two halves; and as each of these forces adopted different religious views, the European cultural region became divided into two. For many centuries these sections were at war with one another, and their boundary oscillated; the East pushed westward until 1500 A.D., and since then has been in retreat. We have, therefore, during recent centuries to treat the European cultural region as two, the civilisations of Islam and Christendom.

Though the separation of these two halves is relatively recent, their ideals have grown more and more divergent, while the inhabitants of both zones, though no longer in constant warfare, are no nearer to a true understanding of one another. Political difficulties in the Near East, which show no signs of diminishing but seem rather to be on the increase, are the natural result of such misunderstandings, and the remedy here, as elsewhere, is to achieve a truer appreciation of other points of view, due to a divergence in the evolution of civilisation, due in its turn to a different environment. A more thorough knowledge of the anthropological factors of the case seems to be a necessary preliminary to such mutual understanding, and since the League of Nations and the Versailles Treaty have seen fit to add to our responsibilities in this area, it is an urgent necessity that some of our anthropologists should pay a closer attention to the problems of the Near East.

And now with regard to Christendom. Are we to consider that our duties as anthropologists end with alien cultures? Is Christendom so united that misunderstandings cannot arise within its borders? At the close of a great war, which divided this area into two hostile camps, we can hardly claim that there is no room for our studies.

As we have seen, there has been a tendency hitherto to regard

anthropology as a science dealing with primitive and backward peoples, and it has sometimes been felt that to apply its principles to neighbouring peoples, enjoying as high a civilisation as our own, might be looked upon as an insult, implying that their culture was sufficiently primitive to warrant their inclusion in our inquiries. But if we agree that all mankind, savage and civilised alike, are fit material for the anthropologist's investigations, we need have no hesitation in studying, not only the bodily and mental equipment of our neighbours, but their material culture, social organisation, and religious beliefs, just as already, for practical purposes, we study their languages.

To some extent this has been done by travellers, who describe strange customs and ceremonies which take place in out-of-the-way places. These are usually, however, selected because they are quaint or rare, rather than for the scientific value which they possess, and being recorded too often by untrained observers many details of the utmost scientific importance are frequently omitted. In spite of the comparative uniformity in customs and beliefs among the educated classes throughout Christendom, a uniformity which is perhaps more apparent than real, as soon as we get to the peasant or workman the differences become more apparent. There is not a country in Europe, nor even a province, in which we may not find features of an anthropological nature which separates its population, in some respects at least, from the inhabitants of other areas. It is these differences, unimportant as they may appear, which come to the front when trouble is brewing, and these are the factors which, above all others, we need to understand if we are to avoid treading on corns in moments of national irritation.

It does not fall to the lot of everyone to spend part of their lives among backward peoples, and only a small section of our compatriots dwell amid the civilisations of the East. Many people, however, have constant opportunities of travel throughout Christendom, and not a few visit from time to time some of the lands in the Islamic zone. Here they can, to some extent at least, obtain first-hand data of an anthropological nature, and make themselves familiar with some aspects of the life of the place. With minds trained to observe accurately and to understand what they see, even a few weeks' holiday in a foreign land will enable them to appreciate better the ideals of their hosts. Constant travel by people alive to the importance of such inquiries will in time so influence the public opinion of many of the nations of Europe that misunderstandings will be less frequent and national sensitiveness less prone to take offence at words and actions which are not intended to provoke.

But it is not only foreign countries and their inhabitants which the anthropologist needs to study. In every country, especially in lands which have been subject to successive invasions, there are different strata in the population which have different customs and a different outlook. The British Isles are no exception to this rule; history records the successive arrivals of Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, and the study of prehistoric remains shows us that these invasions have been preceded by a greater number in earlier days. Just as the physical

type of the Briton is far from uniform, so is his mental outlook and his ideals and beliefs. Quite apart from the differences observable in the different countries which compose our group of islands, and the different provinces into which they have been or may be divided, we find also, in any given area, that the population insensibly divides itself into groups or classes, differing but slightly except in name and the absence of rigidity from what we know in India as castes. These classes in the British Isles have had their origin not so much in economic conditions as in the successive waves of conquest which these islands have suffered. Individuals, it is true, have freely passed from one class to another during the nine centuries which have elapsed since the last conquest, but though the individuals have changed the classes have remained. Owing to the constant interchange in blood the physical characters of the different classes are much alike, as are their fundamental mental traits, but in material culture, language, social organisation, and to some extent religious beliefs, they differ widely.

Here then again, in our own country, there is work for the anthropologist. Here are various groups, how many it is at present difficult to say, not clearly distinguished from one another by a sharp dividing line, and intermixed in the same areas, yet groups which are to the anthropologist separate units which require distinct study. Even among the richer and better educated sections of the community, who have mingled together in social intercourse for several generations and whose families are allied by marriage, we may find differences of outlook, according to the type of tradition handed down in the family. The outlook and ideals of landed or territorial families differ from those of the mercantile class, nay even the merchants and manufacturers have in many ways distinct traditions which are handed down from one generation to another. So that even in such a group as we find assembled at the meeting of the British Association, who have come together with one end in view, the advancement of science, we shall find, were we to analyse the feelings and opinions of the different individuals, that owing to differing traditions, handed down through many generations, their views on social and religious questions are fundamentally unlike; that they belong, in fact, to many distinct anthropological groups. There is work, then, for the anthropologist who never leaves these shores.

Turning now to the aims of anthropology and to the means whereby it may become utile to the State and to mankind in general, we see that it is of the utmost importance that those who are sent to govern or administer areas and districts mainly occupied by backward peoples should have received sufficient training in the science to enable them, in the shortest possible space of time and consequently with the fewest possible initial mistakes, to govern a people whose customs, traditions, and beliefs are very different from their own, without offending the susceptibilities of their subjects.

We are an Imperial people, and during the last few centuries we have taken upon ourselves a lion's share of the white man's self-imposed burden, and the lives and well-being of millions of our backward brethren have been entrusted to our charge. Recent events have,

by means of Mandates, added largely to our responsibilities in this respect. We, of all nations, cannot disregard this fundamental duty of dispatching our pro-consuls fitted to undertake on our behalf these great responsibilities.

But the burden we have undertaken extends not only to backward peoples; we have been called upon, in one form or another, to govern or to advise the Governments of peoples who have, or have had in the past, a civilisation little, if at all, inferior to our own, and to whom at one time we have been indebted, directly or indirectly, for much of the culture that we now enjoy. The civilisations of these regions are infinitely more complex, and, as is always the case in civilised areas, the people are not homogeneous, but are divided into numerous sections, differing in language, religion, and social customs. In these regions we meet with anthropological problems of infinite difficulty and complexity, on the solution of which depends the peace and well-being of the population. And yet our representatives go to take up their duties in these lands with little or no previous training, and it is only a marvel that errors of tact, due to ignorance, are not more common.

In these civilised regions race consciousness has been growing fast during the last half-century, and errors of tact and manners, which were submitted to in former times, though not with a good grace, are now actively resented, and the old methods of government are discredited. It may not yet be too late to remedy this evil, if no time is lost in giving a full anthropological training to those who are sent to administer these regions.

But we are not only an Imperial people, governing and administering these regions with alien populations; we are also a wandering and adventurous people. The nomadic spirit of our ancestors is still alive within us; our ships, like those of the Vikings of old, are to be seen in every sea. So it comes that our people, whether travelling for pleasure or for purposes of trade, or serving in the Army or Navy, will be found in all lands and all climates from the Arctic circle to the Equator.

All these wandering Britons come in contact with the inhabitants of the lands they visit, creating various impressions, sometimes good, more often bad. Had they a fuller knowledge of the customs and opinions of the people they visit, or even a truer appreciation of the fact that diverse customs and opinions exist and should be respected, we should not have to record the creation of so many bad impressions. Luckily our people, as a rule, have much common sense, and often a desire to please, so this trouble is thus to some extent mitigated; but the difficulties that have arisen and are constantly arising from ignorance of the ways of others, from too insular an outlook, in fact, from a lack of appreciation of the anthropological standpoint, are making us and our government heartily disliked in nearly every quarter of the globe. It is to remedy these difficulties, and the danger to the peace of the world which is threatened thereby, that I would advocate an increased study of anthropology by all sections of the community. Herein lies one of the chief means by which our science may become utile to mankind.

It is not my business to draft a scheme for the furtherance of

anthropological studies. Two of our universities offer degrees in this subject, and others a diploma; courses of instruction on some sections of the subject are given there and elsewhere. Many teachers of geography are introducing much anthropological matter into their curricula, and there are signs that some historical teachers may follow suit, so that the subject-matter, if not the name, is not unknown in some of our schools. But we have much lost time to make up and the matter is urgent.

We cannot, of course, expect all our people to be trained anthropologists and to understand fully all the ways of the people they may chance to meet in their wanderings. What matters far more is that they should appreciate the fact that different peoples have had different pasts and so act differently in response to the same stimuli. Further, that all this diversity has its value; that we cannot be sure that one culture is in all respects superior to another, still less that ours is the best and the only one which is of consequence. It is not so much the facts that matter as the spirit of anthropology; we need not so much that our people should have anthropological knowledge as that they should learn to think anthropologically.

It is needless for me to remind you that the world is in a state of very unstable equilibrium—that the crust is, so to speak, cracked in many places, and that the fissures are becoming wider and deeper, and that fresh fissures are constantly appearing, not only in distant lands but nearer home. Again, this crust, if I may continue the geological metaphor, is stratified, and there are horizontal as well as vertical cleavages, which are daily becoming more marked. It is to the interest of humanity that these breaches should be healed and the cracks stopped, or we may find the civilisation of the world, which has grown up through long millennia at the cost of enormous struggles, break up into a thousand fragments. Such a break in the culture of the European Region followed the dissolution of the Roman Empire, and more than a thousand years were needed to heal it; nay, some of the cracks then made have never yet been closed.

Anything that may help to avert such a disaster is important to the human race, and there is no greater danger at present than the alienation of the peoples of Asia and the Near East. Much of the ill-feeling engendered in India, Egypt, and elsewhere is the product of misunderstandings, due to a lack of appreciation on both sides of the opinions and views of the other party, and there seems to be no better method of removing such misunderstandings than a sympathetic study of one another's culture, and to this end anthropology offers the most hopeful approach.

SECTION I.—PHYSIOLOGY.

THE EFFICIENCY OF MAN AND THE FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE IT.

ADDRESS BY

PROFESSOR E. P. CATHCART, M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.

PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

THE subject of my address—the efficiency of the human organism and the factors which influence this efficiency—is, in my opinion, one of the most important problems of the present day. It is a problem which cannot, however, be considered only from its physiological aspect if it is to receive adequate consideration; its implications are much wider, reaching right down to the very basis of our daily lives. As I am no expert in industry or economics, I shall confine my attention as far as possible to the problem from the physiological side, and leave to others the sociological application.

The term 'efficiency' has become a mere catchword, bandied about by people who have not the faintest idea of what the word connotes. Practically it has come to mean, to the average man in the street, the mythical improvement which is to be anticipated from some change in workshop or office organisation—a bigger and better result at a smaller cost. The word has a very definite meaning in engineering science, and this meaning has been transferred from the inanimate machine to the living organism. In the case of the engine the problem is relatively simple, as the number of interfering factors is not great, but the solution of the problem in the case of the organism is beset with many difficulties, as the interfering factors are numerous and varied. Two types of efficiency are spoken of in connection with the animal body. One type is the mechanical efficiency in the engineering sense, *i.e.* the ratio which exists between the heat equivalent of the external muscle work done and the energy output of the subject during the performance of the work in question. This is a problem which has attracted many workers, and there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that the efficiency of man in the performance of external work is about 20 per cent. gross and 25 per cent. net. (*Gross* efficiency is obtained by dividing the actual heat equivalent of the external work done by the total output of energy of the man during the time occupied in the performance of the external work, and *net* efficiency is obtained by dividing the heat equivalent of the external muscle work done by the actual increase in the energy output of the subject over the basal energy output during the performance of the work in

question.) As A. V. Hill has pointed out, this striking unanimity is in all probability due to the fact that the maximum value of efficiency remains more or less constant over a fairly wide variation in the mode of the performance of the work. The work referred to here is wholly concerned with muscle activity. The other type of efficiency is that which is called industrial or productive efficiency, where the capacity of the individual to perform effective work is dealt with, judging the capacity of the individual by, for example, his output in unit time. So far as the worker himself is concerned, the whole object in industrial efficiency is undoubtedly to get the greatest output with the minimum of effort. The determination of the mechanical efficiency is fairly readily carried out, but it is very difficult to get an accurate gauge of the industrial efficiency. At bottom they are closely related, and both are physiological problems.

The leaders of industry have not been slow to accept and utilise the gains of science in the realm of inanimate things, but they have been slow to recognise the fact that there is a science of physiology which deals with the man who controls the productive machinery. New inventions may completely revolutionise shop equipment, good machines may be replaced by better, and better by still better, but man remains almost as immutable as the ages. Physiological evolution is infinitely slow. As Lee puts it, 'Try as we will we cannot get away from the fact that so long as machines need men, physiological laws must be reckoned with as a factor in industrialism.' Butler in 'Erewhon' satirised in his inimitable way this very problem of the industrial world as follows: 'So that even now the machines will only serve on condition of being served, and that upon their own terms; the moment their terms are not complied with they jib, and either smash both themselves and all whom they can reach, or turn churlish and refuse to work at all. How many men at this hour are living in a state of bondage to the machines? How many spend their whole lives, from the cradle to the grave, in tending them night and day? Is it not plain that the machines are gaining ground upon us, when we reflect on the increasing number of those who are bound down to them as slaves and of those who devote their whole souls to the advancement of the mechanical kingdom? . . . May not man himself become a sort of parasite upon the machines? An affectionate machine-tickling aphid?'

It is a clever picture, and if one looks back on the rise of industrialism it is not so very far-fetched. It is but a little more than a hundred years since this country was industrialised, and we are still reaping the aftermath of the terrible conditions which then reigned, when the great centres of industry were swamped with country dwellers who poured into the towns in the race for wealth. Few realise the hopelessly unphysiological conditions which developed in the methods of work, the hours and conditions of work, the housing. Many talk now of the hardship of the eight hours' day under conditions which are relatively civilised, where the place of labour and the methods and machinery used are supervised by skilled and honest Home Office inspectors, where child labour is firmly controlled, and where practically all abuses are checked. The following citation from Robert Owen, that

'shrewd, gullible, high-minded, wrong-headed, illustrious and preposterous father of Socialism and Co-operation,' as Lytton Strachey calls him, gives a good idea of the conditions ruling in the early years of last century in one of our staple industries. 'In the manufacturing districts it is common for parents to send their children of both sexes at seven or eight years of age, in winter as well as summer, at six o'clock in the morning, sometimes, of course, in the dark, and occasionally amidst frost and snow, to enter the manufactories which are often heated to a high temperature, and contain an atmosphere far from being the most favourable to human life, and in which all those employed in them very frequently continue until twelve o'clock at noon, when an hour is allowed for dinner, after which they return to remain, in a majority of cases, till eight o'clock at night.' Six till eight, with a break of one hour: a fourteen hours' day, and fifteen was not unknown. Owen, in the article from which I have quoted, was petitioning Parliament, asking what? That a twelve hours' day be instituted, to include one and a-half hours for meals, and that no child should be employed until the age of ten was reached. He pointed out in the course of the article that the results from the manufacturers' point of view would be better with a twelve hours' day (*i.e.* that the industrial efficiency, in modern words, would be improved).

Yet we wonder that the offspring of stock descended from workers under these conditions, which certainly improved as the century advanced but were far from ideal, gave the high yield of C3 lads recorded in the National Service Report. We might have been prepared for the disclosure, as the pre-war records of countries with Conscription showed that the number of rejections for the Army of town and factory workers was far in excess of those for men drawn from country districts. But evidence of the state of the national physique is not confined to these war figures. Sir George Newman, in his valuable and interesting Report on Preventive Medicine, has drawn attention to the enormous amount of time which is annually lost through sickness. The minimum average amounted to 14,295,724 weeks (or a period of upwards of 270,000 years) of sickness per annum, and this figure did not include absence from work due to maternity benefit, sanatorium treatment, or absence for less than four days per patient. This is the evidence of the National Health Insurance.

The design of the organism which has to stand the strain is not at fault. It is an organism which, in the language of the engineer, is abundantly supplied with factors of safety, and has an over-all high factor of safety. The body is not designed merely to perform the minimum amount of work or to stand the minimum strain; there is always a reserve. We have a circulatory system which is beautifully balanced to meet a strain, a system of vessels whose calibre can be increased or diminished so that the blood may be mobilised at the tissues or organs which require it, and a heart which has the capacity, provided it is normal and healthy, of responding to work, whose rate may be trebled in a few seconds when oxygen must be obtained and carbon dioxide got rid of. Not only can the amount of blood which is passed through the lungs during hard work

be increased some five times, but the amount of oxygen taken in may rise ten times. Thus the subject studied by Benedict and myself had a normal consumpt of about 200 c.c. oxygen per minute, and in one experiment he kept up an intake of nearly 2,000 c.c. per minute for four hours and twenty-two minutes on end. Quite often the same subject used 2,700 c.c. to 3,000 c.c. for ten minutes at a time. Again, at rest less than a third of the oxygen present in the blood is required, and even in the very hardest work the arterial blood is not depleted of its oxygen; it probably still contains more than a fourth. Curiously enough, the actual effectors, the muscles, do not of themselves seem to have a very high factor of safety. The structures, bones, and cartilage, to which they are attached, and which limit their action, and the amount of strain to which they can be exposed or subjected, have a very high factor of safety. A further protective mechanism for muscle is the perfect co-ordination between the groups of muscles, the elucidation of which problem we owe largely to our President, Sir Charles S. Sherrington. We have another reserve of first-class importance—viz., that when the strain on one group of muscles is becoming too severe, more and more groups of muscles are brought into action to help in meeting the strain, until in the end, if need be, practically the total musculature of the body is involved. And behind all this there are final factors of safety such as fatigue, which is a protective warning; and finally, if the latter be not heeded, collapse.

This perfect co-ordination of the different parts of the organism is required, because the human being is capable of intense muscular exertion for short periods. The intensity of the work is as a general rule inversely proportional to the length of time during which it must be carried out. The following table (Table I.) gives some idea of what is probably about the maximum effective muscular work per minute (modified from Blix):—

TABLE I.

Nature of Work	Duration of Work	Effective Muscular Work per min.	
		Kilogrammètres	Calories
Mountain climbing, moderate	Many hours	500	1·16
Mountain climbing, severe	1 to 2 hours	750–1,000	1·74–2·33
Mountain climbing, very severe	3·75 minutes	2,000	4·65
Treadmill	30 seconds	2,400–3,600	5·58–8·37
Running upstairs, 10 Kg. load	15 seconds	3,700	8·61
Running upstairs, no load	30 seconds	4,300	10·00
Running upstairs, no load	4 seconds	5,700–6,000	13·26–13·95

If, in the human organism, we were merely concerned with the co-ordinated action of a series of effectors, with the capacity of a certain group of muscles to perform a given amount of work, the solution of the problem would be relatively simple. But we are dealing with a living organism capable not only of doing work but of repairing the worn-out parts, as and when required. Further, we are dealing with an organism which varies not only in its capacity to perform work, but in its 'will to work.' We are dealing with a subtle organism which

has a whole series of protective mechanisms at its command, an organism which can be fatigued and rendered useless, as a working unit, by an amount of work on a particular day which on another day it can perform with the utmost ease and without apparent fatigue. We are dealing with an organism which can and does perform real hard muscular work with vigour and joy, and yet, if the nature of the employment or the environment be distasteful, can be reduced to impotence by work capable of being done by a child.

Again, the efficiency of a man is not merely dependent on the amount of work which can be performed by his muscles; the circulatory, respiratory, and nervous systems are of equal importance, and all are intimately related. The muscles must receive an abundant supply of blood, not merely to bring nutriment but to remove waste; there must be an efficient exchange of gases in the lungs, the rate of the respiratory and cardiac movements must be adapted to the work in hand through the co-ordinating agency of the central nervous system. Not only so, but, if the man is to work with the minimum of waste energy, there must be proper co-ordination between the various groups of muscles. A man does not walk, for instance, by the aid of his leg muscles alone, his lumbar muscles are equally important. Further, it is not a mere question of autonomic reflex adjustment, important though this may be, for much of the work done the attention must also be invoked. Yet, in spite of the many and varied stresses and strains to which the organism is subjected in the course of life, as the result of the many factors of safety, unless the overloading is excessive, too frequent or too long continued, the organism, so long as it remains physiological, is practically unaffected by ordinary hard work.

If we turn now to the consideration of the factors which influence the efficiency, both in the mechanical and the industrial sense, we find that the main controlling factor is undoubtedly the condition known as fatigue. Fatigue is a word just as frequently used as efficiency, and yet it is almost impossible to give an accurate definition of the term. Generally speaking, it is to be regarded as the antithesis of efficiency. As Vernon put it, 'By so much as fatigue is avoided or eliminated in industrial operations the efficiency of the worker is increased.' Fatigue may be summarised as a diminished capacity for doing work. The question of the site at which fatigue is first manifested, whether it is a central or a peripheral phenomenon, whether it is a specific condition, or whether, as Crile maintains, there is no ultimate difference between the bloodless intangible causes of fatigue and exhaustion and the bloody tangible causes of 'shock,' lies without the scope of this address. One of the great difficulties in the solution of the question is that no one has as yet devised a method which permits of a quantitative determination of the degree of fatigue. Indeed, some workers, Muscio for example, have definitely stated that such a test is an impossibility.

The study of the metabolism has given little or no clue so far. Benedict and I carried out a certain amount of experimental work on this phase of the question. Our results show that the subject may be on the very verge of absolute collapse, and yet, so far as the metabolic determination goes, there is no very marked evidence of diminished

efficiency in a mechanical sense. In an experiment with M.A.M., who, in the postabsorptive state, rode on a bicycle ergometer for nearly four and a-half hours until on the verge of collapse, doing 208,000 kilogrammètres of external work during the time, the metabolism was determined six times during the riding period with the following result:—

TABLE II.

Time	Oxygen Consumption per min. in c.c.	Rate of Work Revs. per min.	Net Efficiency in per cent.
8.30 A.M. (start)			
9.00 ,, . . .	1,967	91·3	23·1
9.45 ,, . . .	1,946	91·4	23·3
10.30 ,, . . .	1,969	91·7	23·2
11.15 ,, . . .	1,948	90·3	23·2
12.00 noon . . .	2,003	89·0	21·7
12·45 P.M. . . .	1,899	78·2	21·3

It will be noted, as might be expected, that there is some slowing of the rate at which the work is done, but the diminution in the net efficiency, in spite of the fact that the subject admitted he was completely done at the conclusion of the last determination, is not striking.

In other experiments where the type of muscle activity used was marching, little apparent effect on the metabolic cost was noted until extraneous muscle activity was introduced in the form of staggering as the result of exhaustion.

Obviously, then, the capacity to carry on is limited by the genesis of fatigue. But it is equally obvious in practice that a man may be engaged in strenuous labour for many hours without acute signs of impending exhaustion. How is this condition attained? There are at least four factors which, to my mind, play predominant rôles in the attainment of maximum efficiency—viz., the rate of the performance of work, the amount of rest offered or taken by the subject, the rhythm with which the work is performed, and the work habits developed by the worker. Although I shall attempt to examine each of these factors separately, it is not to be inferred that they can really be considered as independent phenomena. As a matter of fact, they are all intimately related, and usually merge into one another.

Of these four factors probably most attention has been devoted to the rate or speed at which work is carried out. The glorification of that much misused half-truth, 'Time is money,' is responsible for much false physiology. Farmer, in a recent report to the Industrial Fatigue Board, laid, I think, the correct stress on the relation of speed to general industrial efficiency when he wrote: 'No movement can be compared with another and said to be better than it merely on account of its speed; it should only be compared in respect to ease and final result.' This is a good answer to those who believe that maximum efficiency can be best obtained by mere speeding up. Goldmark also stresses this aspect of the question. She writes: 'Now just in proportion as this function of speed is developed, subject to the capacities

of the human agent instead of as a driver of these capacities, it counts as a gain. Just so soon as the function of speed is dissociated from its effects on the worker we revert to the old system of pace-making and speeding.'

These are the observations of field workers. Can they be substantiated by experimental work in the laboratory? Benedict and I found, for example, working with a carefully calibrated bicycle ergometer, that there was a very close connection between the speed at which work was done and the mechanical efficiency. There was a very definite falling off with increased speed, as the following table shows. Unfortunately it was impossible to get our subject to pedal slower than 70 revolutions per minute:—

TABLE III.

Revolutions per min.	Gross Efficiency	Revolutions per min.	Gross Efficiency
70	20·6	110	17·6
80	20·0	120	16·9
90	19·2	130	16·1
100	18·4	—	—

We found further that if the amount of effective muscular work done was kept constant, that the efficiency fell with an increase of speed. Thus with effective work equivalent to 1.95 calories performed at the rate of 90 and 124 revolutions per minute respectively with the lower speed, the net efficiency was 22.6 per cent., whereas with the higher speed it fell to 15.7 per cent. Or again, with effective work of 1.58 calories at 71 and 108 revolutions per minute the efficiency was 24.5 per cent. and 15.6 per cent. respectively; and finally, with effective work of 1.35 calories at speeds of 71, 94, and 105, the efficiencies were 23.1, 20.4, and 17.0 per cent.

A. V. Hill has also recently dealt with this problem in a most interesting piece of work, where the activity was strictly confined to the biceps and the brachialis anticus. He demonstrated very clearly that, in spite of the fact that the slower the contraction the greater was the amount of work done, all the advantage thus gained was rapidly neutralised and dissipated as the result of the slow contraction necessarily causing an increased degradation of energy in the way of physiological changes resulting from the maintenance of contraction. It thus followed that a slow contraction, powerful though it might be, was not necessarily one of high efficiency. The actual efficiency, *i.e.* the ratio of the external work done to the energy degraded in carrying it out, was found to pass through a definite maximum value as the duration of the contraction increased. The maximum efficiency in his series of experiments was 26 per cent. He found that it was very rapidly attained, the optimum for the muscles investigated being apparently just under one second, but the fall which followed, as the duration of the contraction increased, was a comparatively slow one. On account, therefore, of the blunt nature of the curve the efficiency remained more or less constant over a wide range of speeds.

