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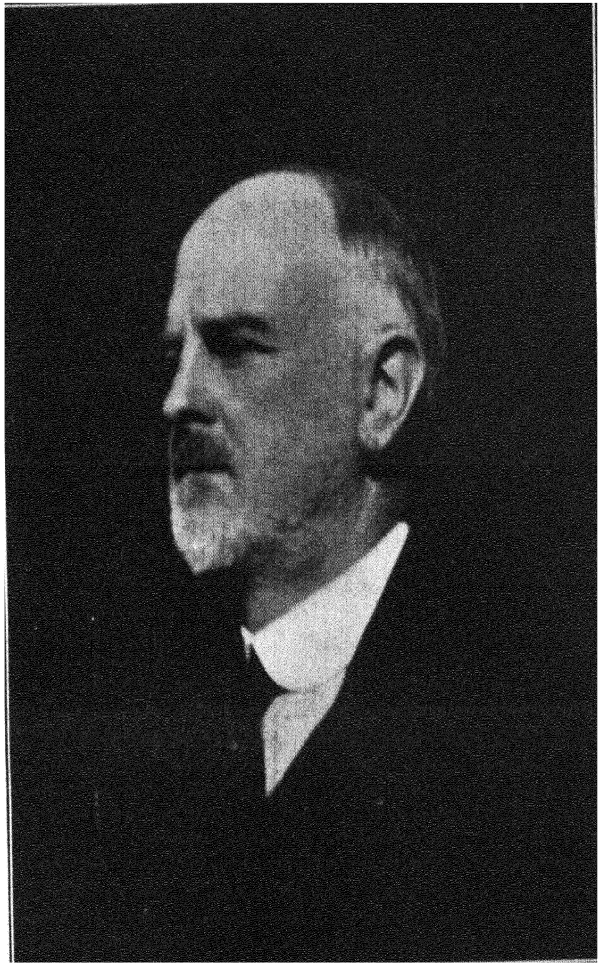
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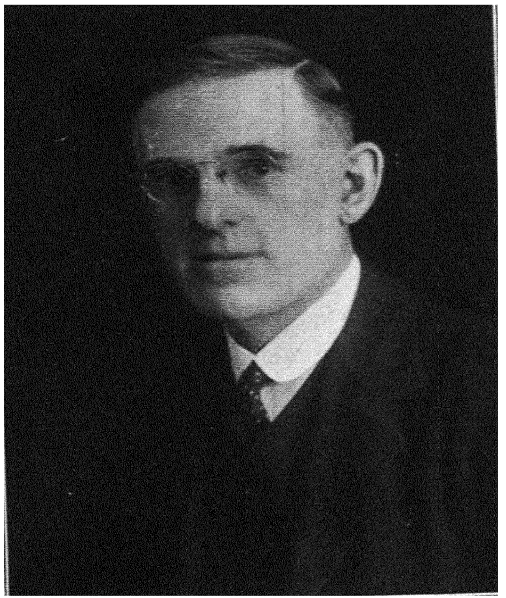
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THE ETHICAL MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

BY

G. SPILLER

Author of

"Faith in Man," "A New System of Scientific Procedure,"
"The Origin and Nature of Man," etc., etc.

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PREFACE

THIS is a documentary history of the Ethical Movement in Great Britain, compiled mainly with the aid of the relatively rich material very kindly placed at my disposal by a number of Committees and individuals. Unfortunately, the provincial Societies are, with rare exceptions, reported on only indirectly because of the absence of relevant documents. However, some information concerning these Societies and much about the Movement generally will be found in the pages of *The Ethical World* (continued as *Democracy, Ethics, Ethical Review,* and *The Ethical World*) and its successor, *The Humanist.* These periodicals cover the period 1898 to 1922 and may be consulted at the British Museum Library. Acknowledgment of the documentary and other sources has been made in connection with each Chapter, but I would here repeat in general terms my infinite indebtedness to the Committees and individuals who collaborated. At the same time I would most warmly urge all British Ethical Societies to include in their Rules a paragraph to the effect that a copy of each Annual Report, pamphlet (duly dated), periodical, etc., issued by them, should be *invariably* forwarded to the British Museum Library (Bloomsbury, London, W.C.1), to ensure that a record of the activities of the British Ethical Movement is preserved for future generations. To which I would add the eminent desirability of comprehensive and comparable Annual Reports of the type described in Chapter I., Section 11.

The story of the Ethical Movement in Great Britain is carried here roughly to the summer of 1931; but little that is specially noteworthy, it may be remarked, occurred between the date just mentioned and the commencement of 1934, at least so far as Societies are concerned.

May this history serve its double object—(a) to inform the leaders and the rank and file of the Ethical Movement in the years to come of the earnest endeavours of its pioneers to create a nation-wide network of Ethical Societies teaching the supreme importance of the ethical factor in all the relations of life—personal, social, national, and international,—apart from all theological and metaphysical considerations, and (b) to assist the social student and the historian to arrive at a fair judgment regarding the purport and the influence of the Ethical Movement in Great Britain.

The Chairman of the Council of the British Ethical Union, Lord Snell, C.B.E., wrote to me under date 11th May 1933: "Let me say at once that for this careful statement of the facts of the origin and experiences of the Movement, and of the separate Societies, etc., the Movement is under a great obligation to you. Your work will stand as the first serious attempt to record the doings of the Movement as a whole and it will form an essential basis for whatever else it may be wise to write on the same theme at a later date. Whoever attempts an interpretative history of what we have been trying to do will be saved immense labour and your work will therefore have its place in our archives."

G. SPILLER.

London, April 1934.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The London Ethical Society	1
Ia.	Toynbee Hall Ethical Lectures	22
II.	The South Place Ethical Society	24
IIa.	The Leighton Hall Neighbourhood Guild	40
III.	The Cambridge Ethical Society	47
IV.	The East London Ethical Society	56
V.	The West London Ethical Society (now The Ethical Church)	61
VI.	The South London Ethical Society	93
VII.	The North London Ethical Society	97
VIII.	The Union of Ethical Societies (now The Ethical Union)	99
IX.	The Moral Instruction League...	124
X.	The Hampstead Ethical Institute	156
XI.	Ethical Nature-Services in Epping Forest	162
XII.	The Brighton and Worthing Ethical Societies	164
XIII.	The Holloway Ethical Society	167
XIV.	The Hammersmith Ethical Society	168
XV.	Two Ethical Union Groups	168
XVI.	Two University Students' Ethical Groups	171
XVII.	Two Manifestos—(a) The Ethical Lecturers' Fund Committee	173
	(b) The Society of Ethical Propagandists	174
XVIII.	Three Ethical Leaders—Dr. Stanton Coit, The Right Hon. Lord Snell, C.B.E., Mr. F. J. Gould	177
APPENDIX	—The British Ethical Movement an Integral Part of the International Ethical Movement	186

Chapter I.—THE LONDON ETHICAL SOCIETY.