The load has obviously a direct connection with the speed at which work is done, but it has also a relation to efficiency. Benedict and I found, for instance, that both the gross and net efficiencies within the limits of our experiments increased with the load. The probable explanation of this result is that when light work is carried out maintenance or physiological requirements which have to be covered form a large proportion of the total energy output, a balance which is steadily altered as the amount of external effective work done increases. Incidentally, Hill drew attention to a most important factor in the consideration of the efficiency of muscle, viz., the relation between the maximal and the submaximal effort. Hill suggested that the less powerful effort was the result of the maximal contraction of only a portion of the muscle fibres, and that the fibres not directly involved in the contraction changed passively, *i.e.* they were made to conform to the shape of their active neighbours. This, of course, will automatically lead to a considerable waste of energy in changing the form of the muscle as a whole, therefore the submaximal effort will be less efficient than a maximal effort of the same duration in time, and further 'the highest efficiency of a submaximal effort is obtained in a slower contraction than that of a maximal effort.'

On the other hand, when the loads become excessive there is a definite falling off, both in gross and net efficiencies. Laulanié, who also investigated this question, found that at voluntarily selected speeds, with steadily increasing load, the external work done rose with decreasing speed until the load became excessive. He maintained that there were two optima, (*a*) an economic optimum at 4 kilo. load with high efficiency and a low oxygen consumption per kilogrammètre, and (*b*) a mechanical optimum between 8 and 12 kilo. load when the output in unit time was highest. The following table from Laulanié makes his point clear:—

TABLE IV.

Resistance in kilos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	10	12	15
Speed adopted, metres per sec.	1·49	1·07	0·80	0·61	0·54	0·44	0·37	0·29	0·24	0·13
Work done, kilogrammètres per 5 min.	448	642	726	778	812	853	**896**	**905**	**906**	570
Oxygen intake in c.c. per kgm.	3·5	2·44	2·17	2·14	2·23	2·25	2·43	2·53	3·12	5·31
Efficiency per cent.	14·1	20·4	22·9	**23·3**	22·3	22·1	20·4	19·7	17·0	9·4

It will be noted that when the load becomes excessive the efficiency rapidly falls away. This means that, although the effort may be continued as strenuously as before, and although the physiological cost of the effort remains at a very high level, the amount of external work done is reduced to a very low figure. The static element in the muscular effort has become dominant, and static expenditure is parasitic on dynamic work. The more static the work becomes the greater is the fall in the efficiency. Personally I am of the opinion that the severity or hardness of muscular work, *qua* the organism as a whole, is a function of the static component of the effort made. Fatigue, *i.e.* inability to carry on, is more readily induced by static work than by either

positive or negative work. The following figures from experiments which I have carried out with Miss Bedale and G. McCallum show clearly this diminution in efficiency as the static element in the work is increased:—

TABLE V.

Pulls per min.	Kgm. per min.	Cost in grm. cals. per kgm. p. sq. m.	Net Efficiency per cent.
32	40	16	8·0
12	15	17	7·5
6	7·5	20	6·0
4	5·0	31	3·0+
3	3·75	38	3·0
2	2·5	68	2·0—
1	1·25	146	1·0

Another series of experiments carried out with Burnett in another fashion led to the same conclusion.

Very closely allied with the rate of working is the rhythm with which the work is performed. Although they are not identical phenomena, they are so closely related that the habit of work may be considered along with rhythm. Sir Charles Sherrington and Graham Brown have both shown very definitely, in connection with their work on reciprocal innervation, that a rhythmic phenomenon may be evoked in muscle by the appropriate balance of antagonistic stimuli. Graham Brown holds that this rhythmic action is one of the most fundamental properties of the nervous system. Everyone is well aware that once a rhythm, or the proper co-ordination in the play of a set of muscles in the performance of some definite act, is mastered, not only is the energy expenditure reduced by the exclusion of numerous extraneous muscular activities, but there is an actual enhancement of the ease with which we perform the specified act. Willingly or unwillingly, those who have to do much repetitive work, be it playing golf, a musical instrument, or working a machine, soon appreciate the fact, when they think about it at all, that their best and easiest results are obtained under certain very definite conditions. To take a single example, the work of forward progression or walking is performed most easily when we adopt our own gait. It is not a mere question of rate. In a series of experiments which I carried out with Burnett, the subject, working on a specially geared ergometer, was allowed to select his own rate of working, the load being varied from nothing to 4 kilos. At each change of load the subject was directed either to work rapidly or very slowly, and after a period of such work was told to adopt the rate he liked best. As the following table (Table VI.) shows, the rhythm of work was practically identical for all loads. This occurred under all conditions, provided the working spells were not of too long duration. If the work were continued over a long period the rhythm tended to alter, to increase in speed, and if the subject became really tired, periods of rapid movement alternated with periods of slow movement.

TABLE VI.

Load in kilos.	Rate of Work per min. voluntarily selected			
	Exp. I.	Exp. II.	Exp. III.	Exp. IV. (Immediately after 1 hour's work at rate of 45 per min.)
0	78	80	83	—
1	80	79	79	71
2	81	80	81	—
3	80	78	83	73
4	82	77	78	—

The figures given are the averages of three or more observations made at each load. None of the observations were made in the order in which they are recorded; light and heavy loads were alternated.

This rhythm of work is simply a general example of the formation of a conditioned reflex. The rhythm adopted, although it may suit the worker, is not of necessity the series of muscle movements which lead to the least expenditure of energy. Most probably the rhythm selected is only in small part due to the worker's physical configuration; in greater part it is evolved in imitation of some more experienced or older worker. The average workman is not so much concerned with the diminution of the physiological cost in the performance of a given act as in the reduction of conscious effort. As Vernon states, 'Experienced industrial workers unconsciously adopt habits of work which tend to the production of a maximum output with the minimum of effort.'

This capacity of the organism to build up a series of conditioned reflexes is one of the potent factors in the prevention of fatigue. The organism is able not only to build up reflexes in response to the tactile impressions of the material which he handles, of the tools, their shape, weight, &c., with which he works, but even to the extent and duration of the movements which he develops in the performance of his work. The proper and effective linking up of a series of these stimuli lead to a technical rhythm which will not necessarily be identical in the case of each worker in the same shop performing the same operation, but which, viewed generally, will give a colourable representation of uniformity.

It is not, of course, suggested that the methods adopted by workers independently are the perfect methods, and that proper investigation will not discover better and easier methods of performing certain given operations. If newer and more economical methods are to be developed and brought into operation, the only real chance will be to segregate the newer young workers. Vernon gives an excellent example of the necessity of doing so. The output of a certain necessary stock article had to be increased. A factory concerned in the production turned out 5,000 per week, and this could not be increased—the regular workmen had a certain rate and habit of work. A new factory was started, staffed with hands new to the work, and after six months' practice they produced 13,000 articles per week.

There is good evidence, that of Muscio for example, that both resting and working, in addition to the individual muscle rhythm, there

is a definite variation in the course of the day in the capacity to carry out work; that, in other words, a diurnal rhythm exists. There is a certain amount of evidence also in favour of the view that a seasonal rhythm exists. As Wilson has put it, 'It is tempting to suppose that human performance may be dependent on a number of superimposed rhythms corresponding with the periods of work, beginning perhaps with the rhythm corresponding with the periods of work, beginning perhaps with the rhythm of the actual movement and ending with a seasonal rhythm.'

Further, when efficiency is measured in terms of output it is found that there is a definite rhythm in output during the course of the working day and of the working week. It is well known that it takes an appreciable time each day to work up to full power, and this is shown distinctly in the daily output curve, which rises and then drops sharply at the end of the work period. This type of curve is not peculiar to any one industry. The rise is almost certainly due to the 'limbering up,' and it is probable that the fall towards the end is largely due to voluntary slowing. The total weekly output curve with the low Monday effect and the sharp fall on Saturday resembles in general shape the daily output curve. The main point about these curves is that they seem to demonstrate the absence of progressive fatigue from overwork, which would have been deduced had there been a sharp rise at the commencement of the week, followed by a steady fall.

The third of the potent factors in the control of fatigue is rest. If work is done rest is ultimately imperative. Rest not merely relaxes the muscle, allowing a more thorough and complete removal of the waste products and a more abundant supply of oxygen, but it removes the strain of attention. Rest is best obtained not by simple quiescence but by change of posture; slow movement of another type to that which produced the fatigue will, unless the organism is tired practically to complete exhaustion, give the most beneficial results. It is common knowledge that when the attention is concentrated, when our interest, either in the work or in something cognate or even foreign to it, is thoroughly aroused spells of work or intensity of effort in its performance may be borne, which under other circumstances might tax our resources to the last degree.

Forced work, *i.e.* work carried out at a pace other than that of the performer's own selection, is much more exhausting and destructive than where the subject is permitted to work at a rate of his own selection. Laulanié, assuming that fatigue had a purely physical origin, went the length of maintaining that muscles spontaneously find the optimum rate of work where the intervals of repose exactly suffice for sufficient recuperation, so that long spells of work may be done. Such a conclusion does gain a certain amount of support from the consideration, for example, of the cardiac cycle.

So far, little attention has been paid to the duration of the rest period in relation to the work done. As a general rule, it may be said that, in the majority of occupations, although the hours of labour are continuous, the actual spells of hard manual work are discontinuous, either due to the fact that certain operations are intermittent in their severity,

that supplies of material are not constant, or that, if these more or less natural conditions do not operate, rests at irregular intervals are deliberately taken by the operative.

So far as I am aware there is only one type of hard work where a definite rest period is laid down as part of the exercise, namely, in Army route marching. Marching as a costly form of energy expenditure is unique in that it is a continuous repetitive act carried on frequently for hours on end. The Regulations lay down that a definite rest period shall be taken every hour. Marching, too, is peculiar in another way, namely, that the rate of marching is fixed, *i.e.* a certain definite rate has to be constantly maintained throughout the marching period.

It can be shown that if a certain distance has to be covered in a definite time there is an optimum rate of forward progression. Cathcart, Lothian, and Greenwood found, for example, that when the cost per mile alone was considered, the minimum value was reached at a rate of about three miles per hour, but when the question of time as well as distance arose, *i.e.* if a distance of, let us say, one mile was to be covered and sixty minutes were available to do it in, would it be more economical to march the mile rapidly or slowly and have a longer or shorter period of rest? Our experiments showed that the lowest hourly value was obtained at a rate of a mile in about twenty-three minutes, *i.e.* marching for twenty-three minutes in the hour and resting for thirty-seven minutes. To spend thirty-two minutes on the march cost about 5 per cent. more, and to reduce the marching time to sixteen minutes increased the cost by about 15 per cent.

So much, then, for the ordinary effector factors. There are many other factors directly concerned with the efficient action of the organism, some directly influencing the internal economy of the body, others acting more indirectly on the organism from the environment.

One of these factors is the state of the nutrition. It may be definitely stated that an insufficient intake of food or the consumption of poor or inadequate food is one of the chief sources of general inefficiency. Our resistance to the effects of hard and continual work, just as to the effects of an infection, is largely controlled by our reserves. The capacity of the body to store reserve food material which will meet the daily demands for energy and leave a surplus is another of the vital factors of safety. The body is undoubtedly capable of withstanding complete deprivation of food for comparatively long periods, but with a corresponding depression in its capacity to perform external work. Complete starvation is a state which is rare, and does not affect the question at issue. The much more important problem is unfortunately only too common, the influence of chronic undernutrition, a condition which lowers efficiency, not merely in the actual performance of muscular work, but by inducing an increased susceptibility to disease. This is a question which has never received the attention which its importance demands, largely on account of the immense difficulties of carrying out the investigation in a practical manner. As the direct result of the war we have the records of at least two sets of observers. Benedict and his co-workers investigated the problem,

using a group of twelve men, comparing them with a similar group drawn from the same class. In the experimental group the food intake was reduced, so that there was a loss of 12 per cent. of the body weight. Although the experiment was carried on for over four months, and the basal metabolism was reduced by 18 per cent., the diminution in muscle power, so far as laboratory tests were concerned, was not great. The subjective impression, however, of the subjects was that they felt weaker and less capable.

The other recorded experiment is that of the condition in Germany during the war years. A general statement of the effects of the blockade is contained in a long document prepared by the German Government (dated December 1918). Admittedly the document was prepared for a specific purpose; but, after making all allowances, the record of the far-reaching effects of chronic underfeeding is valuable. It may be remarked that many of the statements receive corroboration in the report drawn up by Professor Starling on the food conditions in Germany. Apart from the increased death rate, the increased liability to disease, and the slow recovery from the attacks of disease, the document definitely states that the working capacity of the people was reduced by at least one-third. The following sentence gives probably an accurate picture of acute undernutrition, associated, it is true, with much emotional strain: 'Everywhere in Germany it may now be observed how, in the four years' struggle for daily bread, the people have lost all their vigour and capacity for work; how all spirit of enterprise is gone.'

Here, then, we have the actual record of an experiment on a gigantic scale. Personally I believe that these results are much more likely to be the ordinary sequence of underfeeding than the laboratory results of Benedict. I do not doubt for a moment his records, they are beyond reproach; but I feel that many of the excellent results which were obtained when the test subjects competed with subjects on ordinary food were in part due to the quite natural desire of the men to demonstrate to their friends and the onlookers that they were fit. In other words, there was a strong psychic element which vitiated the test as a real test for efficiency.

Evidence, much debated it is true, would indicate that it is not only the quantity but the quality of the food consumed which plays a part in the fitness of the individual to perform hard muscular work. All modern work would seem to point to the conclusion that if the calorie value of the food supplied is adequate the actual demand for protein is very small. It is very difficult, however, to believe that the far-reaching common belief in the efficacy of a high meat intake, despite the scientific evidence to the contrary, is without some foundation. It is possible that the value of meat (flesh) depends not merely on the high biological value of its protein, but also on the fact that it can act as a stimulant of cellular activity; that, in other words, it is desired for its stimulating effect, for giving, in that expressive transatlantic word, 'pep.'

Another factor which plays an enormous rôle in the general efficiency is the response of the organism to the multiple psychic imponderabilia

which compose such a large part of the average environment. Although for general purposes, such as the calculation of mean or average demands, it may be both convenient and useful to assess the data on an average man basis, yet it is the individual variation which controls the actual operating conditions. When we are dealing with the efficiency of the human organism, male and female, we are dealing with individuals whose performance is neither uniform throughout the year nor from week to week, nor even from hour to hour. We have to deal with an organism, as I have already mentioned, which is not only under physical control, but is very responsive to psychic influences—an organism which not only becomes in the course of the day physically 'tired,' but which unconsciously is influenced to an enormous extent by its environment, by its 'atmosphere.' Man is, in the main, a psychic chameleon.

In this connection monotony of work must be considered. The Health of Munition Workers' Committee stated that monotony is 'analogous to, if it does not represent, a fatigue process in unrecognised nerve centres.' It is true that monotonous work, be it light or heavy, may be, as Goldmark maintains, 'more damaging to the organism than heavier work which gives some chance of variety, some outlet for our innate revolt against unrelieved repetitions.' Still, although there may be a close relationship between monotony and fatigue, as generally recognised, they are not identical. The temperament of the operative plays an enormous part in the determining whether or no any particular operation is a monotonous one. Thus a skilled engineer put on to attend an automatic machine which requires the minimum of skilled attention would soon be disgusted with the monotony of the operation even if the pay were good, whereas an unskilled worker, especially if of a lower degree of intelligence, could attend to such a machine without strain. Munsterberg has recorded a number of most interesting examples of this seeming imperviousness to monotony even on the part of apparently intelligent individuals. Probably, indeed, if the operation is a slow one, or, if quick, one in which the movements are relatively simple, the dull individual—the organism with few trained receptors—and the worker with intelligence above the average, who readily masters the performance and can then let his mind free to speculate on his own private interests, will stand the strain better than the worker of average intelligence. As Munsterberg has shown, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for an outsider to determine what a monotonous operation is. It is obvious that if A is interested, let us say in epigraphy, he will judge that B, engaged in some simple routine stamping or packing job, is employed on a monotonous operation, whereas it would be equally likely that if B were asked his opinion he would candidly state that he would not exchange his interesting work for the dull and monotonous pursuit of A.

There are many other factors which play a definite and important rôle in the maintenance of efficiency, such as lighting, heating, ventilation, the mode of life led by the worker outside his definite hours of labour, his housing, &c. Many of these factors have been partially examined. Thus Leonard Hill has carried out a great deal of valuable

work on the influence of the cooling power of the air. Vernon has collected much interesting evidence which shows that there is a very definite relation between the efficiency, as measured by output, and the temperature of the working place. The output in the hottest weather was about 30 per cent. below that when the weather was coldest. He also observed an apparent connection between the relative humidity of the air and the efficiency of the worker. The efficiency, as might have been expected, was apparently greatest when the relative humidity was low. Elton has reported on the influence of lighting in silk weaving. He found that the output was lowest when artificial light was used. He stated that even when electric light of sufficient intensity was used the output was about 10 per cent. below the daylight value. The actual equipment of the factories, the provision of seats of suitable size, height, &c., the design of the machines, and so on, all play their part, as is shown by the many records, particularly from the United States.

In other words, the real overall industrial efficiency of the worker cannot be causally related to any single factor. It is not the mere capacity of the individual to perform so many kilogrammètres of work in a given time with the smallest expenditure of energy. The quest of efficiency is one of the most intricate problems in its infinite ramifications throughout the physiological and sociological structure which has ever called for solution, and it involves the whole welfare of our race and nation. It calls for the closest and most intimate co-operation between the scientific investigator, the employer and the employee, and is no more capable of being settled on a communistic than on a capitalistic basis. It can only be satisfactorily attacked when mutual distrust of motives, capacities, and methods is stilled.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE LATE W. H. R. RIVERS

(PRESIDENT ELECT OF SECTION J)

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

ADDRESS BY

CHARLES S. MYERS, C.B.E., M.A., M.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

A MOURNFUL gloom has been cast over the proceedings of our newly born Section. Since its inauguration twelve months ago this Section, as, indeed, Psychology in general, has suffered an irreparable loss through the sudden death, on June 4 last, of him who was to have presided here to-day. When, only a few weeks ago, it fell to me, as one of his first pupils, to occupy Rivers's place, I could think of little else than of him to whom I have owed so much for nearly thirty years of intimate friendship and invaluable advice; and I felt that it would be impossible for me then to prepare a Presidential Address to this Section on any other subject than on his life's work in psychology.

William Halse Rivers Rivers was born on March 12, 1864, at Luton, near Chatham, the eldest son of the Rev. H. F. Rivers, M.A., formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards vicar of St. Faith's, Maidstone, and of Elizabeth, his wife, *née* Hunt. Many of his father's family had been officers in the Navy—a fact responsible, doubtless, for Rivers's love of sea voyages. The father of his paternal grandfather, Lieutenant W. T. Rivers, R.N., was that brave Lieutenant William Rivers, R.N., who as a midshipman in the *Victory* at Trafalgar, was severely wounded in the mouth and had his left leg shot away at the very beginning of the action, in defence of Nelson or in trying to avenge the latter's mortal wound. So at least runs the family tradition; also according to which Nelson's last words to his surgeon were: 'Take care of young Rivers.' A maternal uncle of Rivers was Dr. James Hunt, who in 1863 founded and was the first President of the Anthropological Society, a precursor of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and from 1863 to 1866 at the meetings of this Association strove to obtain that recognition for anthropology as a distinct Subsection or Section which was successfully won for Psychology by his nephew, who presided over us at the Bournemouth meeting in 1919, when we were merely a Sub-section of Physiology.

Our 'young Rivers' gave his first lecture at the age of twelve, at a debating society of his father's pupils. Its subject was 'Monkeys.' He was educated first at a preparatory school at Brighton, and from

1877 to 1880 at Tonbridge School. Thence he had hoped to proceed to Cambridge; but a severe attack of enteric fever compelled him to take a year's rest, and thus prevented him from competing for an entrance scholarship at that University. He matriculated instead in the University of London, and entered St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1882, sharing the intention of one of his father's pupils of becoming an Army doctor. This idea, however, he soon relinquished; but, like his desire to go to Cambridge, it was to be realised later in life.[1]

When he took his degree of Bachelor of Medicine in 1886 he was accounted the youngest Bachelor ever known at his hospital. Two years later he graduated as Doctor of Medicine, and he spent these two and the two following years in resident appointments at Chichester (1888) and at St. Bartholomew's (1889) hospitals, in a brief period of private medical practice (1890), and in travelling as ship's surgeon to America and Japan (1887), the first of numerous subsequent voyages. In 1891 he became house-physician at the National Hospital, Queen Square, where he first made the acquaintance of Dr. Henry Head, whose collaborator he was to be some twenty years later in one of the most striking neurological experiments ever made.

But before he began work at Queen Square, before he assisted Horsley there in his then wonderful operations on the brain, before he met Head fresh from his studies in Germany and enthusiastic over the colour-vision work and novel physiological conceptions of Hering, Rivers had already shown his interest in the study of the mind and the nervous system. Thus, in 1888, when he was twenty-four years of age, we find in the *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports* (Vol. xxiv., pp. 249-251) his first published paper on 'A Case of Spasm of the Muscles of Neck Causing Protrusion of the Head,' and in the following year, in the same *Reports* (Vol. xxv., pp. 279-280), an abstract of a paper read by him before the Abernethian Society entitled 'Delirium and its Allied Conditions.' At this early date he pointed out the analogies between delirium and mania, protested against the use of narcotics in delirium, and condemned the wide separation—too wide even to-day—between diseases of the mind and diseases of the body. In 1891 and in 1893 he read papers to the Abernethian Society, abstracts of which appear in the *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports* (vol. xxvii., pp. 285-286, vol. xxix., p. 350), on 'Hysteria' and on 'Neurasthenia,' to which his interests were to return so fruitfully during and after the Great War.

In 1892 he spent the spring and early summer at Jena, attending the lectures of Eucken, Ziehen, Binswanger, and others. In a diary kept by him during this visit to Germany the following sentence occurs: 'I have during the last few weeks come to the conclusion that I should go in for insanity when I return to England and work as much as possible at psychology.' Accordingly, in the same year he became Clinical Assistant at the Bethlem Royal Hospital, and in 1893 he assisted G. H. Savage in his lectures on mental diseases at Guy's

[1] For many of the above details of Rivers's early life and antecedents I am indebted to his sister, Miss K. E. Rivers.

Hospital, laying special stress on their psychological aspect. About the same time, at the request of Professor Sully, he began to lecture on experimental psychology at University College, London.

Meanwhile, at Cambridge Michael Foster was seeking someone who would give instruction there in the physiology of the sense organs, McKendrick having, as Examiner in Physiology, recently complained of the inadequate training of the Cambridge students in this branch of the subject. Foster's choice fell on Rivers, and in 1893 he invited him to the University for this purpose. For a few months Rivers taught simultaneously at Cambridge and at Guy's Hospital and at University College, London. He went to Germany for a short period of study under Professor Kräpelin, then of Heidelberg, whose brilliant analysis of the work curve and careful investigations into the effects of drugs on bodily and mental work had aroused his intense interest. In collaboration with Kräpelin he carried out a brief investigation into mental fatigue and recovery, published in 1896 (*Journal of Mental Science*, vol. xlii., pp. 525-29, and Kräpelin's *Psychologische Arbeiten*, vol. i., pp. 627-78), which indicated that even an hour's rest is inadequate to neutralise the fatigue of half-an-hour's mental work, and paved the way for Rivers's important researches some ten years later upon the effects of drugs on muscular and mental fatigue.

At Cambridge Rivers set himself to plan one of the earliest systematic practical courses in experimental psychology in the world, certainly the first in this country. In 1897 he was officially recognised by the University, being elected to the newly established Lectureship in Physiological and Experimental Psychology. But the welcome and encouragement he received from cognate branches of study at Cambridge could hardly be called embarrassing. Even to-day practical work is not deemed essential for Cambridge honours candidates in elementary psychology; psychology is not admitted among the subjects of the Natural Sciences Tripos; and no provision is made for teaching the subject at Cambridge to medical students. Rivers first turned his attention principally to the study of colour vision and visual space perception. Between 1893 and 1901 he published experimental papers 'On Binocular Colour-mixture' (*Proc. Cambs. Philosoph. Soc.*, vol. viii., pp. 273-77), on 'The Photometry of Coloured Papers' (*J. of Physiol.*, vol. xxii., pp. 137-45), and 'On Erythropsia' (*Trans. Ophthal. Soc., London*, vol. xxi., pp. 296-305), and until 1908 he was immersed in the task of mastering the entire literature of past experimental work on vision, the outcome of which was published in 1900 as an article in the second volume of the important *Text-book of Physiology* edited by Sir Edward Sharpey Schafer.

This exhaustive article of 123 pages on 'Vision' by Rivers is still regarded as the most accurate and careful account of the whole subject in the English language. It is of special value not only as an encyclopædic storehouse of references to the work of previous investigators—although with characteristic modesty Rivers omits to mention himself among them—but also for the unsurpassed critical account of the principal theories of colour vision. In it he displayed the strength and the weakness of Hering's theory and the untenability of Helmholtz's ex-

planations of successive contrast as due to fatigue, and of simultaneous contrast as due to psychological factors. Rivers clearly showed that the effect of psychological factors is not to create but to mask the phenomena of simultaneous contrast, which are really dependent on what he terms 'the physiological reciprocity of adjoining retinal areas.' His enthusiasm for Hering's theories led him to give by far the most detailed presentation of them that had then or has since appeared in our language. In classifying the phenomena of red-green colour-blindness, on which Helmholtz largely based his trichromic theory, Rivers proposed the useful terms 'scoterythrous' and 'photerythrous' in place of the terms 'protanopic' and 'deuteranopic,' so as to avoid, in describing these phenomena, the use of names which implied the acceptance of a particular theory of colour vision. These terms have failed, however, to obtain general adoption.

In 1896 Rivers published an important paper 'On the Apparent Size of Objects' (*Mind*, N.S., vol. v., pp. 71-80), in which he described his investigations into the effects of atropin and eserin on the size of seen objects. He distinguished two kinds of micropsia which had hitherto been confused—micropsia at the fixation-point due to irradiation, and micropsia beyond the fixation-point, which is of special psychological importance. Rivers came to the interesting conclusion that the mere effort to carry out a movement of accommodation may produce the same micropsia as when that effort is actually followed by movement. In other words, an illusion of size may be dependent solely on central factors. His later work, in conjunction with Professor Dawes Hicks, on 'The Illusion of Compared Horizontal and Vertical Lines,' which was published in 1908 (*Brit. J. of Psychol.*, vol. ii., pp. 241-60), led him to trace this illusion to origins still less motor in nature. Here horizontal and vertical lines were compared under tachistoscopic and under prolonged exposure. The momentary view of the lines in the tachistoscope precluded any movement or effort of movement of the eyes, which had been supposed by many to be responsible for the over-estimation of vertical lines owing to the greater difficulty of eye movement in the vertical as compared with the horizontal direction. The amount of the illusion was found to be approximately the same for tachistoscopic as for prolonged exposure of the lines, but in the tachistoscopic exposure the judgment was more definite and less hesitating—in other words, more naive, more purely sensory, more 'physiological'—than in prolonged exposure. This result, which led to further work by Dr. E. O. Lewis at Cambridge under Rivers upon the Müller-Lyer illusion and upon the comparison of 'filled' and 'empty' space, is of fundamental psychological importance. Although it is not inconsistent with the view that visual space perception depends *for its genesis* on eye movement, it compels us to admit that visual space perception, *once acquired*, can occur in the absence of eye movement; or, in more general language, that changes in consciousness, originally arising in connexion with muscular activity, may later occur in the absence of that activity. The provision of experimental evidence in favour of so fundamental and wide-reaching a view is obviously of the greatest importance.

In 1898, in which year he was given the degree of Hon. M.A. at Cambridge, Rivers took a fresh path in his varied career by accepting Dr. A. C. Haddon's invitation to join the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits. This was the first expedition in which systematic work was carried out in the ethnological application of the methods and apparatus of experimental psychology. His former pupils, Prof. W. McDougall and I, assisted Rivers in this new field. Rivers interested himself especially in investigating the vision of the natives—their visual acuity, their colour vision, their colour nomenclature, and their susceptibility to certain visual geometric illusions. He continued to carry out psychological work of the same comparative ethnological character after his return from the Torres Straits in Scotland (where he and I sought comparative data), during a visit to Egypt in the winter of 1900, and from 1901-2 in his expedition to the Todas of Southern India.

The Torres Straits expedition marked a turning-point in Rivers's life interests, as they were for the first time directed towards ethnological studies, to which he became ardently devoted ever after, until his death removed one who at the time was President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, had in 1920-1 been President of the Folk Lore Society, and had in 1911 been President of Section H (Anthropology) of this Association. His ethnological and sociological work during his expedition to the Todas and during his two subsequent expeditions to Melanesia are too well known to need mention here. It was Rivers's own view that his most important contributions to science are to be found in the two volumes of his 'History of Melanesian Society,' published in 1914.

His psychological investigations among the Torres Straits islanders, Egyptians and Todas (*Reports of the Cambridge Anthrop. Exped. to Torres Straits*, vol. ii., Pt. I., pp. 1-132; *J. of Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxi., pp. 229-47; *Brit. J. of Psychol.*, vol. i., pp. 321-96) will ever stand as models of precise, methodical observations in the field of ethnological psychology. Nowhere does he disclose more clearly the admirably scientific bent of his mind—his insistence on scientific procedure, his delight in scientific analysis, and his facility in adapting scientific methods to novel experimental conditions. He reached the conclusion that no substantial difference exists between the visual acuity of civilised and uncivilised peoples, and that the latter show a very definite diminution in sensibility to blue, which, as he suggested, is perhaps attributable to the higher macular pigmentation among coloured peoples. He observed a generally defective nomenclature for blue, green, and brown among primitive peoples, both white and coloured, and large differences in the frequency of colour-blindness among the different uncivilised peoples whom he examined. In his work on visual illusions he found that the vertical-horizontal-line illusion was more marked, while the Müller-Lyer illusion was less marked, among uncivilised than among civilised communities; and he concluded that the former illusion was therefore dependent rather on physiological, the latter rather on psychological factors, the former being counteracted, the latter being favoured, by previous experience, *e.g.* of drawing lines or of apprehending complex figures as wholes.

In 1903, the year after his return from the Todas, and the year of his election to a Fellowship at St. John's College, Rivers began an investigation, continued for five years, with Dr. Henry Head, in which the latter, certain sensory nerves of whose arm had been experimentally divided, acted as subject, and Rivers acted as experimenter, applying various stimuli to the arm and recording the phenomena of returning cutaneous sensibility. The results of this heroic and lengthy investigation are well known. The discovery of a crude punctate protopathic sensibility, distinct from a more refined epicritic sensibility, so deeply impressed Rivers that a decade later his psychological views may be said to have been centred round this distinction between the ungraded, 'all-or-nothing,' diffusely localising functions of the protopathic system, and the delicately graded, discriminative, accurately localising functions of the epicritic system. The exact interpretation of this ' Human Experiment in Nerve Division,' published at length in 1908 (*Brain*, vol. xxxi., pp. 323-450), has been disputed by subsequent workers, whose divergent results, however, are at least partly due to their employment of different methods of procedure. Head's experiment has never been identically repeated, and until this has been done we are probably safe in trusting to the results reached by the imaginative genius and the cautious critical insight of this rare combination of investigators. At a far higher nervous level broad analogies to this peripheral analysis of cutaneous sensibility were later found by Head when thalamic came to be compared with cortical activity and sensibility.

While working with Head upon his arm Rivers's indomitable activity led him to simultaneous occupation in other fields. In 1904 he assisted Professor James Ward to found and to edit the *British Journal of Psychology*, and in that year he also received an invitation to deliver the Croonian Lectures in 1906 at the Royal College of Physicians, of which in 1899 he had been elected a Fellow. The study of drug effects had long interested him. In a paper on ' Experimental Psychology in Relation to Insanity,' read before the Medico-Psychological Society in 1895 (*Lancet*, vol. lxxiii., p. 867), he had drawn the attention of psychiatrists to the comparability of drug effects with the early stages of mental disorders before they were seen by the physician. And so, reverting to the work he had done under Kräpelin many years previously, he chose as his subject for the Croonian Lectures *The Influence of Alcohol and other Drugs on Fatigue* (Arnold, 1908). But although he utilised Kräpelin's ergograph and many of Kräpelin's methods, Rivers's *flair* for discovering previous ' faulty methods of investigation ' and his devotion to scientific methods and accuracy could not fail to advance the subject. Of no one may it be more truly said than of him,—*nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*. He felt instinctively that many of the supposed effects of alcohol were really due to the suggestion, interest, excitement or sensory stimulation accompanying the taking of the drug. Accordingly he disguised the drug, and prepared a control mixture which was indistinguishable from it. On certain days the drug mixture was taken, on other days the control mixture was taken, the subject never knowing which he was drinking. Rivers engaged Mr. H. N. Webber as a subject who could devote himself to the investi-

gation so completely as to lead the necessarily uniform life while it was being carried out. He found that the sudden cessation of all tea and coffee necessary for the study of the effects of caffeine induced a loss of energy, and that other mental disturbance might occur through giving up all forms of alcoholic drink. Therefore most of his experiments were carried out more than twelve months after the taking of these drinks had been discontinued. Instead of recording a single ergogram Rivers took several sets of ergograms each day, each set consisting usually of six ergograms taken at intervals of two minutes, and separated from the next set by an interval of thirty or sixty minutes. He arranged that the drug mixture or the control mixture should be taken after obtaining the first set of ergograms, which served as a standard wherewith subsequent sets on the same day might be compared. He worked with Mr. Webber on alcohol and caffeine, and was followed by the similar work of Dr. P. C. V. Jones in 1908 on strychnine, and of Dr. J. G. Slade in 1909 on Liebig extract.

With these vast improvements in method Rivers failed to confirm the conclusions of nearly all earlier investigators on the effects of from 5 to 20 c.c. of absolute alcohol on muscular work. His results with these doses, alike for muscular and mental work, were mainly negative, and indeed with larger doses (40 c.c.) were variable and inconclusive; although an equivalent quantity of whisky gave an immediate increase of muscular work—a result which strongly suggests the influence of sensory stimulation rather than the direct effect of the drug on the central nervous system or on the muscular tissues. Rivers concluded that alcohol may in some conditions favourably act on muscular work by increasing pleasurable emotion and by dulling sensations of fatigue, but that probably its most important effect is to depress higher control, thus tending to increase muscular and to diminish mental efficiency. Working with caffeine, Rivers also obtained effects much less pronounced than those recorded by several earlier observers. He adduced evidence to indicate that (like alcohol) caffeine has a double action on muscular activity, the one immediately increasing the *height* of the contractions obtained and persisting, the other producing an initial slow, transitory increase in the *number* of the contractions, and then a fall. Following Kräpelin, he suggested that the former action represents a peripheral, the latter a central effect.

He also put forward novel suggestions as to the true course of the fatigue curve, and laid stress on the importance of carrying out ergographic work by peripheral electrical stimulation. These views are certain to bear fruit in the future. Indeed, it may be safely said that no one can henceforth afford to investigate the effect of drugs on the intact organism without first mastering Rivers's work on the subject.

From the concluding passages of these Croonian lectures the following sentences may be aptly cited: 'The branch of psychology in which I am chiefly interested is that to which the name of individual psychology is usually given. It is that branch of psychology which deals with the differences in the mental constitutions of different peoples, and by an extension of the term to the differences which characterise the members of different races. . . . These experiments leave little doubt

that variations in the actions of drugs on different persons may have their basis in deep-seated physiological variations, and I believe that the study of these variations of susceptibility may do more than perhaps any other line of work to enable us to understand the nature of temperament and the relation between the mental and physical characters which form its two aspects.'

Rivers's interests did not lie in the collection of masses of heterogeneous data, in obtaining blurred averages from vast numbers of individuals, in concocting mathematical devices, or in applying mathematical formulæ to the numerical data thus accumulated; they lay throughout his varied career in studying and analysing individual mental differences, in getting to know the individual in his relation to his environment. In ordinary circumstances, as he later said, 'There is too little scope for the variations of conditions which is the essence of experiment. . . . While the experimental method as applied to the normal adult has borne little fruit, it would be difficult to rate too highly the importance of experiment in discovering and testing methods to be used in other lines of psychological inquiry where a wider variation of conditions is present' (*Brit. J. of Psychol.*, vol. x., p. 185).

It was the importance of studying the play of the most variable conditions that led Rivers to investigate, as we have seen, first racial mental differences, then the differences produced in a given individual by nerve section, and finally those produced in different individuals by different drugs. Throughout his life he was steadfast to the biological standpoint, correlating the psychological with the physiological, and hoping to discover different mental levels corresponding to different neural levels.

And so we approach the last phase of Rivers's psychological work, the outcome of his war experiences. In 1907 he had given up his University teaching in experimental psychology; for six years before the war he had published nothing of psychological or physiological interest. This was a period in which Rivers devoted himself wholly to the ethnology and sociology of primitive peoples. The outbreak of war found him for the second time visiting Melanesia for ethnological field work. Failing at first to get war work on his return to England, Rivers set himself to prepare the Fitzpatrick Lectures on 'Medicine, Magic and Religion,' which he had been invited to deliver to the Royal College of Physicians of London in 1915 and 1916. In 1915 his psychological and ethnological researches were recognised by the award to him of a Royal Medal by the Royal Society, of which he had been elected a Fellow in 1908. In July 1915 he went as medical officer to the Maghull War Hospital, near Liverpool, and in 1916 to the Craiglockhart War Hospital, Edinburgh, receiving a commission in the R.A.M.C. In these hospitals he began the work on the psychoneuroses that led him to his studies of the unconscious and of dreams, which resulted in his well-known book, *Instinct and the Unconscious*, published first in 1920 (already in a second edition), and in a practically completed volume on *Conflict and Dream*, which is to be published posthumously. From 1917 he acted as consulting psychologist to the Royal Air Force, being attached to the Central Hospital at Hampstead.

This period not merely marks a new phase in Rivers's work, but is also characterised by a distinct change in his personality and writings. In entering the Army and in investigating the psychoneuroses he was fulfilling the desires of his youth. Whether through the realisation of such long-discarded or suppressed wishes, or through other causes, *e.g.* the gratified desire of an opportunity for more sympathetic insight into the mental life of his fellows, he became another and a far happier man. Diffidence gave place to confidence, hesitation to certainty, reticence to outspokenness, a somewhat laboured literary style to one remarkable for its ease and charm. Over forty publications can be traced to these years, between 1916 and the date of his death. It was a period in which his genius was released from its former shackles, in which intuition was less controlled by intellectual doubt, in which inspiration brought with it the usual accompaniment of emotional conviction—even an occasional impatience with those who failed to accept his point of view. But his honest, generous character remained unchanged to the last. Ever willing to devote himself unsparingly to a cause he believed right, or to give of his best to help a fellow-being in mental distress, he worked with an indomitable self-denying energy, won the gratitude and affection of numberless nerve-shattered soldier-patients, whom he treated with unsurpassed judgment and success, and attracted all kinds of people to this new aspect of psychology. Painters, poets, authors, artisans, all came to recognise the value of his work, to seek, to win, and to appreciate his sympathy and his friendship. It was characteristic of his thoroughness that while attached to the Royal Air Force he took numerous flights, ' looping the loop ' and performing other trying evolutions in the air, so that he might gain adequate experience of flying and be able to treat his patients and to test candidates satisfactorily. He had the courage to defend much of Freud's new teaching at a time when it was carelessly condemned *in toto* by those in authority who were too ignorant or too incompetent to form any just opinion of its undoubted merits and undoubted defects. He was prepared to admit the importance of the conflict of social factors with the sexual instincts in certain psychoneuroses of civil life, but in the psychoneuroses of warfare and of occupations like mining he believed that the conflicting instincts were not sexual, but were the danger instincts, related to the instinct of self-preservation.

Thus in the best sense of the term Rivers became a man of the world and no longer a man of the laboratory and of the study. He found time to serve on the Medical Research Council's Air Medical Investigation Committee, on its Mental Disorders Committee, on its Miners' Nystagmus Committee, and on the Psychological Committee of its Industrial Fatigue Research Board. He served on a committee, of ecclesiastical complexion, appointed to inquire into the new psychotherapy, and he had many close friends among the missionaries, to whom he gave and from whom he received assistance in the social and ethnological side of their work.

In 1919, in which year he received honorary degrees from the Universities of St. Andrews and Manchester, he returned to Cambridge

as Prælector in Natural Sciences at St. John's College, and began immediately to exercise a wonderful influence over the younger members of the University by his fascinating lectures, his 'Sunday evenings,' and above all by his ever-ready interest and sympathy. As he himself wrote, after the war work 'which brought me into contact with the real problems of life . . . I felt that it was impossible for me to return to my life of detachment.' And when a few months before his death he was invited by the Labour Party to a still more public sphere of work, viz., to become a Parliamentary candidate representing the University of London, once again he gave himself unsparingly. He wrote at the time: 'To one whose life has been passed in scientific research and education the prospect of entering practical politics can be no light matter. But the times are so ominous, the outlook both for our own country and the world so black, that if others think I can be of service in political life I cannot refuse.' On several occasions subsequently he addressed interested London audiences, consisting largely of his supporters, on the relations between Psychology and Politics. It was one of these very lectures—on the Herd Instinct—at which it happened that I took the chair, which was to have formed the basis of his Presidential Address to you here to-day.

Rivers's views on the so-called herd instinct were the natural outcome of those which he had put forward during the preceding five years and collected together in his *Instinct and the Unconscious*. His aim in writing this book was, as he says, 'to provide a biological theory for the psychoneuroses,' to view the psychological from the physiological standpoint. He maintained that an exact correspondence holds between the inhibition of the physiologist and the repression of the psychologist. He regarded mental disorders as mainly dependent on the coming to the surface of older activities which had been previously controlled or suppressed by the later products of evolution. Here Rivers went beyond adopting Hughlings Jackson's celebrated explanation of the phenomena of nervous diseases as arising largely from the release of lower-level activities from higher-level controls. He further supposed that these lower-level activities represent earlier racial activities held more or less in abeyance by activities later acquired. This conception he derived from his work with Henry Head on cutaneous sensibility. Rivers could see but 'two chief possibilities' of interpreting the phenomena disclosed in the study of Head's arm. Either epicritic sensibility is protopathic sensibility in greater perfection, or else protopathic sensibility and epicritic sensibility represent two distinct stages in the development of the nervous system. Failing to see any other explanation, he adopted the second of these alternatives. He supposed that at some period of evolution, when epicritic sensibility, with its generally surface distribution, its high degree of discrimination, and its power of accurate localisation, made its appearance, the previously existing protopathic sensibility, with its punctate distribution, its 'all-or-nothing' character, and its broad radiating localisation, became in part inhibited or 'suppressed,' in part blended or 'fused' with the newly acquired sensibility so as to form a useful product. He supposed that the suppressed portion persisted in a condition of

unconscious existence, and he emphasised the biological importance of suppression. He considered at first that the protopathic sensibility 'has all the characters we associate with instinct,' whereas the later epicritic sensibility has the characters of intelligence or reason. So he came to hold that instinct 'led the animal kingdom a certain distance in the line of progress,' whereupon 'a new development began on different lines,' 'starting a new path, developing a new mechanism which utilised such portions of the old as suited its purpose.'

Evolutio per saltus was thus the keynote of Rivers's views on mental development. Just as the experience of the caterpillar or tadpole is for the most part suppressed in the experience of the butterfly or frog, so instinctive reactions tend to be suppressed in intelligent experience whenever the immediate and unmodifiable nature of the one becomes incompatible with the diametrically opposite characters of the other. Just as parts of the protopathic fuse with the later acquired epicritic sensibility, so parts of our early experience, of which other parts are suppressed, fuse with later experience in affecting adult character. 'Experience,' he explained, 'becomes unconscious because instinct and intelligence run on different lines and are in many respects incompatible with one another.'

Rivers was compelled later to recognise 'epicritic' characters in certain instincts. He came to suppose that 'the instincts connected with the needs of the individual' and with the early preservation of the race are mainly 'of the protopathic kind,' whereas the epicritic group of instincts first appeared with the development of gregarious life. He recognised the epicritic form of mental activity in the instincts connected with the social life, especially of insects, and also in the states of hypnosis and sleep. Finally, he doubted the validity of the usual distinctions between instinct and intelligence.

Throughout his work on this wide subject Rivers endeavoured to give a strict definition to words which had hitherto been ambiguously or loosely used. He defined *unconscious experience* as that which is incapable of being brought into the field of consciousness save under such special conditions as 'sleep, hypnosis, the method of free association and certain pathological states.' He defined *repression* as the self-active, 'witting' expulsion of experience from consciousness, and *suppression* as the 'unwitting' process by which experience becomes unconscious. Thus suppression may occur without repression. When one refuses to consider an alternative path of action, one represses it; when a memory becomes 'of itself' inaccessible to recall, it is suppressed. When such a suppressed experience acquires an independent activity which carries with it an independent consciousness, it undergoes, according to Rivers's usage of the term, *dissociation*. Thus suppression may occur without dissociation. In its most perfect form, according to Rivers, suppression is illustrated by the instinct of immobility which forms one of the reactions to danger; the fugue (as also somnambulism) is 'a typical and characteristic instance of dissociation.'

From his point of view Rivers was naturally led, wherever possible, to interpret abnormal mental conditions in terms of regression to more

primitive, hitherto suppressed activities. He held that the hysterias are essentially ' substitution neuroses,' connected with and modified by the gregarious instincts, and are primarily due to a regression to the primitive instinctive danger reaction of immobility, greatly modified by suggestion. So, too, he held that the anxiety neuroses, which are for him essentially ' repression neuroses,' also show regression, though less complete, in the strength and frequency of emotional reaction, in the failure during states of phantasy to appreciate reality, in the reversion to the nightmares, and especially the terrifying animal dreams, characteristic of childhood, in the occurence of compulsory acts, in the desire for solitude, &c. Indeed, because he believed that suppression is especially apt to occur, and to be relatively or absolutely perfect, in infancy, Rivers suggested that the independent activity of suppressed experience and the process of dissociation, as exemplified in fugues, complexes, &c., are themselves examples of regression.

He criticised Freud's conception of the censorship, substituting in place of that anthropomorphically-coloured sociological parallel the physiological and non-teleological conception of regression. He supposed the mimetic, fantastic, and symbolic forms in which hysterias and dreams manifest themselves to be natural to the infantile stages of human development, individual or collective. For him they were examples of regression to low-level characters, and not, as Freud supposes, ascribable to compromise formations to elude the vigilance of an all-protective censor. He regarded nightmares and war-dreams as examples of infantile states. He believed the absence of affect in many normal dreams to be natural to the infantile attitude, which would treat the situation in question with indifference. That absence of affect also arises from the harmless symbolic solution of the conflict. The affect of dreams is only painful, Rivers supposed, when they fail to provide a solution of the conflict, and is not due, as Freud holds, to the activity of the censor. In the social behaviour of primitive communities Rivers was able to find striking analogies to the characteristics of dreams, as described by Freud.

On the protopathic side he ranged the primitive instincts and emotions, and the complexes, together with the activities of the optic thalamus, and on the epicritic side intelligence and the sentiments, together with the activities of the cerebral cortex. We are now in a position to examine Rivers's treatment of the gregarious behaviour of animal and human life, on which he was still engaged at the time of his death. In the gregarious instinct he recognised a cognitive aspect which he termed ' intuition,' an affective aspect which he termed ' sympathy,' and a motor aspect which he termed ' mimesis.' He used ' mimesis ' for the process of imitation so far as it was unwitting, ' Sympathy ' he regarded as always unwitting. ' Intuition ' he defined as the process whereby one person is unwittingly influenced by another's cognitive activity. But I feel sure that the term ' unwittingly ' is not to be considered here as equivalent to ' telepathically.' All that Rivers meant was that the person is influenced by certain stimuli without appreciating their nature and meaning. He preferred to employ the term ' suggestion ' as covering

all the processes by which one mind acts on or is acted on by another unwittingly. He supposed that in the course of mental evolution epicritic characters displaced the early protopathic characters of instinctive behaviour owing to the incidence of gregarious life, especially among insects, and owing to the appearance and development of intelligence, especially in man. The suggestion inherent in gregarious behaviour implies some graduation of mental and bodily activity —an instinctive and unwitting discrimination distinct from the witting discrimination of intelligence. Suggestion, in primitive gregarious behaviour, as also in the dissociated state of hypnosis, and in its allied form, ordinary sleep, is prevented if witting processes be active; it 'is a process of the unconscious,' said Rivers. Both within the herd and during hypnosis, which he believed to be fundamentally of a collective nature, sensibility is heightened, so that the organism may be able to react to minute and almost imperceptible stimuli. Were he here to-day Rivers would have carried this conception of the evolution of gregarious life still further by distinguishing between the more lowly leaderless herd and the herd which has acquired a definite leader. He would have traced the development of the new affect of submission and of the new behaviour of obedience to the leader, and he would doubtless have accredited the leader with the higher affects of superiority and felt prestige, with the higher cognition that comes of intuitive foresight, and with the higher behaviour of intuitive adaptation, initiative, and command. I expect, too, that he would have sketched the development of still later forms of social activity, complicated by the interaction and combination of intellectual and instinctive processes —the witting deliberations and decisions on the part of the leader, and the intellectual understanding of the reasons for their confidence in him and for their appropriate behaviour on the part of those who are led.

But it would be idle further to speculate on the ideas of which we have been robbed by Rivers's untimely death. Let us rather console ourselves with the vast amount of valuable and suggestive material which he has left behind and with the stimulating memories of one who, despite the fact that his health was never robust, devoted himself unsparingly to scientific work and to the claims of any deserving human beings or of any deserving humane cause that were made upon him. There are, no doubt, some who believe that Rivers's earlier experimental psychological work—on vision, on the effects of drugs, and on cutaneous sensibility—is likely to be more lasting than his later speculations on the nature of instinct, the unconscious, dreams, and the psychoneuroses. No one can doubt the scientific permanence of his investigations in the laboratory or in the field; they are a standing monument to us of thoroughness and accuracy combined with criticism and genius. But even those who hesitate to suppose that at some definite period in mental evolution intelligence suddenly made its appearance and was grafted on to instinct, or that epicritic sensibility was suddenly added to a mental life which had before enjoyed only protopathic sensibility—even those who may not see eye to eye with Rivers on these and other fundamental views on which much of his later work rested, will be foremost in recognising the extraordinarily stimulating, suggestive, and fruitful

character of all that he poured forth with such astounding speed and profusion during the closing years of his life. And above all we mourn a teacher who was not merely a man of science devoted to abstract problems, but who realised the value of and took a keen delight in applying the knowledge gained in his special subject to more real and living problems of a more concrete, practical, everyday character. Rivers's careful methods of investigating cutaneous sensibility and the *rationale* of his successful treatment of the psychoneuroses were directly due to his psychological training. So, too, his epoch-making discoveries and his views in the field of anthropology on the spread and conflict of cultures were largely due to the application of that training. Shortly before his death he was developing, as a committee member of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, an intense interest in that youngest application of psychology, viz., to the improvement of human conditions in industrial and commercial work by the methods of experimental psychology applied to fatigue study, motion study, and vocational selection.

Unhappily, men of such wide sympathies and understanding as Rivers, combined with a devotion to scientific work, are rare. He himself recognised that 'specialisation has . . . in recent years reached such a pitch that it has become a serious evil. There is even a tendency,' he rightly said, 'to regard with suspicion one who betrays the possession of knowledge or attainments outside a narrow circle of interests' (*Brit. J. of Psychol.*, vol. x., p. 184). Let his life, his wisdom, his wide interests, sympathies and attainments, and the generosity and honesty of his character, be an example to us in the common object of our meeting this week—the Advancement of Science.

TRANSPORT OF ORGANIC SUBSTANCES IN PLANTS.

ADDRESS BY

PROFESSOR H. H. DIXON, SC.D., F.R.S.

PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

PLANT physiologists have not paid the attention to the transport of organic substances which the importance of the subject appears to deserve. The ascent of water in high trees in defiance of gravity strikes the casual observer and forces him to speculation as to how it is contrived; but the problem of the transmission of organic substances throughout plants only forces itself on those who are more or less conversant with some of the leading facts of vegetable physiology.