1. *Formation of the Society.*

In an interesting sketch for this volume outlining the immediate causes of the formation of the "Ethical Society" (as the London Ethical Society was originally called), Prof. J. H. Muirhead thus describes what, to the best of his recollection, occurred:—

"... There was still another group who had a rooted suspicion of any attempt to heal the wounds of social England by any external application such as the socialisation of the means of production must inevitably be. What was wanted was a change of heart and mind by directing men to the root principles of action and the conditions of permanent welfare in individuals and communities. The teaching of Kant had taken hold of one or two of the leading universities, as Coleridge said of himself, 'with a giant's hand'. Caird in Glasgow and Green in Oxford were expounding a theory of Ethics and Politics which was new in the Uuiversities, centering in the idea that the one thing of supreme value in the world was the good will, the one supreme rule for social guidance 'to treat humanity in thy own person and the person of others always as an end and 'never as a means only'. The bearing of this on industry and economics was seized upon by Green's pupil, Arnold Toynbee, the author of *The Industrial Revolution*; the more ethical and philosophical (as was perhaps natural) by the Scottish contingent in Balliol College who 'knew Caird'. 'I never knew two Scotsmen come together', once said Canon Barnett, 'without forming a Society'.

"Whether of their own initiative in this case they would have formed a society or not is doubtful. But just at this time Dr. Stanton Coit, an intimate friend and disciple of Dr. Felix Adler of New York and inspired by the same profoundly ethical spirit, paid a visit to London and at University Hall, Gordon Square, and elsewhere met a group of men hailing from the three Universities of London, Oxford and Cambridge and kindled the latent fire into lively flame. If New York had an Ethical Society, why should not London? Even so the idea might have hung fire for want of support but for two circumstances. First, the existence of a small but ardent group in Streatham who had banded themselves into a Fellowship of the New Life founded on the same ideas. With these the movers got into immediate touch through the medium of Mr. William Clarke. Even more important was the support that came at the very beginning from older University men. Bernard Bosanquet had left Oxford and was living in London. Henry Sidgwick in Cambridge was in sympathy from the first. R. B. Haldane (afterwards Lord Haldane) was one of the first to lecture."

This sketch may be supplemented by the following unsigned note in *The Ethical World* of September 1915:—

"The first British Ethical Society came into existence in this wise. In 1885, a Mr. John Graham Brooks, now a noted sociologist of America, had distributed a number of pamphlets by Mr. Salter, the head of the Chicago Ethical Society, among a group of young philosophers who had recently left the Universities. Among them were Mr. J. H. Muirhead, Mr. Bernard Bosanquet, Mr. James Bonar, and Mr. J. S. Mackenzie; and affiliated with them, although not living in London, many of like interest and ability, such

as Mr. F. J. Stout. Coming to live at Toynbee Hall in January, 1886, for a few months, Dr. Coit met this group to discuss the aims and principles of the American Ethical Societies. In the course of the Conference he urged the formation of a similar society in London. Soon after that meeting the London Ethical Society started." ("Among the Societies," p. 142.)

The very first active step taken to form the Ethical Society is not recorded in any documents available to me, unless it be in the following entry in Dr. James Bonar's diary: "May 19th, 1886, Sunday evening, Bolton House, Hampstead. At 7 [J. H.] Muirhead and [J. Murray] Macdonald came in, to talk of a proposed ethical course at Toynbee next winter and afterwards. Left at 9."

We hear nothing further of the ripening of the new venture until a few weeks later, when we have the following entry in Dr. Bonar's diary: "Thursday, 8th June, 1886. To Muirhead at 4.15. To meeting of Ethical Society—. Muirhead, Macdonald, Montague, Goodwin, Jacks, Fripp, and self. No Toynbeeites appeared. Not very satisfactory. Back by 6.45." Here we find the "Ethical Society" first spoken of and here also we have the first list of names of those associated with the formation of the Society.

During the next month or so, to judge by the drafts before me, Dr. Bonar and Mr. Muirhead, more especially, were busy formulating a Statement to be sent to likely sympathisers. A leaflet containing this Statement appeared in July and reads as follows:—

"ETHICAL SOCIETY.

"The Members of this Society agree in believing that the moral and religious life of Man is capable of a rational justification and explanation, apart from Authority and Tradition. They believe that there is at present great need for the teaching of a reasoned out doctrine on this subject, especially where old sanctions and principles have lost their hold.

"They are prepared therefore to help each other to supply this need by every suitable means. It is suggested, *inter alia*, that the Society should endeavour to organise systematic Ethical Instruction in connection with such educational agencies as the Society for the Extension of University Teaching, Working Men's Colleges, Clubs, Co-operative Societies, and with the education of the young.

"It will further be the duty of the Society to use every endeavour to arouse the community at large to the importance of testing every Social, Political, and Educational question by moral and religious principles.

"July, 1886."

To judge by the letters (two of them very long ones) which reached Dr. Bonar during the following month or two, exception was taken in some quarters to what was considered the somewhat militant tone of the first paragraph, with its critical reference to Authority and Tradition and its deprecatory allusion to "old sanctions and principles". Accordingly, the leaflet reprinted in September had the first paragraph amended as follows: "The Members of this Society agree in believing that the moral and religious life of Man is capable of a rational justification and explanation. They believe that there is at present great need (a) for the exposition of the actual principles of social morality, generally acknowledged though imperfectly analysed in current language, (b) for presentation of

the ideal of human progress, and (c) for the teaching of a reasoned out doctrine on the whole subject."

In November the amended Statement was re-issued, this time accompanied by the following announcement:—

"LECTURES.

A Course of Lectures on

MORALITY AND MODERN LIFE,

will be delivered in

Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, E.,

At 7 p.m.,

As follows:—

1886.

Sunday, November 21st.—Prof. Henry Jones, M.A.
„ December 19th.—Mr. J. S. Mackenzie, M.A.

1887.

„ January 16th.—Mr. J. H. Muirhead, M.A.
„ February 20th.—Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc.
„ March 6th.—Mr. C. R. MacClymont, M.A.
„ March 20th.—Mr. S. Alexander, M.A.
„ April 3rd.—Mr. B. Bosanquet, M.A.
„ April 17th.—Prof. J. E. Carpenter.
„ May 1st.—Mr. C. S. Loch, M.A.
„ May 15th.—Rev. S. A. Barnett.
„ June 5th.—Miss Anna Swanwick.
„ June 19th.—Mr. Hodgson Pratt.

Communications to be addressed to:—

J. H. Muirhead,
University Hall,
Gordon Square, W.C."

A third page of the leaflet enumerated the Officers for 1886/87 (President: E. Peters; Secretary: J. H. Muirhead; Treasurer: J. Bonar. Committee: E. C. Price, Percival Chubb, J. M. Macdonald, R. E. Mitcheson) and gave the Rules of the Society, one of which read as follows: "4. Membership in the Society shall be conditional on the acceptance of the principles laid down in the Statement of the Society and the payment of a minimum annual subscription of one shilling."