Among physiologists the usually accepted view is that organic substances are distributed throughout the plant by means of the bast. The wood also acts as a channel of distribution for these substances to opening buds and developing leaves, especially in spring when root-pressure is active. The sap of bleeding contains appreciable quantities of these substances, and their distribution to the developing buds in spring by means of the wood was recognised by Hartig and Sachs. Fischer showed that even in summer many woody plants contain reducing sugars in their wood. The sugar content of the wood is at a maximum in spring, diminishes in summer, and is at a minimum in winter; at the end of February it rises rapidly. There is a second crest on the curve at leaf-fall. Dr. Atkins and myself extended Fischer's observations, and showed that appreciable quantities of soluble carbohydrates, sucrose, hexoses, and even maltose, are found in the tracheæ of the stems and roots of many trees at all seasons of the year. Being in the tracheæ they must be carried from the lower parts to the upper growing regions, including the cambium of the stem. Samples drawn from different levels during the spring were found to have a greater concentration at higher levels. The inflow of water below, and consequent dilution, is probably largely responsible for this difference. Towards the end of the season there is no marked difference.

This upward transport of carbohydrates in the tracheæ seems to be accompanied with smaller amounts of proteins. Thus Schroeder showed that the quantity of proteins in the bleeding sap rises and falls with the quantity of sugar.

This view that the rising current in the tracheæ carries organic substances in it and distributes them to the growing regions has lately been impugned. It was pointed out that in many cases ringing close below the terminal bud prevents the development of that bud because

the wood is unable to transmit sufficient supplies of organic substance. As Strasburger has already pointed out, this interpretation rests upon the fallacy of supposing that the removal of the bark as far as the cambium leaves the wood uninjured. As a matter of fact, microscopic examination of the wood, from which the outer tissues have been stripped, shows that its tracheæ soon become blocked with air-bubbles and with substances probably exuded into them and their walls during morbid changes in the cells of the cambium, in the cells of the medullary rays, and in those of the wood-parenchyma. The blocking is accompanied with discoloration, and is most apparent in the outer layers of the wood. It is only reasonable to suppose that the efficiency of the tracheæ as channels of transmission is seriously impaired even before there is visible evidence of plugging.

It is evident that this clogging may act differentially on the water and the substances it carries in it. In the first place, the whole cross-section of the wood is available for the transport of water, while probably the outer layers are mainly utilised by the organic substances. Further, colloidal deposits in the walls, and especially in the pit-membranes, would obstruct the passage of organic substances much more than they would the water which carries them. These considerations readily explain how it is that, while the water-supply to the buds of ringed branches is adequate, the supply of organic substance may be deficient.

Apart, then, from the very slow movement of organic substances from cell to cell, there is very cogent evidence that their upward motion is effected in the tracheæ of the wood. There is no reason to believe that during this transport the walls or pit-membranes of these tracheæ oppose the passage of the dissolved carbohydrates or of the simpler proteins any more than the water which conveys them. Hence the velocity of transport of these organic substances is that of the transpiration current, and the amount conveyed in a given time depends on the velocity and concentration of the stream.

The transport of organic substances in an upward direction in plants is secondary, for, as is well known, carbohydrates certainly, and proteins most probably, are manufactured only in the upper green parts of plants—principally in the leaves, and must be transported in the first instance back from these to the stems to be distributed to the growing regions and to the storage organs.

It is almost universally held that the channel for this backward or downward motion of organic substances from the assimilating organs is the bast of the conducting tracts. The orthodox position is summed up by Strasburger as follows: In woody plants the carbohydrates manufactured by the leaves pass downwards in the bast. Movements of carbohydrates in the opposite direction in this tissue only take place if they are occasioned by local consumption. From the bast the carbohydrates spread into the medullary rays and wood-parenchyma, and in young branches fill these tissues and more or less of the pith. A downward movement in the wood-parenchyma, such as was formerly held, does not take place, and in those conifers in which there is no continuous wood-parenchyma is anatomically impossible. In spring and

also during summer-growth an upward transport of carbohydrates in the water tracts occurs.

This view that the channel for the backward and downward movement of organic substances is afforded by the bast received great support from Czapek's work published in 1897. By section of the conducting tracts in one half of the petiole he showed that depletion of the corresponding half of the blade was delayed. He also showed that only where vertical bridges connected the upper and lower portions of bark in ringed stems were the effects of ringing nullified. Oblique and zigzag bridges are ineffective. Thus transverse conveyance in the stem is negligible. The parallel and longitudinal arrangement of the elongated elements in the bast seemed to him to provide adequately for the observed longitudinal passage. Their narrowness and large colloid content did not present themselves as difficulties.

He also recorded the observation that the blades of leaves, the petioles of which had been killed by jacketing them with steam, did not become emptied of starch. Similarly, when the petioles were killed with chloroform-vapour, depletion was arrested. Again, anæsthetisation of the petiole, by surrounding it with a watery solution of chloroform, greatly delayed the disappearance of starch. On the other hand, depletion was not obstructed when the petiole was immersed in a 5 per cent. solution of potassium nitrate. From this last observation he concluded that plasmolysis of the translocating elements does not interfere with their function as channels of transport.

Czapek formed no definite theory as to how organic substances were moved in the bast. He was sure that the transport depends on living protoplasm. He did not consider that the streaming of protoplasm contributed materially to the motion, seeing that streaming does not occur in mature sieve-tubes. He regarded the sieve-tubes as the most important elements in the transmission of these substances, because the deposition of callus in the sieve-plates synchronises with the stoppage of transport. The transport, according to him, is not simply due to diffusion. He supposed the protoplasm to take up the organic substances and pass them on. If diffusion does not account for the passage from one particle of protoplasm to the next, it would seem that we must suppose the organic substance to be projected from one to the other.

These observations and their interpretation by Czapek have strengthened the opinion that the bast is the channel for the downward transport of organic substances. It is remarkable how little weight has been attached to the damaging criticism of Czapek's views by Deleano, especially as those views are so unsatisfactory from a physical standpoint.

The latter author showed that it is inadmissible to compare externally similar leaves, which often behave, so far as depletion is concerned, very dissimilarly. He also pointed out that without any export a leaf may be depleted of all its starch within thirty-five hours, and partially anticipated an extremely interesting recent observation of Molisch—namely, that transpiring leaves lose their carbohydrates much more rapidly than those whose transpiration is checked by being sur-

rounded with a saturated atmosphere. Neglect of these facts led Czapek into error. Deleano also showed that organic substances continue to leave the blades even after the petioles have been killed by heat or by chloroform-vapour. The rate of depletion is reduced by the former agent to about one-third, and by the latter to one-half. If this observation is substantiated it would show that the intervention of living elements is not essential for the transport. He further found that the blades attached to petioles which were surrounded by chloroform-water lost their starch more quickly than those immersed in water.

The contradictory conclusions of Czapek and Deleano urgently call for a reinvestigation of the points at issue. It is not enough to assume, as Schroeder does, a completely sceptical attitude towards the latter investigator's account of his experiments. If Czapek's work holds good, we will have to regard the bast, and especially the sieve-tubes, as the channels for the transport of organic substances back from the leaf-blades where they are manufactured, and we must look for some hitherto undreamed-of method of transmission through these most unlikely-looking conduits. On the other hand, if Deleano's conclusions are borne out, we should admit that protoplasm is not necessary for the transport, and we would turn to a dead tissue as furnishing this channel.

So far as I am aware none of the earlier investigators made any estimate either of the actual quantities of organic material which are transported or of the velocities of flow in the channels which are necessary to effect this transport.

We may approach this problem from two opposite directions—(1) by dealing with the amount of organic substance accumulated in a given time in a storage organ, or (2) by using the amount exported from an assimilating organ. The cross-section of the supposed channels of transport and the volume of the solution containing the substances in each case will give us the other necessary data.

For the first method a potato-tuber will furnish an example. One weighing 210g. was found attached to the base of a plant by a slender branch about 0.16cm. in diameter. In this branch the bast had a total cross-section of 0.0042cm.^{2}. This figure is a maximum; no allowance was made for the cross-section of the cell-walls, or for any non-functional elements in the bast. The cell-walls would occupy probably one-fifth of the cross-section of the bast. Now if the bast exclusively furnished the channel of downward transport, all the organic substance in the potato must have passed this cross-section during the time occupied in the growth of the potato. One hundred days would be a liberal allowance. According to analyses more than 24 per cent. by weight of the potato is combustible. Therefore we must assume that during this time more than 50g. of carbohydrate has passed down a conduit having a cross-section of no more than 0.0042cm.^{2}. The average concentration of the solution carrying this substance could scarcely have been as much as 10 per cent. (2.5-5 per cent. would be more probable. The concentration of sugar in bleeding sap is much below this figure, and seems never to reach 4 per cent.). Assuming, however, this concentration, the volume of liquid conveying 50g. must have been 500cm.^{3}, and this quantity must

have passed in 100 days. Therefore the average velocity of flow through this conduit, having a cross-section of 0.0042cm.², must have been $\frac{500}{0.0042 \times 100 \times 24}$, *i.e.* nearly 50cm. per hour.

By the second method we arrive at a different figure. Various investigators, from Sachs onwards, have measured the rate of photosynthesis per square metre of leaf per hour. Under the most favourable conditions the amount may approach 2g., and it has been estimated as low as 0.5g. Taking Brown and Morris' determination for *Tropæolum majus*, viz., 1g. per square metre per hour, and assuming one-third of the carbohydrate formed is used in respiration in the leaf, we find that a leaf of 46cm.² may form during ten hours' sunshine 0.46g.; during the twenty-four hours one-third of this will be respired, leaving 0.31g. to be transported from the leaf. The volume of the solution (again assuming a concentration of 10 per cent.) will be 3.10cm.³. The cross-section of the bast of the bundles in the petiole was 0.0009cm.², therefore the velocity of flow, if the bast was used as the channel of transport, must have been $\frac{3.10}{0.0009 \times 24}$ or 140cm. per hour.

Similar figures to these were derived using measurements obtained from a number of potato-tubers and from various leaves. The velocities indicated, even assuming a concentration of 10 per cent., lay in all cases between 20cm. and 140cm. per hour. These figures are in agreement with those arrived at by Luise Birch-Hirschfeld, as to the weight of organic material transported from leaves.

A flow of this rate through the bast seems quite impossible. The narrow transverse section of its elements, the frequent occurrence of transverse walls, and the lining of protoplasm and large protein contents practically preclude the mass movement of liquid through this tissue. If we imagine the flow restricted to the sieve-tubes the velocity must be correspondingly increased, and the excessively fine sieve-pores, more or less completely occupied by colloidal proteins, must be reckoned with. Simple diffusion, as Czapek recognised, cannot account for the transport, and there is no reason to suppose that adsorption on the surfaces of the colloid contents of the sieve-tubes can increase the velocity of diffusion, as Manghan suggests.

As soon as one realises the volume of the solution which has to be transported, and the velocity of the flow that this necessitates, one naturally turns to consider if the open capillary tubes of the wood may not be utilised as channels of transport. Deleano's results, indicating that the depletion of leaves continues even after the living elements of their petioles have been killed, support this conjecture.

The emphasis which has been laid on the function of the wood as providing a channel for the upward movement of water usually obscures its function as a downward and backward channel also. Early experimenters, however, fully recognised that, under certain conditions, the current in the wood may be reversed. Thus Hales quotes several experiments of his own proving this point, and states that some of his

were but repetitions of Perault's earlier work. In these experiments Hales showed that water applied at the top of a branch, which is severed from the tree, is drawn back into the branch and supplies its leaves, and makes good their transpiration losses. A tree inarched into two adjacent trees may continue to grow even after its connection with the ground is severed, drawing its supplies from its neighbours. Finally, a forked branch removed from a tree will remain fresh, and continue to transpire water for many days if one limb of the fork with its leaves is immersed in water. There is, of course, recent work also showing this reversed current.

By means of an eosin solution this reversal of the transpiration current may be very easily demonstrated. If the tip of a leaf of a growing potato-plant is cut under eosin solution, the coloured solution is very quickly drawn back into the tracheæ of the conducting tracts of the leaf; from there it passes into those of the petiole, and makes its way not only into the upper branches and leaves, but also passing down the supporting stem may completely inject the tracheæ of the tuber, and from thence pass up into the wood of the remaining haulms of the plant. Its passage is entirely in the tracheæ of the wood of the conducting tracts.

Another very striking experiment may be carried out with the imparipinnate leaf of *Sambucus nigra*. Its petiole is split longitudinally for a few centimetres and half removed. The remaining half is set in a solution of eosin. The solution is rapidly drawn up the wood-capillaries of the intact half-petiole, and soon appears in the veins of the pinnæ on the same side of the leaf, beginning with the lowest, and gradually working up into the upper ones. Finally it appears in the terminal pinna. All this while the veins of the pinnæ on the other side remain uncoloured. Now, however, the eosin begins to debouch into the base of the uppermost of these pinnæ and spreads through its veins; finally it makes its way down the offside of the rachis to the bases of the lower pinnæ, and from thence spreads into their veins. In this case we see very clearly how transpiration actuates an upward current on one side and a downward current on the other. It is interesting to note that if the terminal pinna and its stalk is removed the eosin does not appear in the pinnæ of the second side, or only after a considerable time when the small anastomosing conducting tracts are utilised.

Luise Birch-Hirschfeld recently also describes many experiments with herbaceous and woody plants, tracing the path of the reversed current by means of lithium nitrate and eosin.

In all these cases the tension of the sap determines the flow from a source wherever situated, and transpiration from the leaves, or parts of leaves, which are not supplied with liquid water from without draws the water through the plant along the channels of least resistance. Hence it is that if the cut vein of a lateral pinna provides the point of entry, the solution may pass backwards in some of the conducting tracheæ, leaving others quite uncoloured, so that some of the veins only of the pinna are injected. The injected tracts bring the solution down the rachis and petiole into the stem, while a few or many, as the case

may be, remain filled with colourless liquid, presumably the sap drawn upward to supply the transpiring surfaces of the leaf. Generally the coloured liquid descends an appreciable distance in the tracheæ of the stem before it begins to rise in the ascending current, mounting to other transpiring leaves. As a rule after some time—depending on the rate of transpiration and the amount of water supplied by the roots—the presence of the coloured liquid may be demonstrated in certain continuous series, or filaments of tracheæ in several bundles of the lower parts of the stems. Similarly, if tubers or rhizomes are present examination of these parts, after a suitable interval, will show that many of their filaments of tracheæ are injected. Meanwhile the parts above the supplying leaf become coloured, and it will be seen that the distribution of coloured tracheæ is decided by the anatomical connections of those filaments of tracheæ which directly convey the coloured liquid from the point of supply through the petiole to the stem. In tracing the path of the solution one is impressed with the fact that the path of least resistance is by no means always the shortest path in the wood. Transverse motion across several tracheæ seldom occurs, and the separate linear series of conducting tracheæ are practically isolated from each other laterally. Here we may recall Strasburger's experiments showing the very great resistance offered to the flow of water in a transverse direction in the wood of trees. This isolation of the separate filaments of tracheæ in the leaf and in the stem enables the tension developed by the transpiring cells of the leaves, while it raises a column of water in one series of tracheæ, to draw down a solution in a neighbouring filament of tracheæ terminating above in some local supply. If the anatomical connection of the two series is located in a subterranean organ the tracheæ of the subterranean organ may become filled from that supply.

So far the evidence of reversed flow in the water-conducting tracts which we have been considering has been derived from plants under artificial conditions—plants whose conducting tracts have been cut into and otherwise interfered with. Is there any evidence that reversal of the transpiration-current normally occurs in uninjured plants?

Some recent work on the transmission of stimuli seems to me to indicate that these reversals are continually occurring in normally growing plants.

The first piece of work to which I would direct your attention is that of Ricca on Mimosa. It has long been known that the stimulus which causes the folding of the pinnules and the bending of the petioles of Mimosa could traverse portions of the petioles or stems which had been raised to such a temperature as would kill the living elements in these organs. Notwithstanding that observation, Haberlandt's view, that the stimulus is transmitted as a wave of pressure through certain tubular elements of the bast, was generally accepted as the least objectionable of any of the theories which had been put forward to explain this transmission. Ricca saw that, among other difficulties, the slowness of transmission—never more than 15mm. per second—was a grave objection to this view. Accordingly working with a woody species of Mimosa—*Mimosa Spegazzinii*—he removed the whole bast and outer

tissues of the stem for many centimetres—viz., twenty-three—and was able to show that the stimulus was still transmitted. Similarly he found that the stimulus was transmitted through narrow strips of the wood from which even the pith had been removed. These experiments and others in which the transmitting organ had been killed for a considerable length caused Ricca to recognise that the stimulus is transmitted in the wood and not in the bast, as had been previously held. Thus he was led to assign the transmission to the transpiration-current. He was able to confirm this conjecture by showing that the transmission to the various leaves of a plant is largely controlled by the rate of the transpiration from the individual leaves. Thus, other things being equal, a rapidly transpiring leaf receives the stimulus sooner than a sluggishly transpiring one equidistant from the point of stimulation. He further was able to show that the stimulus may be transmitted through a glass tube filled with water, just as it is transmitted through a dead portion of the stem. Evidently a hormone set free into the transpiration-stream is the long-sought-for mechanism by which the stimulus is transmitted throughout Mimosa.

As the stimulus travels both in a basipetal and acropetal direction we may assume that movement of the transpiration-stream in a downward direction is of normal occurrence in plants.

Contemporaneously with, and subsequently to, Ricca's important work on Mimosa, experimental evidence has been accumulating to indicate that the transmission of other stimuli—viz., phototropic, traumatotropic, thigmotropic, and geotropic—is effected by means of the passage of a dissolved substance. Boysen-Jensen appears to have been the first to announce that phototropic and geotropic stimuli may be transmitted across protoplasmic discontinuities. Paál emphasised this by showing that these stimuli are able to pass a disc of the tissue of *Arundo donax* impregnated with gelatine, which is interposed between the receptive and responding regions. These observations rendered the view that the stimulus is transmitted in the form of a hormone extremely probable; and later Stark showed that this hormone is thermostable, just as Ricca had done in the case of the hormone of Mimosa. Another very interesting point discovered by Stark—working with traumatic stimuli—is that the hormones are to a certain extent specific. Thus if the perceptive tip of a seedling is removed from one plant and affixed in position on another, the certainty of the response depends on the genetic affinity of the two plants.

In all these cases it seems certain that the perceptive tissues are the point of origin, when stimulated, of a dissolved substance, the hormone, which makes its way to the motile tissues and releases the response.

In the case of Mimosa just alluded to, and of the labellum of Masdevallia examined by Oliver, there is direct evidence that the transmission of the hormone is effected by the vascular bundles. In Mimosa the channels are more precisely localised as being the tracheæ of the wood. Furthermore, the rapidity of transmission renders it certain that simple diffusion through the tissues of the plant will not account for the process. Some recorded velocities of transmission are here enumerated for the sake of comparison:—

Plant	Nature of Stimulus	Transmission Time in secs. per mm.
Mimosa	Heat	0.07
Drosera	Chemical	6.00
Seedling	Light	180–300
,,	Gravity	300
Tendril	Contact	17
Diffusion in tissue		2250–3600

There is thus every reason to believe that the transmission of stimuli generally through the tissues of the higher plants is effected by the conveyance of a hormone in the wood of the vascular bundles from the receptive to the motile regions, and whenever this transmission is in a downward direction evidence is afforded of the downward movement of water in the tracheæ. It is reasonable to suppose that this downward current is able to carry organic foodstuffs as well as hormones.

Thus the evidence for the existence of a backward flow of water in the tracheæ of wood, in addition to the more obvious upward stream, is convincing. With regard, however, to the mechanism by which the backward stream is supplied we have but scant information.

The volume-changes of leaves which Thoday has recorded are suggestive in this connection. These changes he found of various magnitudes, occurring simultaneously in different or in the same leaves. They may cause a linear contraction amounting to 2.5 per cent. in ten minutes, and may produce a volume contraction of 7 per cent. in the same time. The water corresponding to this volume-change in the cells of the leaf if transmitted into the tracheæ would produce a considerable downward displacement, as may be seen from the following figures:—

Name of Plant	Volume of 1 per cent. contraction in mm^3.	Cross-section of tracheæ in petiole in mm^2.	Downward movement in cm.
Aucuba japonica	22.8	0.05	45.6
Solanum tuberosum ...	28.0	0.07	40.0
Syringa vulgaris	42.15	0.013	16.5
Acer macrophyllum ...	42.2	0.22	19.2

If these changes in volume are caused by, or accompanied with, a development of permeability of the contracting cells, evidently a backward movement of organic substance having a velocity of about 120cm. and more per hour would be produced.

It is possible that the tension which causes these contractions of the leaf-cells at the same time acts as a stimulus to increase the permeability of the plasmatic membranes of the cells; and so one might imagine that the development of a certain tension would automatically release organic substances from the cells and draw them through the tracheæ downwards. Direct experiment on this point presents difficulties, but it may be worth recording that when the internal osmotic pressure of

the leaf-cells was overbalanced by an external gas-pressure, the water pressed from the cells and forced out of the tracheæ of the supporting stem was found to be practically pure, and if it contained carbohydrates they were in such small quantities that no reduction could be detected with Benedict's solution either before or after inversion. This experiment was repeated several times with branches of *Sambucus nigra* and *Tilia americana*. The cut branch, well supplied with water, was first exposed for several hours to conditions favourable to photosynthesis, and then either immediately or after a sojourn in darkness subjected to the gas-pressure. A pressure of thirteen atmospheres was found sufficient to drive water back from the leaves out of the stem.

Of course the conditions of this experiment are not those obtaining in the normal plant, where during transpiration the volume of a leaf, or part of a leaf, changes. In the transpiring plant we can also imagine the accumulation of a substance or an ion which would give rise to an alteration of the permeability of the plasmatic membranes of the leaves.

When, in order to imitate these conditions, the cells of the leaves in the foregoing experiment are rendered permeable by the introduction of a little toluene into the pressure-chamber, the application of a smaller pressure is sufficient to press the cell-contents into the water-channels and liquid emerges from the base of the stem which readily reduces Benedict's solution.

In the same way, if a pinna of *Sambucus nigra* is surrounded with toluene vapour, transpiration from the adjacent pinnæ draws back the cell-contents of the toluened pinna, and afterwards their track in the wood of the vascular bundles of the rachis may be traced by the browning of this tissue.

Another possibility presented itself—viz., that the direction of the current might act as a stimulus regulating the permeability of the cells in contact with the tracheæ. To test this, short lengths of stem set in their normal position were supplied, first through their lower and afterwards through their upper end, with distilled water. In neither case could carbohydrates be detected in the issuing stream.

The foregoing short consideration of some recent physiological work leads us, then, to the following conclusions:—

The transport of the organic substances needed in the distal growing regions is effected through the tracheæ of the wood. The substances travel dissolved in the water filling these channels, which is moved by transpiration, expansion of the growing cells, or root pressure.

Physical considerations forbid us admitting that sufficiently rapid transport can be afforded by the bast either for the observed upward or downward distribution of organic substance.

The existence of downward as well as upward movement of water in the tracheæ of the wood may be demonstrated by suitable experimental means, and may be inferred by the transport of hormones in the wood.

The occurrence of local contractions in leaves suggests that local increases of permeability supply dissolved organic substances to the distal ends of certain of the filaments of tracheæ. The tension developed by the transpiration of other regions draws these along downward as well as upward channels in the wood.

In thus ruling out the participation of the bast in the longitudinal transport of organic substances in plants one naturally is forced to speculate on its probable function. Its distribution and conformation are such that, while it possesses a very small cross-section, it appears with the other living elements of the vascular bundles, medullary rays, wood-parenchyma, &c., to present a maximum surface to the tracheæ.

This large surface may find explanation in the necessity of interchange between the living cells and dead conduits. The colloidal contents of the former render this process slow, hence the necessity for the large surface of interchange to enable sufficient quantities of organic substances to be abstracted from and introduced into the tracheæ to meet the needs of the plant.

Before concluding I would like to add that the experimental work carried out on this matter would have been quite impossible for me were it not for the assistance and ingenuity of Mr. N. G. Ball. He also has contributed materially by his criticisms and suggestions.

EDUCATIONAL AND SCHOOL SCIENCE.

ADDRESS BY

SIR RICHARD GREGORY, F.R.A.S., F.INST.P.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

THE Educational Science Section of the British Association attains its majority this year; and as a member privileged to assist in its birth, and associated with it in one capacity or another throughout its life, it is difficult to resist the temptation to survey its growth and manifold activities with the object of making performance during the years of adolescence the ground of promise for the future. But though this may be an appropriate theme to expound when an organisation has passed naturally through the various stages from infancy to maturity, it is not so apt on the present occasion; for, trite as is the simile, it is true to say that, like Pallas Athene from the head of Zeus, this section sprang into being fully grown and clothed, and its form to-day is much the same as it was twenty-one years ago.

Those of us who have been constant votaries at the new shrine then erected can recall many offerings which the goddess of wisdom would approve—seeds and flowers and fruits from the extensive and diversely fertile fields in which educational work is carried on. We have also seen a succession of distinguished presidents, too many of whom, however, have taken only a transient part in the activities of the section, coming before us for a single session and then passing from our view. The other sections of the Association are schools in which scientific workers graduate and from which they are never entirely separated, whether they reach the dignity of the presidential chair or not. For some reason it is, perhaps, to be regretted that our section has not hitherto been so self-sufficing in the supply of presidents, but fertilisation from other fields has its advantages, and our visitors have always brought us stimulating principles of growth, so that I follow them with much diffidence, particularly as this is the first time on which one who has been Secretary and Recorder of the section has attained to the honour of the presidency.

The section was established to consolidate the claims staked out by workers in different educational provinces, and promote common interest in their development as a whole. As Professor H. E. Armstrong explained at the opening meeting, it was proposed to devote attention to education in all its branches with the object of introducing scientific conceptions into every sphere of educational activity; that is, concep-

tions which imply such exact and profitable treatment of a subject as should come from full knowledge. Educational science signifies, however, much more than methods of teaching or the theory of the curriculum. It involves conditions of physical, mental, and moral health, with their manifold types and variations, and the determination of the most appropriate, and therefore most effective, factors of growth at every stage of development. In its present stage educational science must be largely empirical, but in this respect it does not differ from meteorology, for example; and the laws which govern the perpetually varying contents and conditions of a child's mind are not much less precisely known or applied than those by which atmospheric changes are determined. The essential attribute of all scientific investigation is the spirit of discovery, and the standards by which the results are judged are not necessarily those of practical application. Teachers too often forget this when contributions to knowledge of mental processes are brought before them. Like engineers and medical practitioners, they expect science to provide things which are directly useful, whereas their duty is to discover possibilities in results achieved. Their own work is practical or clinical, and as such may help to test structures or prescriptions, but teaching is an art rather than a science, though like all arts its advances are most secure when they are founded upon scientific principles.