From the November announcement we infer that the main responsibility passed from Dr. J. Bonar to Mr. (later, Prof.) J. H. Muirhead, who was now Secretary, and that the active work of the Society was designed to begin in November 1886, at Toynbee Hall, East London, with a series of discourses delivered by thinkers most of whom may be said to have left "footprints on the sands of time".

It may be interesting to reproduce here the actual list of lecturers and the titles of their discourses, as given in the first Annual Report for the year 1886/87:—

1886.

Sunday, November 21st.—Prof. Henry Jones, M.A., Morality and Modern Life.
„ December 19th.—Mr. J. S. Mackenzie, M.A., Society as Organic.

1887.

Sunday, January 10th.—Mr. J. H. Muirhead, M.A., Evolution and Morality.
„ February 20th.—Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc., The Unity of Social and Individual Aims.
„ March 6th.—Mr. C. R. MacClymont, M.A., The Ethics of Law.
„ March 20th.—Mr. S. Alexander, M.A., Conscience.
„ April 3rd.—Mr. B. Bosanquet, M.A., The Kingdom of Heaven upon Earth.
„ April 17th.—Prof. J. E. Carpenter, Religion without God.
„ May 1st.—Mr. C. S. Loch, The Ethics of Charity.
„ May 15th.—Mrs. Barnett, Woman.
„ June 5th.—Miss Anna Swanwick, Poets and Poetry as Moral and Spiritual Teachers.
„ June 19th.—Mr. Muirhead, Freedom.

From this list we gather that from March to June two lectures were delivered every month and that the lectures were of the practical and not the philosophical type, dealing in the main with "moral ideas" and not with "ideas *about* morality". Beginning with the new Session in October 1887, the addresses were delivered weekly.

The Officers for the initial year were: "President: Professor Edward Caird, M.A., LL.D. Chairman of Committee: E. Peters. Committee: B. Bosanquet, Mrs. Bryant, Percival Chubb, J. M. Macdonald, Mrs. McCallum, F. S. Miers, R. E. Mitcheson, E. C. Price. Secretary: J. H. Muirhead. Treasurer (*pro tem.*): J. Bonar."

2. *The Society's Outlook.*

The First Report (1886/87) states that "membership in the Society shall be conditional on the acceptance of the general principles of the Society". In order to leave no doubt on this point, the leaflet announcing the addresses reproduces on the back the first paragraph of the September Statement, with the following addendum: "Membership in the Society is conditional on the acceptance of the principle above stated."

The "General Aim of the Society", as set out in the first Report and as reproduced below, is remarkable in several ways. It reinstates unequivocally the line of thought expressed in the July 1886 Statement. In fact, it emphasises both the negative and the positive aspects. "In the pursuit of these aims the Ethical Society does not set out from any authoritative or merely traditional statement of the claims of morality. It believes that these claims rest upon the rational nature of man as a member of an organic spiritual community." And the meaning of the term "religious", which appeared three times in the original Statement of July and September 1886, in the possibly ambiguous expression "moral and religious", is clearly fixed: "The aims of the Society", we read, "are religious in the sense that they are directed towards the purification and elevation of the ideal of Human Life." Here we have the further implication that the object of the Society is not only religious but practical, since "the aims of the Society are . . . directed towards the purification and elevation of the ideal of Human Life." The same idea is stressed in the first sentence of this new Statement: " . . . there is at

the present time a widely felt need for the intelligent study of the basis of morality, *with a view to elevate and purify social life.*" (Italics not in original.)

The Ethical Society, like all the British Ethical Societies that followed it, adopted a definite and sympathetic attitude towards social and political reforms: "It holds that the improvement of the present surroundings of many is an indispensable condition of the moral welfare of all. In this sense the Society may be said to have aimed at political and social reforms." Moral considerations are uppermost in the minds of the framers of the new Statement: "Believing as [the Society] does in the supreme importance of character as the determining element in a nation's well-being, it claims that all educational and social reform should be tested by this question:—Does it or does it not further the development of good character among the citizens?"

The only perplexing point in this first Report is that Sunday addresses are not mentioned among "the means by which the Society hopes to carry on its work" (an omission which is rectified in the second Annual Report). This is the more singular in that Sunday addresses remained a regular feature even after the Society had transformed itself into the London School of Ethics and Social Philosophy.

Here is the new Statement in full:—

"GENERAL AIM OF THE SOCIETY.

"The experience of the first year of the Society's existence has convinced the Committee that its promoters were not mistaken in believing that there is at the present time a widely felt need for the intelligent study of the basis of morality, with a view to elevate and purify social life.

"In the pursuit of these aims the Ethical Society does not set out from any authoritative or merely traditional statement of the claims of morality. It believes that these claims rest upon the rational nature of man as a member of an organic spiritual community.

"In adopting and seeking to apply this truth, the Society believes that it meets a widespread need in a growing circle of men and women.

"There are many who recognise the inherent worthiness of the life commonly regarded as good and noble, but who consider the motives, commonly assigned for pursuing it, unworthy and inadequate. These the Society invites to co-operate in the establishment and exposition of the true principles of social morality.

"It also seeks to satisfy a need felt by those to whom the breaking up of older modes of thought and feeling, as to the grounds of moral obligation, seems to have gone far to destroy the obligation itself. The allegiance of such persons to the higher moral life has been claimed on the ground of external and often arbitrarily selected sanctions, and as their reverence for these has been undermined, their reverence for goodness itself has inevitably suffered. The Ethical Society seeks to remove the confusion here involved. It lays down no dogmatic formula of duty but appeals to moral experience in proof that the moral life is not a bondage imposed from without, but is only another name for man's proper freedom.

"There is also a large class upon whose interests the Ethical Society has a special claim, those, namely, who have the education and well-being of the people at heart. Before them the Society, by aid of its publications and lectures, aims at setting a rational conception of human good. Believing as

it does in the supreme importance of character as the determining element in a nation's well-being, it claims that all educational and social reform should be tested by this question:—Does it or does it not further the development of good character among the citizens?

"The means by which the Society hopes to carry on its work are mainly these:—

"1. Public lectures in connection with University Extension, Workmen's Clubs, Church and other educational organisations.

"2. Publication and diffusion of literature illustrative of the higher moral and religious thought of mankind.

"3. Systematic instruction in classes.

"From this account of the aims and methods of the Society it will be obvious that it does not propose to enter into competition with existing organisations. It does not propose, as has been thought, to open new channels of religious worship and devotion. The aims of the Society are religious in the sense that they are directed toward the purification and elevation of the ideal of Human Life. But the Society has no intention of founding a Church or offering to its members anything that could properly be called religious worship or organisation.