It is not necessary, however, to discuss whether research in education belongs to pure or to applied science, whether, to use the distinction now adopted in other departments of progressive knowledge, it is scientific or industrial. It is scientific in so far as it follows scientific methods, reveals new facts, arrives at clear conclusions, and suggests consequences which are afterwards confirmed in application. Fortunately, it is possible to do these things without possessing complete knowledge. Hipparchus was able to determine the periods of revolutions of the planets with remarkable accuracy, and his values differ very slightly from those accepted at the present day, but it was not until eighteen hundred years later that Newton discovered the law of gravitation by which the movements of these and other bodies in the solar system are governed. So Plato and Aristotle had conceptions of education and the theory of conduct which are as true to-day as when they were expounded, because, though the conditions are different, the fundamental human qualities which it is desired to stimulate and make permanent for life are the same.

While, however, we very willingly pay tribute to the wisdom of the intellectual giants of the past, we should not let it control present thought or future policy. The scheme of education outlined by Plato in his 'Republic' was designed for the training of gentlemen of means and leisure, and it left out of account altogether everything of the nature of manual occupation or professional equipment. It was a class education adapted to the needs and circumstances of the time, and its interest to us is chiefly academic or historic. Plato and other Greek thinkers were mostly concerned with education as a moral or civic process throughout life, and the school was only one stage affecting continuous development. It was believed that to apprehend scientific principles and laws, or appreciate philosophic reasoning, required mature

minds; therefore the serious study of these subjects was reserved for manhood and had no place in the school.

Modern science differs greatly from what was known to the Greeks, particularly in the use of experimental methods of inquiry; and if Plato were now constructing an educational system adapted to existing needs he would no doubt readjust its position in the curriculum. Yet there is sound psychology in the postponement of the consideration of laws and systems to late stages of a school course. Knowledge begins with sense perception, and intelligent appreciation of laws expressing general relationships or affinities, or the recognition of the place of such laws in a system, can be expected only from gifted pupils. It is the business of education to promote the right adjustment between the developing human organism and its surroundings, and this implies that the nourishment provided at all stages of growth should be not only such as supplies the needs of the moment, but also builds up strength to live a full life under the conditions of the times. Whether we consider the practical education or training by which uncivilised man learns to supply his needs, the humanistic conceptions of ancient Greece, medieval education, or modern systems, the aim is the same, namely, to create worthy members of particular social fabrics—to adapt people to meet the necessities of life and respond to the best influences of existing circumstances. It is true that Kant thought children should be educated not for the present but for a possibly improved condition of man in the future, yet he himself advocated the cultivation of natural ability to meet practical needs of life.

Education may, therefore, be defined as deliberate adjustment of a growing human being to its environment; and the scope and character of the subjects of instruction should be determined by this biological principle. What is best for one race or epoch need not be most appropriate for another, but always the aim should be to give the pupil as many points of contact with the world around him as may be profitably developed during his school career. This does not mean, of course, that his vision is to be confined to contemporary necessities or his thoughts to provincial or even national fields. The resources available for his instruction and guidance comprise the wisdom and experience of the past as well as the power of the present, and in their extensive and varied character they now provide teachers with educational opportunities richer and fuller than those of any other period of the world's history. Literature and art form noble domains of the heritage into which the child of to-day is born, but they were mostly planted long ago, and their shapes have not been altered much in modern times. Science has, however, transformed the whole landscape entrusted to it, and the realm of its productivity is continually extending. It is a kingdom potent with possibilities for good or evil—an inheritance which cannot be renounced—and to let any of our children grow up unfamiliar with their entailed possession is to neglect an obvious duty.

The essential mission of school science is thus to prepare pupils for civilised citizenship by revealing to them something of the beauty and the power of the world in which they live, as well as introducing them to the methods by which the boundaries of natural knowledge have been

extended and Nature herself is being made subservient to her insurgent son. We live in a different world to-day from that of mediæval times, when the *trivium* of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, with the *quadrivium* of arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy, comprised the subjects of a complete education in the sciences as well as in letters—different indeed from what it was only a century ago. The influence of science is now all-pervading, and is manifest in all aspects of human activity, intellectual and material. Acquaintance with scientific ideas and methods and applications is forced upon everyone by existing circumstances of civilised life with its facilities for rapid transport by air, land, or sea, ready communication by telephone or telegraph, and other means by which space and time have been brought under control and man has assumed the mastership of his physical and social destiny. Science permeates the atmosphere in which we live, and those who cannot breathe it are not in biological adjustment with their environment—are not adapted to survive in the modern struggle for existence.

School instruction in science is not, therefore, intended to prepare for vocations, but to equip pupils for life as it is and as it soon may be. It is as essential for intelligent general reading as it is for everyday practical needs; no education can be complete or liberal without some knowledge of its aims, methods, and results, and no pupil in primary or secondary schools should be deprived of the stimulating lessons it affords. In such schools, however, the science to be taught should be science for all, and not for embryonic engineers, chemists, or even biologists; it should be science as part of a general education—unspecialised, therefore, and without reference to prospective occupation or profession, or direct connection with possible university courses to follow. Less than three per cent. of the pupils from our State-aided secondary schools proceed to universities, yet most of the science courses in these schools are based upon syllabuses of the type of university entrance examinations—syllabuses of sections of physics or chemistry, botany, zoology, and so forth—suitable enough as preliminary studies of a professional type to be extended later, but in no sense representing in scope or substance what should be placed before young and receptive minds as the scientific portion of their general education. Such teaching excuses the attitude of many modern Gallios among schoolboys caring ' for none of those things.' The needs of the many are sacrificed to the interests of the few, with the result that much of the instruction is inept and futile whether judged by standards of enlightenment or of stimulus. Exceptional pupils may profit by it, but to others, and particularly to teachers of literary subjects in the school curriculum, it often appears trivial or sordidly practical, and is usually spiritless—a means by which man may gain the whole world, but will lose his soul in the process.

This impression is not altogether unjust, and the teaching of recent years has tended to accentuate it. The extent of school science is determined by what can be covered by personal observation and experiment—a principle sound enough in itself for training in scientific method, but altogether unsuitable to define the boundaries of science in general education. Yet it is so used. Every science examination qualifying for the

First School Certificate, which now represents subjects normally studied up to about sixteen years of age, is mainly a test of practical acquaintance with facts and principles encountered in particular limited fields, but not a single one affords recognition of a broad and ample course of instruction in science such as I believe is required in addition to laboratory work. I have not the slightest intention or desire to suggest that practical work can be dispensed with in the teaching of any scientific subject, but I do urge that it becomes a fetish when it controls the range of view of the realm of natural knowledge capable of being opened for the best educational ends during school life.

Advocates of both literary and scientific studies now agree that science should be integrally and adequately represented in the educational course of all pupils up to the age of sixteen, and the Headmasters' Conference has subscribed to this view, as well as suggested the scope of the course, in the following resolutions:—

(1) That it is essential to a boy's general education that he should have some knowledge of the natural laws underlying the phenomena of daily life, and some training in their experimental investigation.

(2) That, in the opinion of this Conference, this can best be ensured by giving to all boys adequate courses of generalised science work, which would normally be completed for the ordinary boy at the age of sixteen.

(3) That, after this stage, boys who require it should take up science work of a more specialised type, while the others should for some time continue to do some science work of a more general character.

As indicated in these resolutions, it is now generally recognised by educationists that up to the age of about sixteen years there should be no specialisation in school studies. The First School Examination was organised with this end in view, and seven examining bodies have been approved by the Board of Education to test the results of instruction given in (1) English subjects, (2) languages, (3) mathematics and science, which constitute the three main groups in which candidates are expected to show a reasonable amount of attainment. The number of candidates who presented themselves at examinations of the standard of First School Certificates last year was about 42,000; and of this number, 12,500 took papers in sections of physics, 13,000 in chemistry, 11,400 in botany, 5,000 physics and chemistry combined under experimental science, 113 natural history of animals, 31 geology, and 3 zoology.

These numbers may be taken as a fair representation of the science subjects studied in most of our secondary schools, and they suggest that general scientific teaching is almost non-existent. Botany is a common subject in girls' schools, but the instruction in science for boys is limited to parts of physics and chemistry. The former subject is usually divided into mechanics and hydrostatics; heat; sound and light; and electricity and magnetism; and candidates are expected to reach a reasonable standard in two of these sections. They may, therefore, and often do, leave school when their only introduction to science is that represented by the study of mechanics and heat, and without the slightest knowledge of even such a common instrument as an electric

bell, while the ever-changing earth around them, and the place of man in it, remain as pages of an unopened book. They ask for bread, and are given a stone. General science covering a wide field is practically unknown as a school subject, and even general physics rarely finds a place in the curriculum because questions set in examinations are, to quote from the Cambridge Locals Regulations, 'principally such as will test the candidate's knowledge of the subject as gained from a course of experimental instruction.' This condition reduces the range of instruction in such a subject as physics to what can be covered in the laboratory, and makes a general course impossible; for time and equipment will not permit every pupil to learn everything through practical experiment. Reading or teaching for interest, or to learn how physical science is daily extending the power of man, receives little attention because no credit for knowledge thus gained is given in examinations.

One or two examining bodies have introduced general science syllabuses covering the rudiments of physics and chemistry as well as of plant and animal life, but even in these cases most of the subjects must be studied experimentally, and no place is found for any other means of acquiring knowledge. The result is that few schools find it worth while from the point of view of examination successes to attempt to cover such schemes of work. Moreover, no clear principle can be discerned by which the syllabuses are constructed. General science should be more than an amorphous collection of topics from physics and chemistry, with a little natural history thrown in as a sop to biologists. It should provide for good reading as well as for educational observation and experiment; should be humanistic as well as scientific. The subject which above all others has this double aspect is geography; so truly, indeed, is this the case that in the First School Examinations it may be offered in either the English or the Science group. Practically all the subjects of a broad course of general science are of geographical significance, inasmuch as they are concerned with the earth as man's dwelling-place, and the scene of his activities. Rightly conceived, geography can be made the earliest means of education as both Comenius and Locke regarded it, and it can be used as the unifying principle of all the generalised scientific instruction in schools. It is now much more than travel stories of the type of Sir John Mandeville's mediæval miscellany, or mere lists of capes and rivers, countries and cities. It provides interesting subjects for laboratory exercises and field work, and the results of observation and experiment are seen to be of use in understanding what is going on in the earth as the result of both natural and human agencies. A school course which would cover all the science required for the study of geography conceived as a branch of knowledge concerned with the natural environment of man and the inter-relations between him and those circumstances would not only be educational in the broadest sense, but would also be the best groundwork for effective teaching of geography, history, and other humanistic studies. It would make science a natural part of a vertebrate educational course instead of specialised and exclusive as it tends to be at present.

There is very present need for the reminder that science is not all

measurement, nor is all measurement science. Observation also is not merely looking at things, but examining them with a seeing mind and clear purpose. School science to-day, however, is almost entirely concerned with measurement, and pupils will cheerfully record that they observed what they could never possibly have seen (as, for example, the production of an invisible gas), while they continually carry out experiments which to them have no other purpose than that of occupying their time, or to provide them with details demanded by examination questions. In the great majority of secondary schools science signifies chiefly quantitative work in physics and chemistry—laboratory exercises and lessons bearing upon them—and rarely is any attempt made to show the pupils what a wonderful world we live in, or what science has done, and is doing, for them in their everyday life. Much of the work described as physics really belongs to mensuration, and has no claim upon the time devoted to science, though it helps to fix instruction in arithmetic or other branches of school mathematics. There is, indeed, no virtue in measuring and weighing in the absence of intelligent appreciation of the objects for which such operations are performed, or of interest in them.

In the usual course of physics, from fundamental measurements and mechanics to heat, possibly with light and sound and magnetism and electricity to follow, though relatively few pupils get beyond the heat stage, natural or psychological needs are sacrificed to logical sequence. It cannot be reasonably suggested that the order in which these subjects are prescribed has any relation to mental growth, or that the topics selected from them are such as appeal to early interests. Few pupils of their own volition wish to determine specific gravities, investigate the laws of motion, calculate specific and latent heats, and so on, at the stage of instruction in science at which these matters are usually studied, and from the point of view of educational value most of them would be more profitably employed in becoming acquainted with as wide a range as possible of common phenomena and everyday things —all considered as qualities to stimulate attention instead of quantities to be measured with an accuracy for which the need cannot be seen and by methods which easily become wearisome. The 'Investigators' appointed by the Board of Education in 1918 to report upon the papers set in examinations for the First School Certificate were right when they expressed their opinion 'that the early teaching of physics has suffered from too great insistence on more or less exact quantitative work, to the neglect of qualitative or very roughly quantitative experiments illustrating fundamental notions.' By the prevailing obsession in regard to quantitative work the pupil is made the slave of the machine, and appliances become encumbrances to the development of the human spirit.

The prime claim of science to a place in the school curriculum is based upon the intellectual value of the subject matter and its application to life. This conception of education through science as the best preparation for complete living was Herbert Spencer's contribution to educational theory; and to its influence the introduction of science into the school is largely due. Spencer's doctrine was in accord with the

principles of Pestalozzi as to the sequence in which facts and ideas should be presented and be related to stages of development, in order to be effective in creating or fostering natural interests in the mind of the child. Scientific instruction implies, therefore, not alone knowledge that is best for use in life, but knowledge adapted to the normal course of mental development. Both substance and method should be judged by the criterion of what is of greatest immediate worth or nearest to the pupil's interests at the moment. When this standard of psychological suitability is applied to the school science courses now usually followed, it must be confessed that they rarely reach it, many topics and much material being remote from the pupil's natural interests and needs.

The truth is that in the design of science courses for schools 'trial-and-error' methods have been followed. In the absence of accurate knowledge these are the only possible methods of construction, but sufficient is now known of child psychology to produce a scheme of scienetific instruction which represents not merely the views of advocates of particular subjects, but is biologically sound because it is in accord with the principles of mental growth, and, therefore, with those of educational science. When instruction in science was first introduced into schools its character was determined by insight and conviction rather than by mental needs or interests; so later, when practical work came to be regarded as an essential part of such instruction, its nature and scope represented what certain authorities believed pupils should do, instead of what they were capable of doing with intelligence and purpose. Practical chemistry became drill in the test-tubing operations of qualitative analysis, and the result was so unsatisfactory from the points of view of both science and education that when Professor Armstrong put forward a scheme of instruction devised by him, in which intelligent experimentation took the place of routine exercises, acknowledgment of its superior educational value could not be withheld, and for thirty years its principles have influenced the greater part of the science teaching in our schools.

In its aims the 'heuristic' methods of studying science energetically advocated by Professor Armstrong were much the same as those associated with the names of other educational reformers. Education in every age tends to a condition of scholasticism, and practical science teaching is no exception to this general rule, its trend being towards ritual, after which a revolt follows in the natural order of events. Comenius, with his insistence upon sense perception as the foundation of early training—'Leave nothing,' he said, 'until it has been impressed by means of the ear, the eye, the tongue, the hand.' John Dury among the Commonwealth writers who urged that pupils should be guided to observe all things and reflect upon them; Locke, with his use of sciences not to bring about 'a variety and stock of knowledge, but a variety and freedom of thinking'; and Rousseau who would 'measure, reason, weigh, compare,' not in order to teach particular sciences, but to develop methods of learning them—all these were in different degrees apostles of the same gospel of education according to Nature, and the development of a scientific habit of mind as the intention of instruction. What Rousseau persistently urged in this direction

was clearly formulated by Spencer in the words, 'Children should be led to make their own investigations, and to draw their own inferences. They should be *told* as little as possible, and induced to *discover* as much as possible'—principles which cover all that is implied in what has since been termed 'heuristic' teaching.

Professor Armstrong's particular contribution to educational science consisted in the production of detailed schemes of work in which these principles were put into practice. Ideas are relatively cheap, and it needs a master mind to make a coherent story or useful structure from them. This was done in the courses in chemistry outlined in Reports presented to the British Association in 1889 and 1890, and the effect was a complete change in the methods of teaching that subject. 'The great mistake,' said Professor Armstrong, 'that has been made hitherto is that of attempting to teach the elements of this or that special branch of science; what we should seek to do is to impart the elements of scientific method and inculcate wisdom, so choosing the material studied as to develop an intelligent appreciation of what is going on in the world.' One feature of heuristic instruction emphasised by its modern advocate, but often neglected, is that which it presents to the teaching of English. Accounts of experiments had to be written out in literary form describing the purpose of the inquiry and the bearing of the results upon the questions raised, and wide reading of original works was encouraged. A few years ago English composition was regarded as a thing apart from written work in science, but this should not be so, and most teachers would now agree with the view expressed by Sir J. J. Thomson's Committee on the Position of Natural Science in the Educational System of Great Britain that 'All through the science course the greatest care should be taken to insist on the accurate use of the English language, and the longer the time given to science the greater becomes the responsibility of the teacher in this matter. . . . The conventional jargon of laboratories, which is far too common in much that is written on pure and applied science, is quite out of place in schools.'

When heuristic methods are followed in the spirit in which they were conceived, namely, that of arousing interest in common occurrences, and leading pupils to follow clues as to their cause, as a detective unravels a mystery, there is no doubt as to their success. No one supposes that pupils must find out everything for themselves by practical inquiry, but they can be trained to bring intelligent thought upon simple facts and phenomena, and to devise experiments to test their own explanations of what they themselves have observed. It is impossible, however, to be true to heuristic methods in the teaching of science and at the same time pay addresses to a syllabus. A single question raised by a pupil may take a term or a year to arrive at a reasonable answer, and the time may be well spent in forming habits of independent thinking about evidence obtained at first-hand, but the work cannot also embrace a prescribed range of scientific topics. Yet under existing conditions, in which examinations are used to test attainments, this double duty has to be attempted by even the most enlightened and progressive teachers of school science. There can, indeed, be no profitable training in research methods in school laboratories under the

shadow of examination syllabuses. Where there is freedom from such restraint, and individual pupils can be permitted to proceed at their own speeds in inquiries initiated on their own motives, success is assured, but in few schools are such conditions practicable; so that, in the main, strict adherence to the heuristic method is a policy of perfection which may be aimed at but is rarely reached.

A necessary condition of the research method of teaching science is that the pupils themselves must consider the problems presented to them as worth solving, and not merely laboratory exercises. Moreover, the inquiries undertaken must be such as can lead to clear conclusions when the experimental work is accurately performed. It may be doubted whether the rusting of iron or the study of germination of beans and the growth of seedlings fulfils the first of these conditions, and the common adoption of these subjects of inquiry is due to custom and convenience rather than to recognition of what most pupils consider to be worth their efforts. It needed a Priestley and a Lavoisier to proceed from the rusting of iron to the composition of air and water, and even such an acute investigator as Galileo, though well aware that air has weight, did not understand how this fact explained the working of the common suction pump. If research methods are to be followed faithfully, and what pupils want to discover about natural facts and phenomena is to determine what they do, then teachers must be prepared to guide them in scores of inquiries both in and out of the laboratory. Under the exigencies of school work it is impracticable to contemplate such procedure, and all that can be usefully attempted is to lead pupils to read the book of Nature and to understand how difficult it is to obtain a precise answer to what may seem the simplest question.

The mission of school science should not, indeed, be only to provide training in scientific method—valuable as this is to everyone. Such training does cultivate painstaking and observant habits, and encourages independent and intelligent reasoning, but it cannot be held in these days that any one subject may be used for the general nourishment of faculties which are thereby rendered more capable of assimilating other subjects. Modern psychology, as well as everyday experience, has disposed of this belief. If the doctrine of transfer of power were psychologically sound, then as good a case could be made out for the classical languages as for science, because they also may be taught so as to develop the power of solving problems and of acquiring knowledge at the same time. When, therefore, advocates of particular courses of instruction state that they do not pretend to teach science, but are concerned solely with method, they show unwise indifference to what is known about educational values. Locke's disciplinary theory—that the process of learning trains faculties for use in any fields, and that the nature of the subject is of little consequence—can no longer be entertained. It has now to be acknowledged that information obtained in the years of school life is as important as the process of obtaining it; that, in other words, subject matter as well as the doctrine of formal discipline must be taken into consideration in designing courses of scientific instruction which will conform to the best educational principles.

So long ago as 1867 the distinction between subject and method was clearly stated by a Committee of the British Association, which included among its members Professor Huxley, Professor Tyndall, and Canon Wilson. It was pointed out that general literary acquaintance with scientific things in actual life, and knowledge relating to common facts and phenomena of Nature, were as desirable as the habits of mind aimed at in scientific training through 'experimental physics, elementary chemistry, and botany.' The subjects which the Committee recommended for scientific information, as distinguished from training, comprehended 'a general description of the solar system; of the form and physical geography of the earth, and such natural phenomena as tides, currents, winds, and the causes that influence climate; of the broad facts of geology; of elementary natural history with especial reference to the useful plants and animals; and of the rudiments of physiology.' If we add to this outline a few suitable topics illustrating applications of science to everyday life, we have a course of instruction much more suitable for all pupils as a part of their general education than what is now commonly followed in secondary schools. It will be a course which will excite wonder and stimulate the imagination, will promote active interest in the beauty and order of Nature, and the extension of the Kingdom of Man, and provide guidance in the laws of healthy life.

The purpose of this kind of instruction is, of course, altogether different from that of practical experiment in the laboratory. One of the functions is to provide pupils with a knowledge of the nature of everyday phenomena and applications of science, and of the meaning of scientific words in common use. Instead of aiming at creating appreciation of scientific method by an intensive study of a narrow field, a wide range of subjects should be presented in order to give extensive views which cannot possibly be obtained through experimental work alone. The object is indeed almost as much literary as scientific, and the early lessons necessary for its attainment ought to be within the capacity of every qualified teacher of English. Without acquaintance with the common vocabulary of natural science a large and increasing body of current literature is unintelligible, and there are classical scientific works which are just as worthy of study in both style and substance as many of the English texts prescribed for use in schools. We all now accept the view that science students should be taught to express themselves in good English, but little is heard of the equal necessity for students of the English language to possess even an elementary knowledge of the ideas and terminology of everyday science, which are vital elements in the modern world, and which it is the business of literature to present and interpret.

So much has been, and can be, said in favour of broad courses of general informative science in addition to laboratory instruction and lessons which follow closely upon it, that the rarity of such courses in our secondary schools is a little surprising at first sight. Their absence seems to be due to several reasons. In the first place, the teachers themselves are specialists in physics, chemistry, biology, or some other department of science, and they occupy their own territory in school

as definitely as Mr. Eliot Howard has shown to be the behaviour-routine of birds in woods and fields. You may, therefore, have a teacher of physics who has taken an honours degree and yet know less of plant or animal life than a child in an elementary school where Nature Study is wisely taught; and, on the other hand, there are teachers of natural history altogether unacquainted with the influence of physical and chemical conditions upon the observations they describe or the conclusions they reach. Natural science as a single subject no longer exists either in school or university, and with its division and sub-division has come a corresponding limitation of interest. No man can now be considered as having received a liberal education if he knows nothing of the scientific thought around him, but it is equally true that no man of science is scientifically educated unless his range of intellectual vision embraces the outstanding facts and principles of all the main branches of natural knowledge. It cannot reasonably be suggested that this general knowledge of science should be acquired by all if teachers of science themselves do not possess it. During the past thirty years or so there has been far too much boundary-marking of science teaching in school on account of the specialised qualifications of the teachers. What is wanted is less attention to the conventional division of science into separate compartments designed by examining bodies, and more to the whole field of Nature and the scientific activities by which man has transformed the world; and no teacher of school science should be unwilling or unqualified to impart such instruction to his pupils.

Where such teachers do exist, however, they are compelled by the exigencies of examinations to conform to syllabuses of which the boundary lines are no more natural than those which mark political divisions of countries on a map of the world. All that can be said in favour of the delimitation of territory is that it is convenient; the examiner knows what the scope of his questions may be, and teachers the limits of the field they are expected to survey with their pupils. While, therefore, it may be believed that a general course of science is best suited to the needs of pupils up to the age of about sixteen years, examining authorities recognise no course of this character, and very few schools include it in the curriculum. Expressed in other words, the proximate or ultimate end of the instruction is not education but examination, not the revealing of wide prospects because of the stimulus and interest to be derived from them, but the study of an arbitrary group of topics prescribed because knowledge of them can be readily tested. It may be urged that this is the only practicable plan to adopt if a science course is to have a defined shape, and not, like much that passes for Nature Study, merely odds and ends about Nature, without articulation or purpose. Acceptance of this view, however, carries with it the acknowledgment that expediency rather than principle has to determine the scope and character of school science, which is equivalent to saying that science has no secure place in educational theory. I prefer to believe that a school course of general science can be constructed which is largely informative and at the same time truly educational, but it must provide what is best adapted to enlarge the

outlook and develop the capacity of the minds which receive it, and not be determined by the facilities it offers for examinational tests.

A third reason for the relative absence of general scientific education in schools is the demands which the teaching might make upon apparatus and equipment. Simple quantitative work in physics, chemistry, or botany can be done in the laboratory with little apparatus, and a single experiment may occupy a pupil for several teaching periods. To attempt to provide the means by which all pupils can observe for themselves a wide range of unrelated facts and phenomena belonging to the biological as well as to the physical sciences is obviously impracticable, and would be educationally ineffective. Experiments carried out in the laboratory should chiefly serve to train and test capacity of attacking problems and arriving at precise results just as definitely as do exercises in mathematical teaching. But knowledge by itself, whether of quantitative or qualitative character, is not sufficient, and it becomes power only when it is expressed or used. Every observation or experiment carries with it, therefore, the duty of recording it clearly and fully in words or computations, or both, and if this is faithfully done laboratory work of any kind may be made an aid to English composition as well as an incentive to independent inquiry and intelligent thought.

It is very difficult, however, to devise a laboratory course of general science which shall be both coherent and educative; shall be, in other words, both extensive in scope and intensive in method. I doubt, indeed, whether any practical course can perform this double function successfully. Probably the best working plan is to keep the descriptive lessons and the experimental problems separate, using demonstrations in the class-room as illustrations, and leaving the laboratory work to itself as a means of training in scientific method or of giving a practical acquaintance with a selected series of facts and principles. The main thing to avoid is the limitation of the science teaching to what can be done practically; for no general survey is possible under such conditions. Even if two-thirds of the time available for scientific instruction be devoted to laboratory experiment and questions provoked by it, the remaining third should be used to reveal the wonder and the power and the poetry of scientific work and thought; to be an introduction to the rainbow-tinted world of Nature as well as provide notes and a vocabulary which will make classical and contemporary scientific literature intelligible. If there must be a test of attention and understanding in connection with such descriptive lessons, because of the spirit of indifference inherent in many minds—young as well as old—let it be such as will show comprehension of the main facts and ideas presented and knowledge of the meaning of the words and terms used. In this way descriptive lessons may be used to provide material for work and active thought, and light dalliance with scientific subjects avoided.

It may be urged that no knowledge of this kind has any scientific reality unless it is derived from first-hand experience, and this is no doubt right in one sense; yet it is well to remember that science, like art, is long while school life is short, and that though practical familiarity with scientific things must be limited, much pleasure and profit can be

derived from becoming acquainted with what others have seen or thought. It is true that we learn from personal experience, but a wise man learns also from the experience of others, and one purpose of a descriptive science course should be to cultivate this capacity of understanding what others have described. As in art, or in music, or in literature, the intention of school teaching should be mainly to promote appreciation of what is best in them rather than to train artists, musicians, or men of letters, so in science the most appropriate instruction for a class as an entity must be that which expands the vision and creates a spirit of reverence for Nature and the power of man, and not that which aims solely at training scientific investigators. It should conform with Kant's view that the ultimate ideal of education is nothing less than the perfection of human nature, and not merely a goal to be obtained by the select few.

The sum and substance of this address is a plea for the expansion of scientific instruction in this humanising spirit, for widening the gateway into the land of promise where the destinies of the human race are shaped. It is the privilege of a president to be to some extent pontificial—to express opinions which in other circumstances would demand qualification—and to leave others to determine how far the doctrines pronounced can be put into practice in daily life. I do not, therefore, attempt to suggest the outlines of courses of science teaching for pupils of different ages, or for schools of different types; this has been done already in a number of books and reports, among the latter being the Report of Sir J. J. Thomson's Committee on the Position of Natural Science, the Report of the British Association Committee on Science Teaching in Secondary Schools, Mr. O. H. Latter's Report to the Board of Education on Science Teaching in Public Schools, the 'Science for All' Report and Syllabus issued by the Science Masters' Association, a Board of Education Report on 'Some Experiments in the Teaching of Science and Handwork in certain Elementary Schools in London,' and one prepared for the Board by Mr. J. Dover Wilson on 'Humanism in the Continuation School.' What has been said in this address as to the need for extending the outlook of customary scientific instruction beyond the narrow range of manual exercises, manipulative dexterity, experimental ritual, or incipient research, can be both amplified and justified from these Reports. I want science not only to be a means of stimulating real and careful thinking through doing things, but also a means of creating interest and enlarging the working vocabulary of the pupils and thus truly increasing their range of intelligence. So may scientific instruction be made a power and an inspiration by giving, in the words of the Book of Wisdom (vii. 16-20):—

'an unerring knowledge of the things that are,
To know the constitution of the world and the operation of the elements;
The beginning and end and middle of times,
The alternations of the solstices and the changes of seasons,
The circuits of years and the positions of stars;
The nature of living creatures and the raging of wild beasts,
The violences of winds and the thoughts of men,
The diversities of plants and the virtues of roots.'

When school science has this outlook it will lie closer to the human heart than it does at present, and a common bond of sympathy will be formed between all who are guiding the growth of young minds for both beauty and strength. So will the community of educational aims be established and the place of science in modern life be understood by a generation which will be entrusted with the task of making a new heaven and a new earth. If these trustees for the future learn to know science in spirit as well as in truth we may look forward with happy confidence to the social structure they will build, in which knowledge will be the bedrock of springs of action and wisdom will make man the worthy monarch of the world.

THE PROPER POSITION OF THE LANDOWNER IN RELATION TO THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

ADDRESS BY

THE RIGHT HON. LORD BLEDISLOE, K.B.E.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

AT a critical period in the history of British agriculture you have invited one who is not an expert scientist but an ordinary country squire, intensely proud of the traditions and deeply conscious of the potentialities of the class to which he belongs, to preside over the Agricultural Section of the British Association. If in my address I fail to carry persuasion, it will not be through lack of strong convictions or of a sense of responsibility in giving utterance to them. This meeting marks the tenth anniversary of the inauguration of this Section of the Association. It may with reason be asked whether it has so far justified itself. It can only do so if the teachings of science not merely tinge but permeate ordinary British farm practice to the commercial advantage of the whole agricultural industry. It is not sufficient for scientists to preach only to the converted. Whether in the realm of animal husbandry, or in that of arable cultivation, the pursuit of scientific method must not be confined to the favoured few possessing abnormal wealth or an exceptional combination of intellectual zeal with business aptitude, but must for its full justification result in an improved general standard of farming and a largely increased output of agricultural produce at a reasonable margin of profit, in which the whole rural community participates. Considering the wealth of discovery in almost every branch of agricultural research during the last quarter of a century, and the greatly enlarged scope of scientific investigation as applied to agricultural problems during the last few years, the absorption into ordinary British farm practice of the results of such investigation is far from being commensurate with the labour or, indeed, the expense of scientific effort.

Although there is amongst farmers a growing appreciation of the value of science to their industry, there is far too wide a gap between the most enlightened and commercially successful farm practice and that of the average farmer in this country.

How is this gulf to be bridged?

My immediate predecessor in the Presidency of this Section, Mr. C. S. Orwin, in his carefully reasoned and suggestive address last year at Edinburgh, pointed out that a study of economics and the constant

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recognition of dominant economic force must go hand in hand with agricultural research and education in the various branches of science upon which agriculture is based, if the latter are to receive their full fruition, and if the business of farming is to be profitably conducted. The highest skill in the task of actual production may, in the absence of efficient business management and of the organisation in the interests of the agricultural producer of the conversion, transport, distribution and sale of his produce, fail to prevent the bankruptcy court being his ultimate destination. A good recent illustration of the anomalous and unfortunate result of lack of such organisation is the sale to millers by thousands of farmers last autumn of exceptionally high quality wheat at a relatively low value, and the subsequent purchase by the same farmers, in many cases from the same source, of residual wheat offals for the feeding of their pigs or cattle at considerably higher prices than those paid to them for the whole grain; or again, the crisis among dairy farmers last spring arising out of the attempt on the part of a powerful combination of milk distributors to compel them to enter into summer milk contracts at prices which left them no prospective margin of profit, while retailing the same commodity to the public in the towns at nearly three times the price paid to the producer, thus incidentally putting a premium upon the increased importation from abroad of milk powder and other milk substitutes.

The crying need of such organisation is admitted. But how is it to be supplied? Numerous public-spirited efforts have been made for at least thirty years by the Agricultural Organisation Society and other like bodies, with Government encouragement, to develop co-operative effort among British farmers, comparable to that which has attended the same movement in Denmark, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Hungary and (in more recent years) Ireland, but without any very marked or persistent success, largely owing to the somewhat obstinate individuality and mutual suspicion of our agricultural population, and partly and chiefly owing to the lack of the initiative and control in such enterprises of outstanding and universally acknowledged leaders of indisputable integrity and business capacity.

If efficient organisation is the chief desideratum of British rural industry, and if its availability depends upon trained leadership, where is such leadership to be found?

Let us glance at the other side of the picture. There is a strong political movement in favour of Land Nationalisation. It is part of the accepted creed of organised labour in this country; it is, significantly, the chief political tenet of the two national groups of agricultural workers. It implies no hostility amongst its adherents to agricultural landowners, either individually or as a class. In fact, the country squire, especially one who is, so to speak, 'ascriptus glebæ'—whose family has become deep-rooted for several generations in the soil of the locality as well as in honourable traditions of public service and philanthropic utility—is, or at least, speaking generally, was (until post-War impoverishment threatened his continuing stability) an object of respect, and often of affection, among the local working population, more so very often than the farm tenants upon his estate. Every reputable

landowner who has faced the ordeal of a political contest in a purely rural constituency is conscious of the almost pathetic confidence evoked, not so much by the professions of his political faith as by the fact of his land-ownership, and the assumption of well-informed sympathy which is deemed to be associated with it. He may be stupid or reactionary, but he inspires respect for his honesty, patriotism, and unselfish devotion to duty. Yet to the advocates of Land Nationalisation in the mass he appears as an industrial parasite, a mere rent-receiver, who 'reaps where he has not sown, who gathers where he has not strawed.' He owns, it is true—in the form of land, buildings, and other farm equipment—at least two-thirds of the capital embarked in the industry of agriculture. He may derive 2 per cent. or less from his capital so invested, and live an inconspicuous life of comparative poverty, while the sale (especially in recent years) of his estate and the investment of the proceeds of sale in Government securities might treble his income and raise him to a condition of comparative affluence. But unless he is himself a farmer (which is seldom the case) he lives a life detached from the industry carried on upon his estate, and often ineffectually seeks relief from his growing poverty by attaching himself to a Property Defence League. He becomes, in fact, a mere property defender, which in a highly democratic State carries little conviction to a preponderantly urban proletariat, and tends to stimulate the activities of revolutionary propagandists. If, on the other hand, he were to stand out in the body politic as a producer, trained for his task as such, and prepared to accept the position of managing director of the great and, if well organised and directed, potentially profitable industry conducted upon his property, his position as a landowner would be far less vulnerable and his utility to the State indisputable.

The agricultural community in Britain to-day above all else needs enlightened leadership, just as agriculture needs efficient organisation; and the landowner, if, after due training, he would but take his proper position, should be both leader and chief organiser.

During the last half-century, when the financial resources of the average landowner, even during the great depression of the 'eighties and 'nineties, sufficed to furnish a competence for himself and his family, and before the growing burden of estate duty (against which he often secured the devolution of an undiminished inheritance by the annual payment of an insurance premium) threatened the dissolution of his estate, he was wont, at least in his youth, to serve his country in the Navy, the Army, or some other financially unremunerative branch of the public service, or to participate unpaid in the conduct of local government. He employed an estate agent (often a person of no agricultural training), who stood between him and the agricultural activities of his estate, in respect of which he was himself often deplorably ignorant, unbusinesslike, and unprogressive.

The War has naturally altered his outlook. It is estimated that the present rate of estate duty as levied upon a form of property of which (if adequately maintained) the net income is relatively low and the capital value disproportionately high, will, unless hereafter materially reduced, permit of no landed estate of average size and rental,

unbuttressed by external financial resources, remaining in one family for more than two generations. Effective insurance against the burden of death duties is in such cases no longer practicable. The continued employment of an estate agent who is not also an experienced farm manager is to many a luxury, of which the estate income will no longer admit. The sale of the estate is one of two alternatives: its owner-management and industrial development constitute the other. The second alternative is possible under a system either of Landlord and Tenant or of Occupying Ownership.

The relation of landlord and tenant necessarily depends for its success upon the leadership and initiative of the owner, based upon sound knowledge. It operated as a stimulant to English agriculture during the latter part of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, because, following the example of George III., Lord Townshend, Lord Leicester, and other enlightened territorial magnates, it had become the fashion for the owner to interest himself in farming, and he consequently knew what the land was capable of, and gave a lead to his tenants. With the growing importations of grain from abroad, the increasing prosperity of the industrial population at the expense of the countryside, and especially in consequence of the agricultural depression during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the landowner lost faith in himself and in his true vocation, and had neither the knowledge nor the inclination to give his tenants the lead which they required. It became, in fact, easier for him, by remitting rents and acquiescing in the farmer's desire to lay his land down to grass, to obtain the reputation of a ' good ' landlord, an expression which meant in all too many cases his abandonment of leadership and his surrender to ignorant or indolent prejudice. Where neither leadership nor rent remission were forthcoming his old tenants were ruined. The prime condition under which farm tenancy can prosper is the owner's knowledge and management of his estate, similar to that exercised by the manager of an industrial company in relation to his business. The owner, in fact, if he carried out to the full the possibilities of his position, ought constantly, with the knowledge and experience which would render intervention acceptable, to be guiding his tenants in the way of improving their business by the constant application of science to farm practice, the employment of labour-saving machinery, the discovery of new markets, and, above all, by the development of co-operation. If he had but the knowledge and the faith he could have done much during the last half-century by insisting upon the proper education of his tenants' sons before they in their turn became occupiers of his estate holdings, or even by looking to the agricultural colleges for the provision of fresh blood and enterprise among his tenantry, himself selecting at times a likely youth from the human output of such institutions.

Whereas at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century certain progressive English landowners were definitely and admittedly the leaders of the industry, to-day, and for the past sixty years, landowners have ceased to lead. Coke of Norfolk and his contemporaries in introducing developments which benefited

the whole industry also benefited themselves and their whole environment, because these improvements were introduced on sound business lines. Land to-day in the hands of British landowners is more than ever an amenity, and although there are many whose serious impoverishment operates as an inducement to put their estates upon a business footing, they are sadly conscious that they have not the knowledge to do so. The excessive development of urban and industrial interests, coupled with the relatively severe neglect of all rural development, is the fundamental cause of the present unpromising state of British agriculture, which is affecting adversely the prosperity and security of the whole nation.

One drawback to the English estate system is the size and character of the home farm. It is in but few cases that this has been conducted on business lines, and it has, therefore, proved unconvincing to the tenant farmers. Even where a high standard of live-stock or of cultivation has been obtained, the working farmer has assumed that such methods are uneconomic, and therefore unworthy of imitation by one who has 'to make a living out of his farm.' In this respect Germany has shown a pleasing contrast. The great estate of the typical East Prussian landowner was only in part farmed by his small tenants. He himself had a large demesne. With the agrarian revival, which dated from about 1870, these owners commenced farming their demesnes more intensively instead of finding more estate tenants. They realised the importance of the application of science to farming, and sought skilled scientific managers, and obtained them from the German agricultural colleges, notably from Bonn. This developed a valuable organisation, under which the well-trained young agriculturist could obtain his practical experience as an under-manager before he was selected to control the business of farming commercially a large area of land. In this country, where for many years science and practice have, in spite of the motto of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, existed largely in separate watertight compartments, with a tendency on the part of many of the more influential landowners (at their rent audit dinners and on other like occasions) to disparage the value of the former and evoke applause by so doing, such a development has been impracticable. If, for instance, at the present time an English landowner proposed to farm his 5,000 or 10,000 acres as an industrial undertaking, he would have considerable difficulty in finding a trustworthy manager fully equipped for the post. Every year for many years past suitable men have been leaving the agricultural colleges, but they have found it impossible to obtain the necessary practical experience for the full commercial utilisation of their scientific equipment, owing to their inability to enter the business of industrial farming in a subordinate capacity. Experience on a single farm of average size does not fit a potentially capable man for the management of a big highly organised farming business. He has not developed the right outlook.

A good illustration of the weakness of ownership detached from occupation when the landlord ceases to have the necessary knowledge and experience may be seen in Italy at the present time. The metayer

system, which is many centuries old, has of late years been breaking down, and the War has accelerated its downfall. The landowner, who was originally its creator and main source of its stability, was too far detached from the soil to know how the system from time to time had to be modified. The result was that his tenants revolted, and have in many cases obtained for themselves conditions of tenancy to which they were not properly entitled, on the strength of their temporary prosperity resulting from the War. Throughout Eastern Europe, too, and particularly in Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia, there has been a land revolution. Great estates have been forfeited and their land subdivided, solely because the owners have not during the last generation been active participators in the work of production.

The absentee landlord, a *rara avis* in all Continental countries except Italy, is another example of the baneful effects of his non-industrial character in this country. Oblivious of the true meaning of 'manor'[1] and 'mansion,' he often separates himself entirely, not merely from the industry, but from the locality, in which he comes to be regarded as an unsympathetic stranger.

The plight of the Irish landowner, and indeed of Ireland itself, might to-day be far less serious if, during the last fifty years, the landowners of that unfortunate country had as a class made their homes amongst the rural population and identified themselves closely with their industrial welfare.

It has come, perhaps unfortunately, to be assumed in this country that there are three classes or sections of the agricultural community, whose interests are distinct and largely divergent, and for whose participation in the proceeds of the industry separate provision must be made. But the divorce of landownership from land cultivation is unnatural; it is not to be found universally prevalent in other countries, nor indeed has it always existed in our own. Its very existence is a deterrent to the full industrial development of agricultural land. It may be (and it is unfortunately the case to-day among many new occupying-owners) that the producer's monetary resources do not suffice to provide him both with the land itself and with adequate capital for the business of farming it. If, therefore, he can obtain his land, buildings and permanent equipment at a moderate rent, representing to the owner only 2 or 3 per cent. on his capital, and without the added burden of maintenance and repairs, it is undoubtedly attractive as a commercial proposition. But whatever provision may be made by the Legislature for securing to the cultivator fair compensation as the reward of his enterprise, the latter must necessarily be restricted in respect of the full development of the property of another, and an adequate return for such full development (even if wise and prudent) can never be provided for by the State without imposing upon the owner of the land a prospective financial burden admittedly too heavy for him to bear or too risky for him to face. In fact, the unification of the rôles of the landowner and farm tenant is a condition precedent to the full, confident and enterprising development of the agricultural industry on economic lines. Moreover, although eighteenth-century economists laid stress

[1] From Latin *manere*, to remain.

upon the increase of rents as a factor in the enhancement of agricultural prosperity, it cannot be gainsaid, as an abstract economic truth, that an increase in the productivity of agricultural land as the result of the producer's enterprise redounds ultimately to the benefit of its owner or his successor. Also, the difficulties of 'tenant right' inherent in the relation of landlord and tenant are apt to increase in direct ratio with a tenant's enterprise exercised on another's land, and must almost inevitably eventuate in dual ownership and the domestic antagonism of agricultural interests.

Great, however, as are the advantages of occupying ownership to the nation and to the industry, it must be recognised that such a system, although capable of wide extension, cannot exist in this country to the entire exclusion of that of landlord and tenant, nor is it desirable. Some of the most skilled, progressive, and deservedly influential farmers in Great Britain are, and will continue to be, farm tenants. Their knowledge of their holdings and their productive capacity is a valuable asset, and promotes output and economy of administration. Although many men of this type have, under the pressure of circumstances, recently purchased their farms, the majority have not. Even if their farms were purchasable the diversion to land purchase of capital usefully employed in its full exploitation would probably be imprudent and uneconomic. From these men their landlords can learn much; with such men they should strive to establish a relationship of friendly and mutually trustful co-operation in all measures which make for the enhanced prosperity of the farmers' business on the estate or in the district. They should also seek to create and maintain a similar *entente cordiale* between the various sectional organisations of the agricultural community wherever these exist locally. On the other hand, where the tenant is an obviously inefficient farmer, depreciating his landlord's property, and steadily impoverishing himself and his family, the landlord, with the moral backing of his more efficient tenants and of the whole local working population, should boldly assume the responsibility of terminating his occupancy. The fact that County Agricultural Committees are now charged with the statutory duty of assisting landlords in this process should accelerate the dispossession of the industrially incompetent. The Agricultural Holdings Acts, while excellent in theory, have in practice operated to afford security of tenure to the bad tenant equally with the good, and have thereby tended to lower the standard of husbandry throughout England and Wales. The standpoint of the public welfare evolved by war conditions has created, fortunately, a saner outlook upon such matters, even among politicians. The trend of legislation has been in the past, and is even now, all against the active landlord. The tide, however, will assuredly turn when he makes it evident that his welfare and that of the State are identical.

The land is unsparing of her faithful devotees. So multifarious are the daily pre-occupations of the successful arable farmer, involving constant personal attention to detail and a readiness to meet unforeseen contingencies, that he can seldom devote time and attention to the work of organisation of the industry and of those engaged in it. This imposes all the deeper obligation upon the more leisured and probably

more highly educated landowner who is not himself a farmer to take his full share in the execution of this indispensable task. In fact, the landowner's duty as an organiser increases in inverse ratio with his activity as an actual producer.

No agent, however competent, can fully discharge the whole duties of the agricultural landowner. Still less can one who is incompetent, whose training is defective, or whose vision is myopic. Just as in Switzerland, where the conservation of forests is essential for the check of avalanches, the State compels a landowner to employ a State-trained forester for the management of his woodlands, so it might be in the national interest here to enact that either the landowner himself or the agent or factor whom he employs shall have passed some test of efficiency as an estate manager.

English law and custom in relation both to the settlement of estates and to the letting of farms have obstructed the full utility of the English landlord as a producer and as an agricultural organiser. The Settled Land Acts, while in the public interest extending the power of a tenant for life under a strict settlement to sell the whole or part of a settled estate, have provided that all moneys realised by such alienation shall be held by trustees and applied for certain purposes only (for the assumed benefit of the inheritance), specifically prescribed either by the settlement or by these Statutes. They do not admit of the proceeds of sale of a part of a settled estate being applied to capitalise farming operations conducted on strictly commercial lines on another part of it. If, subject to proper safeguards concerning the capacity and trained experience of the life tenant, the Settled Land Acts could be amended in this direction, a considerable impetus would be given to farming enterprise on the part of limited owners, especially those who have no monetary resources outside their estates. Had such enterprise been thus stimulated in the past, the capital value of many an estate passing to a subsequent life tenant or to a remainderman would have been not merely maintained, but greatly enhanced—as was that of Coke of Norfolk—and the true object of the settlement would have been achieved, with immeasurable benefit to the nation at large. The Law of Property Act, 1922, while possibly aiding agricultural enterprise by the destruction of copyholds and customary tenures with their fines, heriots, and other feudal dues, may, by the abolition of primogeniture on an intestacy, stimulate and intensify the desire of many landowners to execute strict settlements, and thereby, in the absence of a fresh statutory extension of the powers of a limited owner, augment the difficulties of their successors in the direction of industrial development. The settlement of landed estates has become so serious a hindrance to their industrial (including their agricultural) development by their owners that it is highly questionable whether legislation may not be desirable forbidding the process altogether as being contrary alike to public policy and to private advantage. The heavy burden of recurrent death duties tends in any case to diminish, and possibly to neutralise entirely, the effect of a transaction designed to ensure the continuous devolution of an unimpaired heritage.

Similarly, the old forms of covenant in farm agreements, which

date from the time when the owner had himself considerable knowledge of the industry and its economic possibilities, represented a higher standard of farming than the tenant would naturally adopt if left to his own uncontrolled inclinations. They have been the subject from time to time of well-merited criticism and of legislative interference on the part of the State, because they became harmful to the industry in consequence of their crystallisation by lawyers and their preservation when the conditions had changed. It was not so much the stringency of these farm agreements, but their lack of modification and adaptation, in view of the opening up of new markets and the development of fresh means of land fertilisation, which laid them open to censure. It was, in fact, ignorance arising from the owner's increasing detachment from the processes of agricultural production which, by stereotyping the conditions of his farm tenancies, retarded the enterprise of his tenants and degraded the standard of their husbandry.

It may be suggested that present-day advocacy of the economic activities of landowners, although they be admittedly beneficial to the commonwealth, is inopportune in view of the growing impoverishment by taxation of the landowning class and the sub-division of many large estates which might have proved good units for effective industrial organisation. On the other hand, it may be urged that the sale by many landowners possessing small commercial experience or aptitude of portions of their estates, and the investment of the proceeds in joint-stock industrial undertakings yielding at least twice the amount of their rent, has brought home to the minds of many of them that mere rent-receiving proprietorship was not good business, and that by the industrial or commercial development of their land more wealth was to be won for themselves and their families. Moreover, the sale or sub-division of estates has added to the landowning class many men possessing not merely great wealth but business acumen and wide commercial knowledge, some at least of whom are able to realise the unprofitableness of undeveloped land, or the political unwisdom of land-ownership detached from industry, and have acted accordingly. Conspicuous among these are men of the type of the late Lord Manton, who with great foresight and public spirit have applied their surplus wealth to the conduct of research, and to the personal application of scientific discovery to the daily requirements of agricultural industry. There are, however, unfortunately all too many of those who have embarked in the purchase of landed estates wealth derived from urban industries or from mining who are not prepared to employ in their development those business methods which have led in the past to their enrichment. They are the rather prone to treat their properties as playgrounds, or as instruments for the enhancement of their social position.

The process of territorial disintegration has largely augmented the number of those who combine within themselves the rôles of occupier and owner—the functions of rent producer and rent receiver. The number of agricultural landowners has thus been at least doubled in several counties by recruits from the ranks of the tenant farmers, and unless compelled by the current fall in prices to sell their pro-

perties, these new proprietors are likely to afford an appreciable accession of political stability to the whole landowning section of the community. On the other hand, many country squires, in face of financial stringency and even of domestic discomfort, have been estopped by the ties of family sentiment and tradition from seeking, by the alienation of their ancestral domains, a short cut to material prosperity or enhanced comfort. In such cases desirable estate improvements and sometimes necessary repairs have had to be abandoned, and eleemosynary gifts reduced to a minimum, causing thereby much heart-burning and compunction. How much better it would be, assuming that the estate is not subject to a strict settlement, rendering such a process *ultra vires*, if part of the estate were sold in order to provide the necessary capital for the cultivation or industrial equipment of the remainder of it.

It is here material to consider more closely to what extent the landowner in Continental countries has been instrumental in advancing the prosperity of agricultural industry, economically, politically, and socially.

On the Continent, speaking generally, the landowner had to derive his livelihood from his land, and in a large measure from its actual cultivation. Landowners with large invested funds were relatively scarce, and there was not any large influx of rich manufacturers whose ambition it was to acquire such power and social distinction as might be deemed to flow from territorial possessions. The Continental landowner was generally forced to regard his occupation as landowner as the main business of his life, a business requiring proper training, a business to be steadily developed, and just as steadily maintained, as any commercial undertaking. From this personal and individual standpoint arose his sound and intelligent attitude towards the whole rural industry. He realised that if his own individual business was to achieve the maximum of success, the industry of which it was a part must be as highly organised as any other industry in the country.

Speaking generally, in all Continental countries (whether they have a definite agrarian party or not) the political power enjoyed by agriculture is founded on the fact that agriculture is an organised industry. In Great Britain it is not. Foreign agriculturists realised that the effective and complete organisation of their industry was the surest path to political power, and in every case landowners became the leaders in this movement. Although in different countries its details may have varied, its underlying principle was the same. The great incentive to this development of agricultural organisation was the competition of the new worlds. On the Continent such competition was strenuously fought, and the aid of science was invoked in the contest. In Great Britain the same competition was not effectively met because organisation was wanting, and the landowner failed in the duty of leadership. As he reduced his rents, so the tenant-farmer reduced the labour bestowed upon the land, and reduced, instead of augmenting, what he put back into the land with a view to its yielding an economic return. Agriculturists and Government were alike to blame.