"On the other hand, it is not a rival of those who advocate social or political reforms in any particular field. It holds that truer views of the nature of human life must issue in juster laws and political institutions. It holds, moreover, that the improvement of the present surroundings of many is an indispensable condition of the moral welfare of all. In this sense the Society may be said to aim at political and social reforms. But it does not propose in its corporate capacity to interfere with the work of organisations which deal with particular social evils. So far as these organisations aim at good and noble ends the Ethical Society is in entire sympathy with them; so far as they adopt means which are in themselves moral they may in particular cases have its hearty co-operation. But its foremost aim as a Society is to set forth and bring home to men's minds those universal principles of well-doing and well-being, the observance of which is essential to the permanent usefulness of all reform."

The Report for 1887/88 repeats, save for one or two immaterial changes, the above General Statement.

The growth in definiteness in the Society's outlook is indicated in the introduction to the Report for 1888/89, which is here reproduced. This introduction is now entitled General Principles of the Society and remains unaltered as regards the explanatory portion in all the subsequent Reports:—

"GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIETY.

"As a desire has been expressed for a more definite statement of the principles of the Society than previous Reports have contained, the Committee has formulated these under the following three heads:—

"1. The good life has a claim upon us in virtue of its supreme worthiness, and this claim is the highest it can have.

"2. It is therefore in no way dependent upon belief in a system of supernatural rewards and punishments.

"3. In practice it is to be realised by accepting and acting in the spirit of such common obligations as are enjoined by the relationships of family and society, in so far as these are a means to the fullest development of our nature as man.

"In setting forth these principles, the Society believes that it meets a growing want of the age.

"There are many who recognise the inherent worthiness of the life commonly regarded as good and noble, but who consider the motives, commonly assigned for pursuing it, unworthy and inadequate. These the Society invites to co-operate in the establishment and exposition of the true principles of social morality.

"It also seeks to satisfy a need felt by those to whom the breaking up of older modes of thought and feeling, as to the grounds of moral obligation, seems to have gone far to destroy the obligation itself. The allegiance of such persons to the higher moral life has been claimed on the ground of external and often arbitrarily selected sanctions. But now that their reverence for these has been undermined by the necessary progress of thought, their reverence for goodness itself is likely to suffer. In endeavouring to remove the confusion here involved, the Ethical Society lays down no dogmatic formula of duty, but appeals to moral experience in proof that the real satisfaction of human aspiration is to be found in the good life alone.

"The Ethical Society has also a special claim on the interest of social and political reformers. It aims at co-operating with these by means of its lectures and publications, in the formation of a true conception of human good. Believing as it does in the supreme importance of character as the determining element in a nation's well-being, it claims that all educational and social reform should be tested by this question: Does it or does it not further the development of good character among the citizens?

"The means by which the Society hopes to carry on its work are mainly these:

"1. Sunday Lectures and Courses on Ethical and Political Philosophy in connection with University Extension, Political and Social Clubs, as well as religious and other organisations.

"2. Publication and diffusion of literature illustrative of the higher moral and religious thought of mankind.

"3. The embodiment and illustration of its ideas in such institutions as it may have in its power to form.

"From this account of the aims and methods of the Society, it will be obvious that it does not propose to enter into competition with existing religious organisations. It does not propose, as has been thought, to found a new religious worship. It merely aims at disentangling what is distinctively moral from the more transient forms of doctrine and ritual in which it is embedded. At a time when these forms are being subjected on all hands to a critical and destructive analysis, it is felt that such a disentanglement is of supreme importance and is specially incumbent upon those who have the moral education of young people entrusted to them.

"On the other hand, it is not a rival of those who advocate social or political reforms in any particular field. It holds that truer views of the nature and meaning of human life must issue in juster laws and political institutions. It holds, moreover, that the improvement of the present surroundings of many is an indispensable condition of the moral welfare of all. In this sense the Society may be said to aim at political and social reforms. But it does not propose in its corporate capacity to interfere in the work of organisations which deal with particular social evils. So far as these organisations aim at good and noble ends the Ethical Society is in entire sympathy with them; so far as they adopt means which are in themselves moral, they may in particular cases have its hearty co-operation. But its foremost aim

as a Society is to set forth and bring home to men's minds those universal principles of well-doing and well-being, the observation of which is essential to the permanent usefulness of all reform."

This growth in definiteness is also illustrated by Rule 2, which henceforward remains the General Object of the Society:—

"2. The object of the Society is to contribute, both by precept and in practice, to spreading moral influences on a non-dogmatic basis."

In the Report for 1889/90 the Section relating to the General Principles of the Society is reproduced from the preceding Report, except that the paragraph, "In setting forth these principles, the Society believes that it meets a growing want of the age", now reads: "In setting forth these principles, the Society wishes it to be understood that its aim is constructive, and that it does not concern itself with negative theological criticism."

The Report for 1890/91, which is headed for the first time *London Ethical Society*, registers only a minor change in the Principles. The paragraphs "The means . . . power to form" read now—

"The Means by which the Society has hitherto carried on its work are mainly these:—

"1. Sunday Lectures on Ethical subjects.

"2. Publication and diffusion of literature illustrative of the higher moral and religious thought of mankind.

"3. Educational work among young people.

"To these it is now proposed to add *more systematic teaching than has hitherto been attempted upon subjects which lie in the direct line of the Society's work*. . . ."

The Report which followed contains two changes in the section relating to General Principles. Principle 2 is slightly altered. It reads now: "It therefore rests for its justification on no external authority nor on any system of supernatural rewards and punishments, but on the rational nature of man." The other change in the Report is the formal one of adding to the list of activities: "Week-day lectures under the Scheme for the Extension of University Teaching."

The Principles of the Society were altered in certain particulars during the period July 1892 to June 1893 and read henceforth:—

"The good life has a claim upon us in virtue of its supreme worth to humanity.

"It therefore rests for its justification on no external authority, and on no system of supernatural rewards and punishments, but on the nature of man as a rational and social being.

"In practice it is to be realised by accepting and acting in the spirit of such common obligations as are enjoined by the relationships of family and society, in so far as these are a means to a fuller human development."

And the Principles are now followed by the subjoined Aims:—

"1. To assist individual and social efforts after right living.

"2. To free the current ideal of what is right from all that is merely traditional or self-contradictory, and thus to widen and perfect it.

"3. To assist in constructing a Theory or Science of Right, which, starting

with the reality and validity of moral distinctions, shall explain their mental and social origin, and connect them in a logical system of thought."

The remainder of the General Statement, apart from a small minor alteration, is unchanged, and no further modifications appear in the subsequent Reports.

What is of primary interest in this History is the Society's attitude towards fundamental ethical issues. Judging by the fact that the Society's leaders mostly belonged to the academic world, it might have been inferred that their cardinal interest would be in speculative ethics. But the very opposite, as we see, was the case. They aimed, in the words of Dr. Bosanquet already quoted, at conveying "moral ideas" and not "ideas *about* morality"—a vital distinction. The object of the Society is simply and impressively stated to be "to contribute, both by precept and in practice, to spreading moral influences on a non-dogmatic basis". And it is no pale, scholastic ethics which is expounded in our quotations. Thus the Society "appeals to moral experience in proof that the real satisfaction of human aspiration is to be found in the good life alone", and it almost adopts the prophet's tone when it affirms: "Believing as [the Society] does in the supreme importance of character as the determining element in a nation's well-being, it claims that all educational and social reforms should be tested by this question:—Does it or does it not further the development of good character among the citizens?"

Indeed, the Society was not entirely satisfied with the lengthy General Statement contained in its Annual Reports. In 1890 appeared the following: "*The Position of an Ethical Society,* Defined in reference to other Forms of Thought and Work. An Address to the Members of the London Ethical Society. By J. H. Muirhead, M.A. Printed at the request of the Committee." In a Prefatory Note, Dr. Bosanquet, as Chairman of the Committee, stated:—

"The following address is printed by request of the Committee of the Ethical Society, because it appeared desirable to adopt some fuller explanation than any which could be embodied in a set of rules or a prospectus with reference to the lines of thought and work, which seem distinctive of such an association.

. . . . . .

"The Committee is of opinion that those who are most deeply interested in the purposes, which are really characteristic of such a Society as ours, will find in this address a substantially just expression of their feeling with regard to Christianity, Theism, and Secularism, to the propaganda of economic Socialism, and to the need for organisations in which work may be unhampered by dogma."

In this Tract for the Times, the Society's Secretary boldly develops the General Statement which opened every Annual Report. Only a few new points can here be referred to. He warmly repudiates both orthodox and unitarian Christianity. On this subject he finely says: "The followers of Jesus were not called Christians at the beginning. Perhaps they will not be so in the end." He is also an uncompromising critic of supernaturalism. With Goethe he might say:—

"Was wär ein Gott, der nur von aussen stiesse,"

and with Cleanthes (about 300 B.C.) he does say:—

"Lead Thou me God, Law, Reason, Motion, Life,
All names alike for Thee are vain and hollow;
Lead me, for I will follow without strife,
Or if I strive, still must I blindly follow,"

holding that such a view is "of the highest value as a support and inspiration in the moral life". (p. 11.) "The aim of the Ethical Society", he claims, "should be to stimulate men and women to the discharge of the concrete duties of life rather than to expound the basis of duty in the abstract. So far as it aims at doctrine, as well as edification, it will endeavour rather to deepen and extend men's views of the obligations they implicitly admit than to theorise on the nature of obligation in general." (p. 17.) And, again: "The Ethical Society, like older institutions with a like aim, appeals to people in two ways. It appeals to the intellect, but it also appeals to the heart. It appeals to some by its ideas, to others by its offer of sympathy and fellowship." (p. 18.) (The address will be found reprinted in the volume of addresses entitled *Ethical Religion*, edited by the Society of Ethical Propagandists and published by Swan Sonnenschein, London, in 1900, but without the important Prefatory Note.)

Nor did the Society forget the great world without, which can only be reached through the medium of books. Already in 1889, Dr. Bosanquet, who was the principal leader of the Society, issued a volume entitled *Essays and Addresses*, containing a number of ethical discourses. In order to illustrate the scope and style of Dr. Bosanquet's teaching, some citations are here offered from "an address given for the Ethical Society" (presumably on 3rd April 1887) and reproduced in that volume under the title "The Kingdom of God on Earth":—

"Injustice must be redressed, beauty enjoyed, knowledge won, and goodness attained, here on this earth of ours." (p. 109.) "A man is good when his will is good, and bad when his will is bad." (p. 110.) "All these ideas,—compensation, rewards and punishments, God's commands in the Bible, the authority of the clergy,—are closely connected together. They are all fancies that men have had, just as though they were children, and being children, knew that they must be treated like children. Children do things because they are told, until they have learnt to behave themselves. And so men had to learn to behave themselves, only they had to fancy that there was a parent or schoolmaster looking after them. They naturally invented the only sort of instruction they could receive." (p. 114.) "We must know what is right, what we call God's will, by finding it in our own will. And we must do what is right, what we call God's will, because we find that it is our own will." (p. 116.) "Our station and its duties is the heart and spirit of our own little life." (p. 117.) "Every man is responsible for the tone of society in which he moves, and for the influence which he spreads round him, hour by hour." (p. 119.) "When two or three are gathered together, cooperating for the social good, there is the Divine Spirit in the midst of them." (p. 121.) "In everyday life we need the belief that the good is a reality. If we hold this belief more distinctly and more intensely, it amounts to this, that *nothing but goodness is a reality*. This faith is what people mean by religion." (p. 124.) "In morality we know that the good purpose is real, in religion we believe

that nothing else is real. It is the same faith, differently held." (p. 125.)
"*The duties of religion are the same as the duties of morality.*" (p. 125.)

A model ethical sermon this!

Moreover, with a view to carrying the spirit and the letter of the teaching of the Society beyond the lecture room, the Secretary of the Society planned an Ethical Library, in which the following works appeared, consisting to no small extent of addresses delivered before the Society:—

Bosanquet, Bernard, *The Civilisation of Christendom and other Studies.* London, 1893.

Bryant, Sophie, *Short Studies in Character.* 1894.

Stephen, Leslie, *Social Rights and Duties.* Addresses to Ethical Societies. 2 vols. 1896.

Bryant, Sophie, *The Teaching of Morality in the Family and the School.* 1897.

Sidgwick, Henry, *Practical Ethics.* A Collection of Addresses and Essays. 1898.

Sheldon, Walter L., *An Ethical Sunday School.* A Scheme for the Moral Instruction of the Young. 1900.

Ritchie, David G., *Studies in Political and Social Ethics.* 1902.

Mackenzie, J. S., *Lectures on Humanism,* with special reference to its bearing on Sociology. 1907.

Lloyd, Alfred H., *The Will to Doubt.* An Essay in Philosophy for the General Thinker. 1907.

Baldwin, James Mark, *Darwin and the Humanities.* 1910.

The influence of the above volumes on contemporary thought must have been appreciable.

We see, then, that the Society made a determined effort to clarify its own ideas and to communicate them to its members, to its audiences, and to the public generally.

3. *University Extension Work.*

In a leaflet issued by the Society in 1890/91, dealing with a Proposed Scheme of Work under the Society for the Extension of University Teaching, the following passage occurs:—

"The short debates which have followed the Sunday Lectures, have shown how keen the interest in Ethical questions at present is, and at the same time how great a need there is for a more systematic exposition of the principles of individual and social morality. It is felt that the endeavour to introduce order into the existing chaos of ideas on these subjects is peculiarly in harmony with the aims of the Ethical Society, and that the Society would be neglecting an important opportunity of usefulness if it failed to support this effort to supply so real a need."