In Denmark sixty years ago the landowners co-operated with the

clergy in improving the land and in organising rural industry. Far-sighted landowners realised that the day of the big estate was past, and they joined forces with their Government to substitute, with all proper safeguards for economic success, the occupying-owner for the farm tenant. The success has been undoubted, and neither could the landowner complain of unfair treatment nor the tenant of having imposed upon him an undue financial burden. When in recent years force of circumstances compelled the disintegration of the great estates in England, many farm tenants had no option but to purchase their holdings, and the purchase was made under the worst possible conditions. The system of land banks on the Continental model would have simplified the process of such transfer, and would have obviated in a large measure its inevitable risks. In Denmark the landowners have been the pioneers of all new methods and processes in farming, and the farmers in their neighbourhood have followed their example. The fact that the standard of Danish farming is to-day very high and very level is mainly due to the Danish landowners. In the actual work of the co-operative movement the clergy in Denmark, as in Belgium, have played an important part, often acting as secretaries to the co-operative societies, and by precept and example guiding the industrial activities of the smaller cultivators. In strong contrast the English rural clergy are relatively valueless from an economic standpoint, and thus lose much of the personal influence which they might otherwise possess. This was not always the case in English history. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the monks in England were resident landowners, and initiated most of the improvements which were made in the practices of medieval farming. It was their influence which was mainly instrumental in the improvement of live-stock, drainage, reclamation, and the construction of roads and bridges. Further, the Danish landowner, in common with the best types of his class in all Western European countries, because he applies business methods to the cultivation of his land, has been the means of increasing the aggregate yield from the soil of his country for the benefit of the nation, while as a reward for himself he has derived a profit from the process which surpasses what is generally conceived as possible throughout this country. Not only is his estate administered on the soundest commercial lines, and made to yield a fair return to him as proprietor, but because a considerable proportion, and often the whole, of it is farmed according to up-to-date methods he receives a large profit as a cultivator.

Denmark, however, it must be remembered, is a purely agricultural country. An even better example for British comparison is Belgium, because that country possesses an industrial development similar to but even more intensive than that of the United Kingdom. Although its factory output is greater per head of population than in this country, its rural development has been considerable and progressive. The landowners have been pioneers in this work, while the priests have co-operated with a knowledge and enthusiasm unsurpassed in any other country. The result has been that poor and waste land has been brought into high productivity, and Belgium, in spite of her urban

developments, has excelled all countries of the world in her production per acre of cultivated land. The landowners have taken a specially active part in agricultural production of every description as well as in stock breeding and dairying on their estates, and by championing the interests of the rural community in the agricultural societies and in the National Legislature. Many of them insist upon their sons making a specialised study of agriculture, and a considerable number of landowners' wives are beginning to take an active interest in women's institutes (Cercles de Fermières) and in the Institut Menager Agricole of Lâeken, in which prospective landowners' wives are properly trained to play an active part in the social life of the countryside. So well have the whole agricultural community, led by the landowners, performed their part that politicians and the general public alike in Belgium recognise that the welfare of their country depends ultimately upon a flourishing agricultural industry. Not only has considerable attention been paid to agricultural education in all grades of Belgian schools, but a certain modicum of instruction concerning the land and the national importance of its proper development is, even in the urban schools, inculcated in the minds of all future Belgian citizens, with the result that there exists throughout Belgium a sound public opinion in relation to agricultural problems. No such public opinion can be said to exist at the present time in this country. Our landowners are not as a class educational enthusiasts.

In Germany also, which contains to a large extent an urban and industrial population, the Government has concentrated much attention upon the proper development of land and of agriculture. From the political point of view agriculture in Germany, as represented by the agrarian party, is probably stronger in proportion to its urban population than in any other country. It is, however, significant to note that there agricultural organisation for industrial needs preceded its organisation for political purposes. There, too, prior to the War, the great landowners took the lead, and although in some parts of Germany the larger agricultural estates are administered more or less upon English lines, the owner is almost invariably also a farmer, who conducts his farming operations on a strictly business footing. The first step in the organisation of Germany's agricultural industry may be said to have been taken when, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the landowners founded the Landschaft as a means of providing credit for estate purposes, recognising, as they did, that credit is the life-blood of the industry, if available on easy and attractive terms, but that in the form of a permanent mortgage it is apt to become a burden upon owner and occupier alike. Out of this landowners' bank, which in 1914 had a capital of 150,000,000*l.*, grew the provision of credit for current agricultural needs through the medium of the Raiffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch Banks, the former of which had a turnover in 1914 of over 300,000,000*l.*

In France most of the large landowners reside on their estates, which they cultivate themselves, either wholly or in part. They take a practical interest in all matters relating to the progress of agriculture, and are everywhere the promoters of co-operation in all its forms. In particular they are usually at the head of the important agricultural

syndicates. Their influence is, however, essentially local; attached to the land, they concern themselves for the most part only with the interests of the population over which their influence directly extends. Very often a large landowner is the maire of the commune, or a member of the Arrondissement Council, or of the General Council of the Department, but very rarely is he a Senator or Deputy, as such positions necessitate prolonged periods of residence in Paris. The influence of the large landowner is specially felt by the 'metayers' in those regions where metayage exists. This influence takes the form of the choice of their live-stock and fertilisers, and of advice as to the methods of cultivation. This is only possible where mutual confidence and friendly relations exist between the landowner and the 'metayers'; in districts where these relations are disappearing or weakening metayage tends to give place to rent-paying tenancy.

In Italy, in those regions where large estates are the rule, the landlord, usually an absentee, often lets his land to intermediaries, who are mere speculators, and who cultivate it extensively with a view to their personal profit without regard to the interests of the community. Elsewhere the landowners, where they themselves undertake the cultivation of their own properties, usually seek to introduce increasingly scientific methods of cultivation, and to draw advantage, in their own interests and that of the public, from the latest teachings of chemistry, biology, and agricultural mechanics. Even on the estate cultivated on the metayer system the landlords, on whom falls the management of the farms, have sought in the past to introduce all such improvements as will increase the yield of the land and improve the economic conditions of the metayers and their families. Latterly, however, the relations between the landowners and the peasantry have, as already mentioned, become somewhat strained; as the demands of the peasants threatened in many cases to exceed the limits of the productivity of the farms the landowners have felt themselves compelled to combine in association for the defence of their own proprietary interests. A close network of such associations has been formed, and these are affiliated to the General Confederation of Agriculture. This organisation, acting on behalf of its affiliated associations, proposes not only to safeguard the interests of the landowning class, but also to carry on propaganda in favour of the technical progress of agriculture and for the betterment of the conditions of the rural classes in general. Recently there has also been formed an agricultural political party, to promote in Parliament the interests of agriculture.

The history of agriculture in the United Kingdom for the last seventy years does not redound to the credit either of landowners or of statesmen. The landowners, who should have given a lead to the industry, failed to do so, largely because they have not as a class been trained for their proper profession, and because in a greater or less degree they have regarded the land as an amenity, but never as a great national problem for the solution of which they were themselves primarily responsible.

The British landowner, if he farms at all, being untrained to the task, often farms indifferently, and generally at a loss. If

he produces live-stock of special merit it is largely for the foreign and not for the home market. Often his farming operations are based upon his ambition to gain public distinction by excelling as a professional exhibitor of prize stock at the leading agricultural shows, without any effort on his part to make such stock a medium for the improvement of the ordinary commercial stock of the country, or even of his own locality. One result of this is a marked and growing gap between the finest British live-stock, which may be reckoned as the best in the world, and the average live-stock of the ordinary commercial farmer, which is probably lagging behind the average standard now attained in many Continental countries.

Although in soil and climate the land of Great Britain can compare favourably with most of the cultivated land on the Continent, the Continental landowner derives as a rule a net income of from 3*l.* to 4*l.* per acre, as compared with 1*l.* per acre in the United Kingdom. Moreover, the Continental landowner so manages his woodlands that they yield, generally speaking, an annual average net profit at least equal to the rental of the agricultural land, and often very much more.

Sir James Caird (the advocate of more liberal covenants in tenancy agreements) more than sixty years ago sounded the trumpet of warning in relation to the threatening decadence of British agriculture, which, however, passed unheeded by the bulk of those best able to profit by and act upon it.[2] England's period of greatest agricultural depression, which followed twenty years later, synchronised with that of Germany's greatest agricultural enterprise. From that time the latter's agricultural progress, based on ascertained knowledge widely and wisely diffused, was steady and continuous. Germany's food-weapons during the late War were at least as deadly as her military weapons, and the fact that the former did not ultimately triumph cannot be placed to the credit of British landlordism. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.* Owing to lack of enterprise and to the non-utilisation of scientific discovery the number of persons fed from 100 acres of cultivated land in Great Britain prior to the War fell far short of those fed from the same area in Germany,[3] while the average crop yields of Great Britain have for a generation been below those of Belgium and Denmark, although none of the three can boast of a soil and climate more conducive to agricultural productivity. The same British acreage could well be made to produce at least twice the present output of human and animal food. That England should have 55 per cent. of her cultivable land under pasture as compared with only 18 per cent. in Germany is not creditable to the former. In Germany the occupier, if he is not also the owner, demands and enjoys the benefits of a long lease. Moreover, game preserving there is on a relatively small scale, and subservient to the paramount claims of

[2] It is singular to note that Caird, in the preface to his exhaustive survey of British farming, selects for special emphasis two defects, (1) the lack of landowners' initiative, and (2) the non-utilisation of sewage in promoting fertility. There is still room for land improvement from both sources.

[3] 'The Recent Development of German Agriculture,' by Sir Thomas Middleton [Cd. 8305] 1916.

food production. Here the claims of property as such have overridden those of industry, which alone can in the last resort justify property and at the same time enhance its value. The almost pathetic cry on the part of so many landowners of 'Property, property, property' is a significant indication of the at least temporary decay of the squire of former days, who, although perhaps a feudal autocrat, was an integral part of the industrial machine, and was recognised and respected as such by the other parts.

And yet only sixty years ago English landowners were still the acknowledged pioneers of agricultural improvement! The whole continent of Europe—including especially France, Germany, and Switzerland—were the confessed imitators of English agricultural methods as initiated and perfected by 'Turnip Townshend,' Coke of Norfolk, Lord Somerville, and the Dukes of Bedford. In France De Saussure, in Germany Thaer, and later Stockhardt (a disciple of Sir John Bennet Lawes), and in Switzerland Von Fellenberg, had preached the advantages of English methods, particularly in the matter of crop rotation. The name of the Squire of Rothamsted was a household word throughout rural Europe, and was stimulating more scientific treatment of the soil, while his own bucolic fellow-countrymen, mostly blind to his genius and to their own advantage, were sinking into a condition of static somnolence and smug contentment with the progress of the past. The Germans especially, unlike ourselves, thoroughly believed in the advantages of education and research, and their farmers, unlike ours, greedily absorbed the teachings of science as applied to agricultural processes, notably in the economic employment of feeding-stuffs and fertilisers.

The present-day poverty of the landowning class will, no doubt, be urged, perhaps with some justification, in opposition to their adoption of the rôle which I submit is properly theirs, and which is not capable of vicarious fulfilment, either by the State or by any agent or tenant. Their very impecuniosity, however, may best provide the much-needed driving power, especially if it be associated with knowledge. Coke of Norfolk derived his stimulus from the refusal of a farm tenant to pay what he considered an economic rent. He could boast eventually of having increased his estate income tenfold. His tenants applauded his enterprise and copied his methods. The increase of his rents, reflecting as it did increased national wealth, was even recognised by economists and statesmen as beneficial alike to the agricultural industry and to the State. Some of his improvements no doubt needed initial capital outlay, and this many a modern landlord may be powerless to provide. But co-operation has proved to be to a large extent a substitute for capital in those countries which have most developed their agricultural prosperity, and become our most formidable competitors, even in our own markets. To co-operative methods agricultural landowners must turn to promote the enhanced well-being of themselves and the whole rural community. Moreover, by the establishment of a system, not of State-imposed minimum wages but of friendly co-partnership, profit-sharing and practical human sympathy, untarnished by patronage, and coupled with greater simplicity of living, they must identify and unify

their material interests with those of the rural employees upon their estates. Thus, and only thus, will the economic and perhaps, too, the political solidarity of presently diverse agricultural interests be established, which can best promote on a permanent basis the maximum prosperity of British agriculture.

The trained capacity to produce should be part of the equipment of every agricultural landowner. But still more important for the modern landowner, if he is to achieve his maximum utility, is the capacity to organise. Without it he will never become a true leader, and British agriculture will become a prey to hostile competition from abroad and successful exploitation at home.

The following are some of the methods by the adoption of which British agriculture, under the enlightened direction of trained, far-sighted, and progressive landowners, might, in spite of the competition of countries where labour is cheaper and taxation lower, be stabilised on a remunerative basis:—

The organisation of credit facilities.

The co-operative purchase in bulk of farm requisites and the co-operative sale and distribution of farm produce.

The utilisation of mechanical energy on the farm by means of tractors, electric motors, oil-engines, potato diggers and planters and other labour-saving devices.

The utilisation of water-power for generating electricity and the employment of the latter for driving farm machinery.

The grinding of every variety of corn (including beans and peas) and the substitution of concentrated foods grown on the estate for purchased milling offals, cattle cakes and meals.

The mechanical mixing of foods for live-stock, and their conveyance without handling into mangers and troughs.

The erection of silos, and the ensilage therein of bulky leguminous crops, as well as of oats, ryegrass, and maize.

The utilisation of liquid manure from farm buildings after collection in tanks.

The elimination of scrub bulls and the provision in every locality of live-stock sires of outstanding quality and good parentage.

The establishment of central dairies and bacon factories either for a single estate or for a larger area.

The utilisation of all whey from cheese factories in feeding pigs or by conversion into lactose or lactalbumin

The preservation of milk or whey in times of glut by desiccation.

The centralised manufacture of concrete for farm and estate buildings, and of lime and ground limestone for mortar and land dressings.

The organised collection of orchard fruit, and its grading, packing, consignment, and retail sale, or its conversion into cider with portable cider-making plant, or in properly equipped central factories.

The pulping of fruit and making of jam.

The preservation of fruit and vegetables by bottling, canning, and desiccation.

The organised collection and preservation of eggs in the spring and

summer, to place on the market in the late autumn and winter, when their commercial value is highest.

The co-operative use of motor-lorries for carrying farm produce to populous centres of distribution.

The co-operative ownership of portable timber-felling and centralised timber-seasoning plant.

The conversion of the timber of one or (by joint ownership of plant) of several estates into planks, barrels, gates, fencing, mattock handles, clogs, &c., and its preservation by creosote or other preservative.

The organisation of the cultivation of sugar-beet, and its conversion into beet-sugar, alcohol, and cattle foods.

The establishment of co-operative central markets, auction marts, and slaughter-houses.

The organisation of comprehensive schemes of local drainage.

The use of draining machines for excavating drains and laying drain-pipes.

The utilisation of village sewage in the production of osiers, and their conversion into baskets.

The erection of centralised waste-product plants for the utilisation as pig and poultry foods of animal carcases of low commercial value.

The organisation of periodical pilgrimages of local farmers to centres of research and demonstration, or to skilfully worked and wisely equipped farms.

And, above all, the elimination of superfluous and unnecessary middlemen.

There is probably no worse consequence of the lack of cohesion, organisation, and leadership in British agriculture than the extent and power of the middleman interest—unparalleled elsewhere in the civilised world—whose parasitic tentacles have slowly yet surely fastened themselves upon the industry and are sucking out its life's blood to the detriment of producer and consumer alike. It is largely a 'horizontal' interest of useless speculators, and not a 'vertical' interest of helpful distributors. While it thrives the industry decays. Where it is itself sufficiently organised it has even been known to dictate imperiously the price of some essential farm product to producer and consumer alike—a price which would have left no margin of profit to the former—and thereby to compel Government intervention in order to avoid helpless acquiescence, a dangerous departure and indicative of the inherent weakness of the industry.

Apart from the heavy burden of local and Imperial taxation, the toll levied by the middleman is the main cause of the poverty-stricken condition of the English agricultural labourer. While companies whose sole object and justification are the distribution of British agricultural produce are paying 25 per cent. dividends, or issuing bonus shares to their urban shareholders and to those who 'toil not neither do they spin,' the countryside is being slowly denuded of its physically and mentally robust manhood owing to the indigence of the agricultural producer, their emigration is being fostered by statutory enactment, and foreign produce of the same or a like description is being sold in increasing quantities in British markets. It is an unedifying spectacle which

agricultural solidarity and leadership alone can efface. In no sphere of action can the leadership of the landowner be more profitably exercised; in none is it more urgently needed.

The disparity between the prices paid to the farmer for his produce and those paid by the consumer for the same produce, or even by the farmer himself for its by-products, may be illustrated by the following official figures furnished to me by the Statistical Branch of the National Farmers' Union:—

WHEAT AND ITS PRODUCTS.*

Per Ton.

——	Wheat	Coarse Middlings	Bran	Flour
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Average pre-War ...	7 12 5	6 12 0	5 1 0	11 0 0
	(1911–13)	(1911–13)	(1911–13)	(1913)
1921				
July	19 13 10	12 0 0	8 3 0	27 8 0
August	15 17 8	14 2 0	10 0 0	26 4 0
September	13 13 9	12 13 0	9 1 0	24 16 0
October	11 19 7	11 2 0	8 8 0	23 4 0
November	10 10 0	10 16 0	8 17 0	20 12 0
December	10 13 2	10 14 0	10 1 0	18 16 0
1922				
January	10 11 2	9 2 0	9 7 0	18 4 0
February	11 1 9	8 18 0	9 1 0	19 4 0
March	12 6 2	8 13 0	8 11 0	20 8 0
April	12 0 0	8 6 0	8 1 0	20 4 0
May	12 18 3	8 19 0	8 0 0	19 14 0
June	12 13 10	8 13 0	6 13 0	18 12 0

* The price of wheat is based on the monthly average *Gazette* price published by the Ministry of Agriculture.

The prices of English offals are those for the two varieties quoted officially by the Ministry of Agriculture.

The price of flour is the average of the prices at the beginning and end of the month for London Straights quoted by *The Times* and incorporated in its index-number of prices.

Expressing these prices as index-numbers, with the average pre-War prices quoted above taken as 100 in each case:—

—	Wheat	Coarse Middlings	Bran	Flour
1921				
July	258	182	161	249
August	208	214	198	238
September	180	192	187	225
October	157	168	166	211
November	138	164	175	187
December	140	162	199	171
1922				
January	138	138	185	165
February	145	135	179	175
March	161	131	169	185
April	157	126	159	184
May	169	136	158	179
June	167	131	132	169

The most striking comparison of prices is provided by the months November and December 1921. In both these months **the price of coarse middlings was actually higher than the price of wheat.** The percentage increases on the pre-War levels are also instructive, viz.:—

—	Percentage Increase	
	Nov.	Dec.
English wheat	38	40
,, coarse middlings ...	64	62
,, bran	75	99
Straight-run flour	87	71

Taking the respective food values of wheat, coarse middlings, and bran as represented by the figures 100, 85, and 65 respectively, the relative values to the pig-feeder, apart from dietetic considerations, would be as follows:—

—	Wheat	Coarse Middlings	Bran
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Average pre-War...	7 12 5	6 9 7	4 19 1
Nov. 1921	10 10 0	8 18 6	6 16 6
Dec. 1921	10 13 2	9 1 2	6 18 7

MILK.

Summer Contracts, 1922 (London Supply).

Per Gallon.

	To Farmer	To Consumer
Prices originally proposed and agreed to (*re* ¾ of supply)	8d. delivered London, carriage paid,	1/8
Equivalent to (average)	6d. at farm	
Prices after Government intervention	10½d. delivered London	1/8
Equivalent to (average)	8½d. at farm	

PIGS AND BACON.

Pigs.

Per Lb. deadweight (in pence).

—	1st quality	2nd quality	Average	Index-number of average
	d.	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*
*Average 1911–13 ...	6.4	6.0	6.2	100
1921				
July	14.3	12.9	13.6	219
August	14.8	13.6	14.2	229
September	14.1	12.8	13.5	218
October	12.0	10.9	11.4	184
November...	11.0	9.7	10.4	168
December	10.3	9.1	9.7	156
1922				
January	10.3	9.1	9.7	156
February	11.4	10.2	10.8	174
March	11.9	10.7	11.3	182
April	12.1	11.0	11.6	187
May	12.3	10.9	11.6	187
June	11.7	10.5	11.1	179

* Average prices of bacon pigs as quoted officially by the Ministry of Agriculture.

Retail Bacon Prices.†

—	Back per lb.	Side per lb.	Average per lb.
	s. d.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*
Pre-War (1911–13) ...	1 3½	0 11	1 1½
1921			
July	3 3¼	2 6½	2 10¾
August	3 2	2 5½	2 9¾
September	3 1½	2 4½	2 9
October	2 11	2 1½	2 6¼
November...	2 5¾	1 9	2 1¾
December	2 6¾	1 10¼	2 2½
1922			
January	2 6½	1 9¾	2 2¼
February	2 6½	1 10	2 2¼
March	2 6½	1 9¾	2 2¼
April	2 6½	1 10	2 2¼
May	2 7¾	1 11¼	2 3½
June	2 7½	1 11¾	2 3½

† These figures are obtained from five of the largest multiple stores in London.

In the following table these prices are expressed as index-numbers (the pre-War price in each case being taken as 100) and compared with the corresponding index-number of prices of bacon as given above:—

Index-Numbers.

	Price of Bacon Pigs	Retail Price of Bacon *	
		Back	Side
Pre-War (1911–13) ...	100	100	100
1921			
July	219	253	277
August	229	245	268
September	218	242	259
October	184	226	229
November	168	192	191
December	156	198	202
1922			
January	156	197	198
February	174	197	200
March	182	197	198
April	187	195	200
May	187	205	211
June	179	203	216

* It is noteworthy that the disparity between the pre-War and post-War prices is most marked in the cheaper cuts.

England greatly needs, on the part of those landowners whose material resources admit, the provision of such factory or other equipment as will make agricultural estates to a greater extent self-contained industrial units depending less upon the outside world for the raw materials of the rural industry [4] and for the absorption or conversion of its output.

Such estates personally managed by their owners as business concerns were to be found in many parts of the Continent, notably in Hungary. In Belgium those of Baron Peers at Oostcamp and of the Chevalier de Vrière at Bloemendael, and in France that of the Viscomte Arthur de Chezelle (who introduced ensilage into England) at Le Boulleaume, Oise, may be mentioned as examples deserving of English imitation.

There are probably few directions in which landowners can more usefully employ their salutary influence and organising capacity than in that of finding profitable outlets for the agricultural produce of their estates. As a good illustration of what can usefully be done in this direction may be selected the enterprise of potato-growers in the Wash district of Lincolnshire in catering for the special requirements of the chip-potato trade in the North of England, and of the Evesham market gardeners in satisfying the predilections of Lancashire mill hands in the production of spring onions of a special description and flavour. Both enterprises have resulted in the acquisition by their growers of considerable wealth and prosperity.

In all land policy it is difficult to reconcile, especially among a

[4] M. Terentius Varro (B.C. 36) in his De Re Rusticâ, Lib. I., Cap. XXII., said : ' Quae e fundo sumi non poterunt, ea si empta erunt potius ad utilitatem, quam ob speciem, sumptu fructum non extenuabnt. Eo magis, si inde empta erunt potissimum, ubi ea et bona et proxime et vilissimo sint emi poterunt.'

proletariat ignorant alike of economics and business, the social and political aspect of the problem with sound economics, and the former being generally more popular and lending itself to makeshift opportunism is apt to dominate the counsels of Government, to the exclusion of those which may appear hard and unsympathetic, but which are often fraught with a wider and more continuous prosperity to the great masses of the population. Thus it was that the enclosure of the commons, which multiplied exceedingly the output of agricultural wealth, was strenuously resisted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and only gained its great impetus and development in the latter half of the eighteenth century, when its undoubted advantages had become realised by many of those who most sympathetically championed the interests of the poor. Thus it is to-day with the artificial extension, under strong Government pressure, of statutory small holdings beyond the area of their possible absorption by experienced cultivators of sufficient capital, in the absence of effective co-operation and during a period of falling markets. But social and political prejudices, even when directed against a class which on balance is an asset to the State, must be taken into account in the balancing of economic advantage, and even more so now than in those expansive days when George III. was king, when agricultural landowners were the predominant political force, and when Arthur Young preached his illuminating economic gospel, which, in the practice of his disciples and with the assistance of scientific discovery, carried the agriculture of Britain to its pre-eminent position amongst the nations of the world.

It is often said of social revolutions, as it is being said of the post-War Russian Revolution, that the cause is to be found in the monopoly of land in the hands of a few great landowners. It is at least open to doubt whether this has ever been the main cause of any revolution, and certainly was not so in the case of that which has been recently prevalent in Russia. In 1917, and for many decades previously, the great Russian landowners only owned one-tenth of the land of Russia, the other nine-tenths belonging to the peasants, or rather to their communities. This land was managed by the Communal Council, or 'Mir,' which periodically met to allot land for cultivation to members of the commune, who, as a result, occupied individual holdings, enjoying their use until another re-allotment took place. It is noteworthy, however, that the one-tenth of the nation's land under the control of the large individual landowners was that upon which the most care was bestowed and the most up-to-date methods were employed, with the result that the output of food from this one-tenth exceeded the total output of the other nine-tenths, which were under the control of the peasant communes, and which were badly cultivated and managed. It was when the Revolution drove out Russian landowners that the production of food decreased so seriously as to threaten the nation with the horrors of starvation.

Whereas a relative paucity of landed proprietors in a populous and preponderantly urban country engenders political antipathy and an unsympathetic Government attitude, a multiplication of small owners lacking individual initiative and enterprise encourages, and indeed

compels, Governmental guidance, interference, and control. In France, for instance (a nation of peasant proprietors), the State to a great extent takes the place and performs the economic functions of the large landowner. But the State can take no risks in developing a commercial enterprise even when science points the way. It may encourage and subsidise scientific investigation, but it cannot compel its application to agricultural practice. In England it was private enterprise which reclaimed wastes, drained marshes, consolidated uneconomic holdings, enclosed commons, and raised at one period the quality of British livestock, and at another the standard of British cultivation, to a position of unchallenged supremacy throughout the world.