The results of the courses of University Extension Lectures which were accordingly given in 1891/92 were regarded by the Committee of the Society as "highly encouraging". These week-day Lectures remained thereafter an important feature of the Society's activities. In this connection we read of a further suggestive development:—

"The University Extension Philosophical Society (London), which largely consists of Students connected with the Essex Hall lectures, has held eight very successful meetings during the year. The subject of discussion has been

'Rights and Duties in different relations of life'. Opening papers were read by Prof. Mackenzie, Dr. Bosanquet (2), Miss Carey, Mr. G. Slater, Miss Bridgman, Prof. Muirhead, and Dr. Bonar."

The last complete Report (for 1895/96) contains the following statement regarding the Society's University Extension courses, which is here reproduced to indicate the type of work undertaken and the results achieved:—

"In connection with the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, five courses of ten lectures were given at Essex Hall, as follows:—

"Autumn Term—'The Philosophy of Aesthetics,' B. Bosanquet, LL.D. 26 Students. Average attendance at Lectures 22.—'Mind and Will,' I., J. H. Muirhead, M.A. 47 Students. Average attendance 34.

"Spring Term—'The English Citizen,' M. M. Childs, M.A. 20 Students. Average attendance 14.—'Mind and Will,' II., J. H. Muirhead, M.A. 29 Students. Average attendance 23.

"Summer Term—'Mind and Will,' III., J. H. Muirhead, M.A. 32 Students. Average attendance 19.

"Twelve Students entered for the Examinations, all of whom passed, five marks of distinction being awarded. The reports of the Examiners upon the merits of the papers sent up were on the whole good. . . . The number of Students has been comparatively small this year, probably due to some extent to the raising of the fee from 1s. the Course to 2s. 6d., but the average attendance at the lectures has been higher. . . .

"The Education Committee has invited Mr. Muirhead to give a Course of Lectures upon 'The Will in relation to Conduct' during the Autumn of 1896."

Thus the Society stressed moral practice in its Sunday discourses and moral theory in its week-day lectures.

4. *The London School of Ethics and Social Philosophy.*

The eleventh and last Report of the Society (1896/97) contains a Section dealing with the founding of the London School of Ethics and Social Philosophy. From this we gather how the idea matured that the University teaching work of the Society should become the centre of the Society's future endeavours:—

"The conviction has been forming itself for some time past in the minds of the Committee of the London Ethical Society that the success of the philosophic teaching carried out by the Society during the last six years at Essex Hall under the auspices of the University Extension Movement, justified the belief that the re-organisation and establishment on a more permanent basis of this branch of the Society's work, would lead to valuable results.

"In pursuance of this conviction correspondence was entered into by the Hon. Sec. of the Society with leading teachers of Philosophy in England, a deputation from the Committee (consisting of the Chairman of Committee and the Hon. Sec.) was received in Conference at Balliol Coll., Oxford, and at Cambridge, and meetings were held in London, to which members of Ethical Societies and those who seemed likely to be interested in philosophical teaching in London were invited. Cordial support was given to the idea of the Committee, and after full discussion it was decided that the opportunities and needs of London at the present time could best be met by the founding of a School of Ethics and Social Philosophy, independent of any existing insti-

tution. A provisional Committee was formed to draw up a scheme and endeavour to obtain promises of financial support.

"At a meeting of members and friends of the London Ethical Society held at Essex Hall on May 30th, 1897, the new scheme was explained and progress reported. A resolution was submitted and adopted expressing approval of the new departure."

This documentary history of the Ethical Movement in Great Britain is not the place to enlarge on the work of the London School of Ethics and Social Philosophy, even though one recognises the close affinity of the work to that undertaken by Ethical Societies. Here is the course of events.

On 17th February 1897, invitations were issued for a Conference to be held on 3rd March at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Sonnenschein "to discuss the desirability of forming a London School of Ethics and Social Philosophy". The letter of invitation was signed by Dr. Bosanquet and Prof. Muirhead. The list of those who promised to attend included the following: Augustine Birrell, M.P.; Sir John Lubbock, M.P.; Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc.; Moncure Conway, Ph.D.; Professor Karl Pearson; Professor Sully; Miss Alice Woods; James Bryce, M.P.; C. E. Schwann, M.P.; Stanton Coit, Ph.D.; W. L. Courtney, M.A.; Leslie Stephen, Esq.; and Mrs. Stephen Winkworth.

Before this meeting was held, Dr. Bonar had received the following encouraging letter from the Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science:—

"The London School of Economics and Political Science.
10, Adelphi Terrace,
London, W.C.
26 Feb. 1897.

Dear Bonar,

I think it is most desirable to found a School of Philosophy and have already expressed my sympathy to several people interested in the scheme. It would not in any way compete with the School of Economics.

Yours sincerely,
(signed) W. H. S. Hewins."

In April 1897, an Appeal for not less than £500 for five years was issued. This Appeal was signed by the Acting Committee (B. Bosanquet, Sophie Bryant, Stanton Coit, L. T. Hobhouse, Mary Gilliland Husband, Ellis Thurtell) and the Hon. Secretary (*pro tem.*), J. H. Muirhead, and met with an encouraging response. Accordingly, by the middle of October 1897, the School was already functioning at the Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Square, W.C., with Dr. Bosanquet as President and Mrs. Gilliland Husband as Secretary.

But the School was short-lived. On 11th May 1900, a Special Meeting of the subscribers was called to "consider the financial position of the School", when the following resolution was carried: "That in view of the inadequate financial basis for the future of the School, this meeting regrets that there is no alternative but to recommend to a future meeting, to be summoned after the close of the present session, that the School be dissolved." On 16th November of the same year this meeting was held,

the recommendation of the previous meeting was unanimously endorsed, and the work of the School came to an untimely end.

5. *Social Activities.*

The activities of the Society included "practical work in the rooms opened by the Society on October 20th, 1888, in White Hart Street, Drury Lane", a district then remarkable for its dirt, squalor, and rowdyism. The Report for 1888/89 describes the work here undertaken in the following terms:—

"The practical work of the Ethical Society falls under two heads—the Kindergarten, and the Boys' and Girls' Guilds. In the former, an average of fifteen children have met daily for five days a week from 9.30 a.m. to 12.30 p.m., and on Monday and Friday from 2 p.m. till 3.30 p.m. as well, under the direction of Mrs. Kelsey, aided by Miss Stewart. The children belong to the poorest, and the work is carried on under considerable difficulties, but the success of Mrs. Kelsey in this department justifies the Committee in earnestly appealing to the members of the Society to continue their support of this effort. The Guilds of the Society consist of some forty boys and girls, who meet on alternate nights of the week—the girls upon Monday, Wednesday and Friday; the boys on Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. These Guilds are not merely for purposes of amusement. The Committee of Management makes it its aim to organise the meetings of the Guilds so as to serve the purpose of direct moral and intellectual improvement, while by withdrawing the members for a time from the less healthy influences of their ordinary surroundings they indirectly promote the same end."

The promising Kindergarten School had a brief existence. The Report for 1889/90 states on this point:—

"The Society has determined, after full discussion, to close the School at Christmas, 1890, being of opinion that with the managing power at the Society's disposal the character of a new departure in Educational Method could not be given to it sufficiently to justify its maintenance at great expense by the side of the National System. As a Kindergarten Infant School, excellently taught, it has been of very great advantage to the children who have attended it."

The Boys' and Girls' Clubs, however, were developed in sundry ways. The average weekly attendance of the members of the Guilds in this year was 76 and the average class attendance each week 49.

In 1891/92 the Guild consisted of some 50 boys and girls, varying in age from 15 to 20. The following particulars are of interest:—

"The Committee has been enabled to go on and develop particular faculties or interests, as in the very successful Choral Union, and the equally successful Clay Modelling Class. There is no necessity now, as at first, to be ever seeking some new thing wherewith to catch, it might be, the fickle fancy of the members. Two excellent courses of Health Lectures have been given during the past year, one in the autumn and the other in the spring terms. These have now been succeeded by a Botany Lecture. One of the most interesting features of Guild life is the rapid development in its members of the power of self-government. Thus there are Committees for the management of the weekly Dance, the Library, the Entertainments from time to

time given, and the Sunday Concerts, while the general management of the Guild has this year been placed wholly in the hands of the members, the workers present advising only."

During 1892/93 the Guild continued to grow in diverse directions and in the following year three Clubs are mentioned: "(1) a club for young men from 16 to 25; (2) a club for young women of a similar age; and (3) a club for boys from 13 to 16", whilst in 1894/95 the Guild is reported as being in a flourishing condition. The last full Annual Report of the Society, that for 1895/96, strikes an anxious, but not despairing, note:—

"The Society's Guild, which has just completed the eighth year of its existence in its original premises, 8A, White Hart Street, Drury Lane, consists at present of three clubs. . . .

"The difficulty of obtaining workers—a difficulty that has been always with us—became especially acute in the autumn of 1895, so that the number of possible classes was greatly diminished, and the junior boys' club was temporarily abandoned. In addition to this the clubs undoubtedly suffered from the necessary retirement of Mrs. Gilliland Husband from the active management of the work. The Committee here desires to express its sense of their loss. The steady development of character among the members of the Guild and the consequent success of the clubs has been very largely due to the genuine ethical quality of her work, to her unfailing energy, sympathy, and tactful influence. It is fortunate that Mrs. Husband can still assist the Guild Committee with her advice and experience.

"These changes induced the Guild Management Committee to recommend, in the Spring of the present year, that a paid Secretary should be appointed. In April, 1896, Miss G. Allen was appointed Secretary at a salary of £30 a year, and she has since conducted the work with much success.

"The club for boys was again started. It has met three nights a week; Wednesday—Drill Class and Business Meeting. Friday—Games. Monday—Running. . . .

"In the Autumn of 1895 the Committee had a request from the young men's club that boxing might be permitted one evening in the week. This had never before been allowed in the Guild. On consideration, however, of the greater age of the members, the excellent order and healthy tone prevailing in the Guild, as well as the excellence of the arrangements proposed by the young men for the management of the boxing evening, induced the Guild Management Committee to grant the request of the young men's club and permit boxing, the evening being in charge of a Committee of the young men themselves. But the evening did not prove so attractive as was anticipated, and the 'boxing class' came to an end early in the Spring.

"A well-attended painting class, led by Miss Hensman, has met regularly all through the year. There are at present twenty-one members.

"The Choral Union did not meet during the Autumn and early Spring owing to difficulty in finding a teacher, but Miss Edith Spooner has again taken charge, and the class has met once a week since May.

"The young men organised and carried out, during the Winter, a successful drill class for their own members.

"The class for needlework has been continued by Miss E. Gwynne, who has had charge of this class since the opening of the Guild.

"A most successful drill class has been organised for the girls, and led by Miss Hammond and Miss Schönewald.

"An Entertainment Committee (. . ., all members of the senior clubs) has done capital work throughout the Winter."

The Guild report for 1896/97 comes as a shock, since it informs us that the Guild, which, as we saw, was started in the autumn of 1888 and appeared to be in a flourishing condition in 1895, had ceased to exist. For this we were only faintly prepared by the report reproduced above. The full statement on this subject is as follows:—

"The Society's Guild Work, which was begun in the Autumn of 1888, has been this year brought to a close. The reasons for its termination have been manifold, but the chief among them has been that 'a piece of work' has been finished. In spite of the continual coming and going of members, incidental to the life of London Social Clubs such as ours, we have kept with us from the beginning a faithful few. These were the vital nucleus of the Guild and became the backbone of its adult life. But the boys and girls of '88 had become young men and women in '97. Some had married, leaving the club the weaker for the loss of their trained and recognised character as club members. Those that remained had reached an age demanding a new organisation of their club life. What precisely the organisation of such a mixed adult club should be, was a new and difficult question. To tackle it successfully we should have needed the help and guidance of experienced workers and managers. This was precisely what we lacked. The two or three men and women in whose hands the management and personal conduct of the Guild had rested from the beginning had formed new ties and taken upon them new duties, which prevented their giving the clubs that close and personal attention without which such work cannot succeed. We were, moreover, unfortunate in losing the services of Miss Allen, our excellent paid Secretary, who was appointed in April, 1896, and who left London unexpectedly in the autumn of the same year. This loss entailed, among other things, the failure of the Junior Boys' Club, which she had most ably conducted. In these circumstances it was thought best to terminate a work which, in spite of many failures and much heart-burning and grief, has given us a solid centre of satisfaction. We believe that good and permanent results have been produced on the characters of at least the central figures in our little group of members, through the discipline, responsibility, friendships, and awakened interests, of their club life. An 'Old Members' Association' has been formed and it is hoped that by its means the good will and helpful friendliness that have grown up among club members and workers may be kept alive."

As in so many instances, the departure of a head worker, who had had no opportunity to train a successor, led to the collapse of a young and useful institution. Individual efficiency is thus frequently the enemy of social efficiency.

6. *Sunday Public Lectures.*

The Sunday Evening Lectures, as we saw in the first Section of this Chapter, were started at Toynbee Hall. They were given there from 21st November 1886 to 27th May 1888.

However, commencing with October 1888, they were resumed at Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, where they continued to be delivered until the dissolution in 1897. "The move", the Committee reported, "has been justified by the continued success of the Society's Lectures."

The Committee further stated in its 1888/89 Report that "in addition to these lectures the Society was able to supply lectures throughout the Winter to several other Centres. Besides Toynbee Hall,* where the lectures started by the Society have been carried on by the Committee of the Hall, and where many of the Ethical Society's lectures were re-delivered, the N. London Islington Central Liberal Club and the Gladstone Club in Bethnal Green organised Courses of Lectures, which were given mainly by members of the Ethical Society." In 1889/90 we hear of "a steady increase in the number who attend". It is interesting to note that of the thirty-two lecturers who spoke during that year, only three appear to have been without a university degree.