The original 'Board of Agriculture,' which was founded in 1793 on the initiative and inspiration of Arthur Young, was for a time the chief agency by which a policy, dictated originally by the enlightened self-interest of the larger landowners and fostered by the demands of a growing manufacturing population, was extended to the public advantage throughout the kingdom. It expired twenty-nine years later, during a period of acute agricultural distress, because it had exhausted its usefulness, and was found to be less efficacious in promoting agricultural development than individual enterprise backed by the employment of individual capital. The Royal Agricultural Society of England, founded in 1838, became its legitimate and acknowledged substitute, and, in fact, marked the revival of rural prosperity which synchronised with the acceptance for a time by landlords of the duties of their position. In every civilised country the necessity for State guidance and State control is in direct ratio with the prevalence of small landowners. This control, while necessitated in France by a peasant proprietary, has there been kept within bounds by the powerful and widely diffused political strength of the agricultural industry. In England, in the absence of such strength, Government control as it extends is bound to be subordinated to urban interests and urban, and often ignorant, prejudices. In a country where the agricultural population are in a small and diminishing minority Government leadership and landowner leadership are mutually incompatible and mutually destructive. The abandonment of the latter by a failure to found power upon the informed exercise of duty must ultimately lead to Land Nationalisation. There is no small danger to an industry involved in its exclusive possession of a separate State Department necessarily swayed by inconstant and incalculable political currents. If some other Department of the State were to take over the administration of animal diseases and of milk control, and assuming that considerations of national economy were to result in the entire abolition of the Ministry of Agriculture, or at least in the limitation of its activities to the organisation of agricultural research, and if simultaneously landowners were to assume enlightened leadership of the industry and the Royal Agricultural Society were to carry out to the full the original intentions of its founders, British agriculture would probably acquire more permanent stability and the nation consequentially enhanced security. Failing the simultaneous and improbable fulfilment of all these conditions, the growing enterprise of landowners should, in the public interest, obviate the necessity for ever-increasing Government intervention and control.

The long-continued divorce until comparatively recent times of science and agriculture in Great Britain was somewhat remarkable, and accounted to no small extent for the discontinuous progress and prosperity of the latter. The landowner, who, with the dissolution of the monasteries, alone governed the economic destinies of the countryside, was seldom a farmer and never a scientist. His own education fitted him for the profession of arms, court life, sport, politics, or diplomacy. His personal association with industry or commerce would have placed him outside the social pale. It was, it must be admitted, the tenant farmer—and notably Robert Bakewell, of Dishley—who in the Golden Age of agricultural progress was the pioneer of live-stock improvement. But it was the landowner who was the pioneer of improvements in the cultivation and output of the soil. It was, however, as educated thinkers, alive to the economic needs of their times, rather than as agrarian experts, that men like John Evelyn and Sir Richard Weston in the seventeenth century, and Jethro Tull, Charles, second Viscount Townshend, Coke of Norfolk, and the fourth and fifth Dukes of Bedford (the latter the founder of the Smithfield Club) in the eighteenth century, advocated and carried through a veritable revolution in agricultural practice. Jethro Tull, a briefless barrister, was the originator of the horse-hoe, as well as of the drill for sowing wheat and oats. He and Lord Townshend, the statesman, by popularising the cultivation of turnips and of leguminous crops, led to the introduction of the four-course rotation as a normal agricultural practice, and established a definite link between pastoral farming (conducted mainly for the production of wool) and arable husbandry, rendering possible not merely the winter feeding and consequent preservation of live-stock, but also the largely augmented production of bread corn, meat, and milk. So, too, Thomas Coke, the sportsman, society beau, and politician, by adopting and extending the methods of his Norfolk neighbour, not only multiplied exceedingly the agricultural wealth of a barren tract of country, 'which was little better than a rabbit warren,' and induced his tenants at enhanced rents to copy his methods, but also by making his annual 'sheep shearings' a fashionable rendezvous stimulated many other landowners to follow his example. The progressive and profitable activities of these pioneers were further advertised and contrasted with less enlightened methods both at home and abroad by the brilliant and indefatigable Arthur Young, who 'was not so much instrumental in conveying knowledge to the common farmer as in becoming the vehicle by which the latter's want of knowledge was made known to experts.'[5] The same gospel was subsequently preached by Cobbett and Caird.

None of these great men, whatever may have been their superficial acquaintance with political economy, could be described as scientists. They knew nothing of chemistry, physics, or biology. They were, in fact, mere empiricists. Strangely enough, concurrently with the rapid advances in farming practice science was making giant strides in the direction of assisting the agricultural industry without the knowledge of its participants, and in providing the true explanation of the success

[5] Russell Garnier's *History of the English Landed Interest*. 1893.

of many of their empirical processes. Wallarius, the Swede, about 1760 was demonstrating the value of humus in promoting soil fertility. De Saussure, the Swiss, towards the end of the century was explaining the nutrition of plants and their absorption of carbon from the air and ascribing, somewhat inaccurately, their physical stability to the action of phosphates. Thaer, the German (the Hanoverian physician of George III.), in 1804 was founding the first agricultural college in Europe, and pointing the way to Liebig in his discoveries of the ash constituents of plants. Finally, Boussingault, the Frenchman, about 1820, covering the whole range of agricultural chemistry and testing his theories on his estate at Béchalbronn in Alsace, was bringing his influence to bear directly upon the agriculture both of France and of England, and was affording the chief inspiration to Lawes and Gilbert in the successful conduct of their long and beneficent partnership, especially in the employment of the statistical method in calculating the effect of fertilisers upon the growth of plants. It was not in fact until the time of Boussingault and Lawes, and after Sir Humphry Davy had, with all his great authority as a chemist, given, as it were, his *imprimatur*, that the two separate and converging lines of scientific discovery and agricultural practice may be said to have met, and the two methods—the scientific and the empirical—to have become fused. What Davy, the chemist, foreshadowed, Lawes, the landowner, consummated.

Throughout this period of agricultural enlightenment there were critics of the progressive but not unfashionable industrial tendencies of the landowners of the day. As Lord Ernle recalls in his recent book,[6] Dr. Edwards in 1783 wrote: 'Gentlemen have no right to be farmers, and their entering upon agriculture to follow it as a business is perhaps a breach of their moral duty.' Nevertheless, large numbers of young men who were heirs to landed estates, as well as sometimes their younger brothers, began to go as pupils to farmers.

Thus too in the earlier days of the eighteenth century the appellation of 'projectors' was derisively applied to those enterprising amateur farmers who became the pioneers of modern farming. The adoption of any new system of husbandry, such as Jethro Tull's turnip drilling, was deprecated (especially in the Northern counties) by the rank and file of the farming community, on the ground that a rent was payable by the farmer to his landlord, and that the adoption of any innovation was consequently accompanied by grave financial risks. It was the dogged persistence of the 'projectors' and the obviously remunerative results of their own improved methods which silenced the critics and compelled imitation.

Fashion is an important factor in directing the activities of persons of independent means, and fashion has frequently in the past been dictated by Royal example. Thus in the days of Edward I., who was a gardener, and in those of Edward II., who was a farmer and horse-breeder, there was a temporary and healthy enthusiasm on the part of successive Lords of Berkeley and other great territorial magnates to increase the productiveness of their lands by marling, paring, and

[6] *English Farming, Past and Present*, 3rd edition, 1922.

burning, and such other methods of improvement as were recognised as beneficial in those primitive times. Again, the great revival of agricultural industry during the latter part of the eighteenth century was largely due to the example set by George III., who, under the assumed name of his shepherd, 'Ralph Robinson,' contributed to the monthly publication known as the *Annals of Agriculture*, and who made no secret of the fact that his interest in his farming operations exceeded that afforded him by affairs of state. He revelled in the title of 'Farmer George' and took a deep and personal interest in his flock of merino sheep and his stall-fed oxen. So far as was practicable he turned Windsor Castle into a huge farmhouse, and its grounds into an agricultural holding. His maximum happiness was achieved when comparing notes with a farming neighbour, quoting the dicta of Arthur Young, or personally superintending the drainage or cultivation of his Flemish or his Norfolk farm. Amongst those who followed the Royal example were Lord Rockingham at Wentworth, Lord Egremont at Petworth, and Sir John Sinclair, the President of the first Board of Agriculture. In more recent times the same traditions have been maintained or revived by men of outstanding enthusiasm and vision, such as Philip Pusey, Sir Thomas Acland, Albert Pell, and Lord Rayleigh.

In the main, however, even the more enlightened and progressive landowners have during the last century failed to achieve much for the benefit of the industry through lack of a comprehensive and well-thought-out plan, through discontinuity of effort, or through the consciousness that they were failing to carry complete conviction to those engaged therein as a source of livelihood.

It is worthy of note, and tends to confirm the cynical and trite observation of Swift, that the duplication of a single ear of corn or a single blade of grass 'does more essential service to mankind than the whole race of politicians put together,' that the fame of the second Viscount Townshend, who was Secretary of State under George I. and George II., and subsequently Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Controller of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain, should have passed down to posterity as that of an agriculturist rather than as that of a statesman. As Arthur Young with prophetic vision says of him: 'The importance of Embassies, Vice-Royalties and Seals is as transitory as that of personal beauty, and the memory of this lord, though a man of great ability, will in a few ages be lost as a Minister and Statesman and preserved only as a farmer.'

It is an interesting fact that while during the eighteenth century landowners like Townshend and Coke were the pioneers of improvements in tillage, and tenant farmers of those in live-stock, the converse has been the case during the last 80 to 100 years. Prominent among farm tenants who in the former period established upon firm foundations various breeds of cattle and of sheep were Bakewell, Charles and Robert Colling, Matthew and George Culley, the Booths of Warlaby, Bates, Benjamin Tompkins, Hewer, Quartly, and Ellman of Glynde. The names of Treadwell, Hobbs, Prout, Dennis, Clare Sewell Read, Jonas Webb, and James Hope of Dunbar, may be mentioned among modern farm tenants who maintained a high standard of arable

husbandry (not unassociated with the maintenance of good flocks) during an age when there was relatively little general progress in crop cultivation. Concurrently, however, and especially during the last fifty years, British live-stock of every description has steadily improved and has attained a position of acknowledged superiority throughout the world. This is largely attributable to the stock-breeding enterprise of three successive sovereigns, including King George V., and to the enthusiastic efforts of such other landowners as the late Duke of Richmond and Gordon, Lord Rothschild, Lord Fitzhardinge, Sir Nigel Kingscote, and Sir Walter Gilbey. But the enterprise of landowners in this respect has not, as a rule, been conducted on strictly commercial lines, and has often been dissociated from the nationally more important task of land cultivation.

It is an unfortunate fact which emerges from the annals of the English countryside throughout several centuries that the attainment by the landed proprietor of such a measure of wealth, whether arising from periods of agricultural prosperity or from external sources, as will leave a fair margin over and above the reasonable requirements of family comfort, has produced an inclination to exchange the position of wealth producer for that of rent receiver, and to become progressively detached in activity and interest from agricultural pursuits. Groping after political power, clambering after social elevation, excessive indulgence in sport and the adaptation or sacrifice of landed property to its demands, and the pursuit of careers evoking a stronger appeal to national sentiment or conspicuous achievement, have all operated to detach the owners from the soil. Thoughtful patriots and economists of all ages have commented upon this tendency with regret. 'Our gentry,' writes Pepys during the agricultural depression of the latter part of the seventeenth century, 'are grown ignorant in everything of good husbandry,' and he deplores the fact that without their initiative progress is almost impossible.

John Stuart Mill surely enunciated sound economic truth, as well as wise public policy, when, writing in 1848, he said: 'The reasons which form the justification . . . of property in land are valid only in so far as the proprietor of land is its improver. . . . In no sound theory of private property was it ever contemplated that the proprietor of land should be merely a sinecurist quartered upon it.'

Whenever agriculture is depressed fiscal Protection is sought as the remedy for its ills. Dependence upon Government is apt to destroy initiative, self-reliance and resourcefulness, and to breed inertia. It is at best a broken reed upon which to lean in an industrial country with a teeming urban population. If the imminence of threatened starvation in times of war evokes Government measures of artificial stimulation to the process of food production they are necessarily ephemeral and evanescent, and can afford no continuing stability. The prospect of relatively cheap seaborne food is sure to discredit among urban workers any policy which raises artificially the cost of that raised at home or extends its production by subsidies, provided mainly at the expense of the non-agricultural population. German agriculture flourished in pre-War days not in consequence of, but in spite of, its Protectionist policy.

It is not by increasing the cost of food, but by decreasing the cost of its production and the State-imposed burdens upon cultivated land that the economic salvation of British agriculture can best be secured. The former course can but reduce demand and antagonise urban interests, while the latter will have the contrary effect.

The British agricultural landowner is to-day on his trial. Unless he justifies himself as such the Nationalisation of the Land is inevitable. Public opinion will demand his extinction, and Parliament will endorse the demand. Most landowners have been for the last two generations mere rent receivers, and have possessed neither the knowledge nor the inclination personally to administer their own estates, still less to cultivate them on commercial lines for their own and the nation's benefit. So far as they have been organised as a class of the community they have been organised, not as producers of wealth, but as defenders of property, and as such their organisation has, in a highly democratic country, afforded them but a small and steadily decreasing measure of security. They have thus lost their political power, because it had no economic basis. As individuals they have, in the main, done good service to the State. No class has consistently shown itself more patriotic, unselfish, and philanthropic, or more imbued with a high sense of public duty, inspired by lofty traditions unrivalled in any other country in the world. As statesmen and as local administrators they have, while occupying the position of the governing class, set a standard of political and commercial integrity which permeated the national life. They have been stigmatised, not wholly without justification, as ignorant, reactionary, and despotic. But at least it can be said that during the period when their power and influence in the State were greatest Britain attained to her outstanding position as the chief democracy of the world, and as the great champion of liberty, alike of person, of speech, and of Press.

Assuming that landowner organisation and landowner leadership as a condition precedent thereto, are urgently necessary on the one hand for the welfare of the agricultural industry, and on the other for the greater security of the nation, through the material increase of its food and timber output, there would appear to be two alternative types of landownership, and two only, likely to find justification in post-war Britain, namely, individual proprietorship based upon agricultural training and commercial experience, or the proprietorship of the State, effected through the Nationalisation of the Land. The former alternative is still possible if landowners will but bestir themselves and take upon their shoulders the responsibility which is pre-eminently theirs, and which is incapable of effective delegation or vicarious execution.

The factors which give promise that in the future the British landowner will once more take his proper place in affording an enlightened lead to the agricultural industry, and will thus bring about a rural renaissance comparable to that of 150 years ago, are, on the one hand, his present impoverishment, and on the other his growing desire to be suitably trained for his managerial duties. It was the poverty of the landowner which, in Denmark, Germany and Belgium, created the necessary impetus to agricultural progress in those countries in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Oxford, Cambridge, and

our other universities, as well as the agricultural colleges, are to-day training large numbers of prospective landowners in the science and practice of agriculture—a course which a generation ago would have been deemed vulgarly utilitarian, and inconsistent with the traditions of a liberal education—and many hundreds are flocking to avail themselves of the opportunities thus afforded. Some, too, of our public schools, and notably Repton, Oundle, and Christ's Hospital, alive to the new demand, are including in their curriculum the study of agriculture, while others, averse from early specialisation, are strengthening their science teaching as a prelude to more specialised instruction elsewhere. But such training, wherever acquired, to be really effective must not be that of the mere well-informed onlooker and critic. It must include personal acquaintance with the actual manual processes of husbandry if the rural employer and organiser of the future is to understand fully the daily tasks of the farm worker, his difficulties, his mentality, and his potential output. He should, if practicable, work as a labourer (as does many an enterprising young Danish landowner) for at least a year on a well-conducted and well-organised arable farm, preferably before, and not after, he studies the scientific or even the commercial side of the business. The most efficient education is generally from the concrete to the abstract, rather than the reverse. The lack of commercial training has ruined many a hard-working 'gentleman farmer.' He should learn the rudiments of commerce and not be ashamed to do his own marketing. If possible, too, he should by means of travel learn something of the methods of husbandry practised on the Continent as well as in other parts of the United Kingdom, as did Archbishop Morton (the pioneer of the drainage of the Fens), Hartlib, and Sir Richard Weston in Flanders, Jethro Tull both in Flanders and in France, Viscount Townshend in Hanover and Holland, and Arthur Young throughout France, Great Britain, and Ireland. He will ultimately embark upon his life's work—the pleasantest and most engrossing of all pursuits—with an equipment far exceeding that of Townshend or of Coke. They were empiricists, groping by experiment and often disappointing experience towards the light, without the conscious aid of science. In the landowner of to-day the association of practice with science, and the capacity for leadership inherent in every healthy Briton, should carry him to spheres of successful economic achievement to which they could never have aspired, and concurrently the reputation of British farming once again to a pinnacle of undisputed superiority above all its rivals.

A leading land agent, speaking recently at a large gathering of the land agents' profession in London, significantly said: 'Our principals are getting even more difficult to manage than their estates.' Surely this intractability is a sign of grace, an evidence that the landowning fraternity are at last awakening from the irresponsible torpor which has for long benumbed their potential utility.

Perhaps, however, the greatest stimulus to enterprise, born of increased confidence on the part of landowners, will prove to be their consciousness of the numerical reinforcement of the class to which they

belong. The following tables, taken from the most recent official statistics of the Ministry of Agriculture, show the differences between the number of occupying owners and of their holdings in the years 1913 and 1921 respectively:—

Separate Occupations.

Year	Total Number of Holdings	Number of Holdings owned or mainly owned by occupiers	Percentage of Holdings owned
1913	435,677	48,760	11·19%
1921	420,133	70,469	16·77%

Acreage.

Year	Total Area owned by occupiers	Total Area under crops and grass	Proportion of Total Area under crops and grass
	Acres	Acres	
1913	2,891,000	27,129,000	10·7%
1921	5,232,000	26,144,000	20 %

That the occupying owners should have increased during the last eight years by 49 per cent. and the acreage which they occupy by nearly 100 per cent. is indicative of the augmented strength, numerical and geographical, of a class which was once deemed to be the backbone of the nation. If many of the new occupying owners are to secure permanent stability in their present position, it is urgently desirable that the Government should afford them credit on easy terms in order to enable them to discharge gradually and without undue embarrassment the debts outstanding in respect of their recent purchases. The absence in this country of Land Banks similar to those existing for this purpose in several Continental countries is hampering alike to food output and to financial security.

So, too, the long overdue revision of the present system of Local Taxation has become a matter of urgent necessity. A system which dates from a period when real estate was the almost exclusive source of national wealth is indisputably inequitable at a time when, as now, it comprises about one-tenth only of that assessable to income tax, and especially so in the case of agricultural land which represents less than one-eighth of the total property assessable to local rates, and upon which the burden falls with particular severity, owing to the large area of rateable property required for the purpose of a business yielding a relatively small income (see Appendices I. and II.).

The annual aggregate assessment to income tax in respect of the ownership of land under Schedule A was by a curious coincidence almost identical in the years 1814-15 and 1913-14—namely 37,000,000*l.* (It rose gradually from the former year until it reached its maximum of 52,000,000*l.* in 1879-80) (see Appendix III.).

The capacity of landowners as a class to direct the organisation of agriculture must depend in some measure, as Continental experience demonstrates, upon their capacity to organise themselves. Otherwise

their efforts will be not national in their scope, but isolated and sporadic. In this connection the existence and growing strength of the Central Landowners' Association is a welcome augury of future corporate efficiency. Composed exclusively of agricultural landowners, and rigidly excluding even land agents and professional advisers from its ranks, it already has local branches in all but two of the counties of England and Wales, and is beginning to enter into friendly negotiations with similar sectional organisations of farmers and agricultural workers for the advancement of the interests, both national and local, of the industry as a whole. While primarily a political (although a non-partisan) association, its objects are not merely politically defensive, but to a growing extent economic and constructive. In any agrarian movement in the future it seems likely to play a conspicuous and useful part, and to help in cementing the solidarity of agricultural forces, without which continuous agricultural progress is difficult of attainment.

What is most needed in rural Britain to-day is pride on the part of landowners, great and small, in their class, and a consciousness of their beneficent and reconstructive power, coupled with stolid determination to play their part—the leading part—with knowledge and sympathy in the building up of a well-organised and mutually helpful agricultural community, undeterred by transient difficulties, and unshaken by the temptation to evade their high responsibilities by the entire alienation of their ancestral estates, or by evoking Government aid in the solution of economic problems which they alone can best solve. Their traditions are great, but their future destiny is greater, if they have but the vision, the courage, and, above all, the will to press resolutely forward towards the goal to which public duty and material advantage alike point the way.

But no policy, however prudent, can gain public approbation and endorsement in the twentieth century which discounts the human factor—which in fact does not, in conformity with Jeremy Bentham's doctrine of 'Utilitarianism,' conduce to 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.' Upon the prosperity of the industry depends the remuneration of the worker and his access to domestic comforts beyond the bare necessaries of life. Upon it depends the maintenance of the social and recreative side of village life. The disruption of landed estates is often accompanied by social disorganisation of the village community and stagnation of those activities and interests which afford an invigorating alternative to the routine of the wage-earner's toil, and tend to enhance his occupational keenness and efficiency. If, then, the welfare, economic and social, of the rural population rests ultimately upon that of the industry which affords them employment, and if this in turn depends upon the wise leadership of the landowning class, may not the moral 'Utilitarianism' of Bentham be combined with the commercial utilitarianism of the twentieth century, and the decadence of the landowner be deemed to be synonymous with, or at least a prelude to, that of the rural worker? If so, it will not be untrue—but may it never be necessary—(corrupting Goldsmith's famous couplet) to say:—

> 'Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and *squires* decay.'

APPENDIX I.

Extracts from Reports of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue.

TABLE 105.—Details of the Gross Income from the Ownership of Lands, Houses, etc., the deductions therefrom, and the Income on which Tax was received for the Year 1912–13.

——	England	Scotland	Ireland	United Kingdom
Gross Income :—	£	£	£	£
1. Lands, including Rent-charges under Tithes Commutation Act, Farmhouses, Farm Buildings, etc.	36,813,122	5,730,311	9,694,780	52,238,213
2. Houses, Messuages, Tenements, etc.	199,647,729	20,978,462	5,364,407	225,990,598
3. Other Property :— Manors, Fines, certain Tithes, certain Sporting Rights, etc.	850,234	455,624	1,727	1,307,585
Total Gross Income	237,311,085	27,164,397	15,060,914	279,536,396

TABLE 65.—Income from the Ownership of Lands, Houses, etc.; Details of the Assessments made in the year 1918–19.

——	England	Scotland	Ireland	United Kingdom
Gross Income brought under the Review of the Department :—	£	£	£	£
*1. Lands, including Rent-charges under Tithes, Commutation Act, Farmhouses, Farm Buildings, etc.	36,700,000	5,580,000	9,700,000	51,980,000
2. Houses, Messuages, Tenements, etc.	207,648,080	21,967,071	5,807,606	235,422,757
3. Other Property :— Manors, Fines, certain Tithes, certain Sporting Rights, etc.	835,000	460,000	1,300	1,296,300
Total Gross Income	245,183,080	28,007,071	15,508,906	288,699,057

* Under this head appears mainly the annual value (inclusive of tithe rent-charges under the Tithe Commutation Act) of farm lands and buildings. In addition to farm lands the heading includes farmhouses occupied by tenant farmers or farm servants, orchards, woodlands, lakes, etc., and any gardens or pleasure grounds held with mansions or houses in excess of one acre adjoining such properties. The value of such gardens or pleasure grounds up to one acre in extent is excluded from this head, and included under the second heading "Houses, etc."; farmhouses of annual value of £20 or upwards not occupied (as above) by tenant farmers or farm bailiffs are also excluded, and appear under head (2) "Houses, etc."

APPENDIX II.

Rateable Property in England and Wales.

(Hansard, V. 151, No. 20, Col. 898.)

Value	April 1920	April 1921
	£	£
1. Rateable Value of rateable hereditaments :		
i. Agricultural land	24,736,662	25,326,493
ii. Other rateable hereditaments . .	208,590,479	218,762,373
2. Annual Value of non-rateable Government property	2,697,297	2,594,882
Total	236,024,438	246,683,748

Income Assessed in England and Wales for Income Tax Purposes.

——	Year 1919-20	Year 1920-21
	£	£ (Estimated)
Gross Income brought under review .	2,566,878,147	2,590,000,000
Deductions for exemptions, repairs to property, wear and tear, etc. . . .	350,183,094	415,000,000
Actual Income liable to tax before deduction of personal allowances, etc. . .	2,216,695,053	2,175,000,000

APPENDIX III.

*Income from the Ownership of Lands and Houses. Gross Assessments—Schedule A. England and Wales.

Year	Lands	Houses
	£	£
1814–15	37,063,000	14,895,000
1842–43	42,127,000	35,556,000
1850–1	42,790,000	39,354,000
1851–2	41,490,000	40,047,000
1857–8	42,895,000	47,439,000
1860–1	43,036,000	49,505,000
1861–2	44,686,000	53,235,000
1864–5	46,462,000	59,286,000
1867–8	47,767,000	68,013,000
1870–1	49,011,000	75,307,000
1876–7	52,016,000	90,451,000
1877–8	51,934,000	93,104,000
1879–80	52,041,000	100,079,000
1880–1	51,847,000	102,417,000
1882–3	48,659,000	109,374,000
1884–5	47,864,000	112,791,000
1885–6	46,255,000	115,436,000
1886–7	45,635,000	117,183,000
1887–8	44,732,000	118,524,000
1888–9	42,534,000	120,514,000
1890–1	41,635,000	123,721,000
1893–4	40,335,000	131,860,000
1894–5	39,942,000	133,512,000
1897–8	38,378,000	142,128,000
1898–9	37,526,000	149,632,000
1901–2	37,017,000	162,263,000
1904–5	36,896,000	177,666,000
1910–11	37,044,000	196,196,000
1911–12	36,990,000	197,632,000
1912–13	37,013,000	199,648,000
1913–14	37,071,000	202,018,000
1915–16	36,950,000	205,564,000
1917–18	36,910,000	207,495,000
1918–19	36,900,000	207,648,000

* Extracted from " British Incomes and Property," by Sir Josiah Stamp, K.B.E., D.Sc.

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