Among the lecturers in 1892, it may be observed, was Dr. Felix Adler, the Founder of the Ethical Movement. He delivered three addresses at Essex Hall on 15th, 22nd, and 29th May, his subjects being "The Ethical Element in Religion", "Ethical Standards applied to Economics", and "The Matter and Method of Moral Education".

The average attendance at the Sunday Lectures was 106 during the autumn term of 1891, 104 during the spring term, and 163 during the summer term, giving an average of 124 for the year.

Inasmuch as the last full Report is that of 1895/96, we shall reproduce here *in extenso* the Lecture List for that year, indicating the type of lectures delivered and the noted lecturers who addressed the Society:—

October 20.—"Forgotten Benefactors," Leslie Stephen, Esq.
October 27.—"Goethe's 'Faust,'" F. H. Peters, M.A.
November 3.—"The Prospects of Secondary Education in England," Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc.
November 10.—"Milton and the Minor Poem," Arthur Sidgwick, M.A.
November 17.—"Is Poverty Diminishing?" J. A. Hobson, M.A.
November 24.—"Character and Circumstance," B. Bosanquet, LL.D.
December 1.—"Friedrich Nietzsche," Professor William Wallace.
December 8.—"The Decline of the Family," J. H. Muirhead, M.A.
December 15.—"Assisi and its Saint," The Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, M.A.
January 26.—"Overmuch Righteousness," Leslie Stephen, Esq.
February 2.—"Impressionism or the Logic of Modern Painting," D. G. McColl, Esq.
February 9.—"The Fight for the Schools," The Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley.
February 16.—"Democracy," Graham Wallas, M.A.
February 23.—"Primitive Magic and Modern Science," G. F. Stout, M.A.
March 1.—"Oldham Wakes: a Study in Thrift," B. Bosanquet, LL.D.
March 8.—"The Ethical Function of Women," Miss E. P. Hughes.
March 15.—"Dante," The Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, M.A.
March 22.—"Trilby," Mrs. Gilliland Husband.
April 19.—"The Ethics of Business Life and National Relations," Augustine Birrell, M.P.
April 26.—"The Education of Women," Mrs. B. Bosanquet.
May 3.—"The Simplification of Life," Herbert Rix, Esq.
May 10.—"Character-Drawing in the Greek Drama," Arthur Sidgwick, M.A.

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* The Toynbee Hall Ethical Lectures are reported on separately in Chapter Ia.

May 17.—"The Ethics of Liberal Politics," J. H. Muirhead, M.A.
May 24.—No Lecture.
May 31.—"War," Leslie Stephen, Esq.
June 7.—"Parents and Children," The Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, M.A.
June 14.—"Should Interest be Paid?" J. A. Hobson, M.A.
June 21.—"The Ethical Value of a Belief in a Future Life," Prof. A. Caldecott.
June 28.—"Aristocracy as a Political Principle," Mrs. Sophie Bryant, D.Sc.

The Sunday Evening Lectures continued to be given at Essex Hall until 30th May 1897. The Society then merged itself in the London School of Ethics which, as promised, continued them. They were, however, reduced in number, no lectures being delivered in December, January, and April, and, of course, none during the summer recess. During the first year 1897/98, they were held at the Passmore Edwards Settlement and exhibited the same ethical trend as before. During the second year 1898/99, 18 lectures in sets of six were given, the last six at Essex Hall. "The Sunday Lectures", we learn from the First Annual Report of the School, "are usually followed by a discussion, and the numbers present have been generally from 90 to 100." With regard to the lectures given at Essex Hall during the second year, we read in the Second Annual Report of the School that they "have been fairly satisfactory both in number and in the regularity of the attendance". During the third year—1899/1900—the usual three sets of six Sunday Evening Ethical Lectures were given, all at Essex Hall. In a sense, therefore, the strictly public ethical work of the London Ethical Society only ceased with the closing of the School of Ethics in 1900.

7. *Relation to other Societies.*

We have seen that the Society was ready and eager to supply speakers to associations of every kind. Nor was it so self-centred as to ignore kindred bodies. Thus the first Annual Report already conveys the interesting information that in its private meetings the Society was "mainly engaged in collecting information as to the constitution and labour of similar societies". The following year (1887/88) the Society's programme included Members' meetings for discussion. Papers were read by Mr. William Clarke on "The Functions of an Ethical Society," Mr. Herbert Burrows on "The Consistency of the Teaching of the Ethical Society with its Principles", and Mr. F. S. Miers on "The Morality of Trade".

The subjoined statement on kindred Societies (1889/90) bears witness to the largeness of spirit that animated the Society:—

"At the General Meeting, held on Saturday, December 14th, 1889, it was resolved that it was advisable that a list of Societies having the same general purposes, but not necessarily the same formulæ or organisation should be placed yearly before our Members.

"In Great Britain there are at least four Ethical Societies, or Societies acknowledging the same general purpose with Ethical Societies: The South Place Ethical Society, The Cambridge Ethical Society, The Bethnal Green Ethical Society, The Progressive Association.

"Through the courtesy of the American Ethical Union, under the presidency of Dr. Felix Adler, of New York, the London Ethical Society has been recognised as a corresponding Society of the Union. In this manner the practical work may be benefited by a mutual exchange of special yearly reports through the Secretaries, and the Society at the same time is enabled to express its interest in the American Ethical Movement, and has the right to welcome the Lecturers and Members of American Ethical Societies who may visit the country as fellow-workers in a common cause.

"The AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION includes, besides scattered groups of Members, SOCIETIES at NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, CHICAGO, and ST. LOUIS."

The information furnished here is valuable in itself as a historical record. The Bethnal Green Ethical Society is presumably the East London Ethical Society. The Progressive Association became later for all intents one of the group of London Ethical Societies. One of its promoters, Mr. Percival Chubb, was on the first Committee of the London Ethical Society and has now for many years been one of the leaders in the American Ethical Movement.

During the ensuing year the list of kindred Societies showed two additional names—the Leighton Hall Ethical Society and the Croydon Ethical and Religious Fellowship; the year following two more—the West London Ethical Society and the Bradford Ethical Society; and in 1893/94 one more—the South London Ethical Society. The year after, the Croydon Ethical and Religious Fellowship was omitted. In 1895/96, the last recorded year, the list of kindred Societies stood as follows: "The South Place Ethical Society, Finsbury. The Cambridge Ethical Society. The East London Ethical Society, 78, Libra Road, Roman Road, E. The South London Ethical Society, Sec. Miss Law. North London Ethical Society, Leighton Hall, Kentish Town. West London Ethical Society, Kensington Town Hall, W. Bradford Ethical Society."

In regularly publishing this list and in annually reiterating its cordial relations to the American Ethical Societies, the Society proved that it felt itself an integral part of a larger movement.

8. *Finance and Membership.*

The Treasurer's statement for the first financial year showed an exceedingly modest income of £13 19s. 2d., which, however, sufficed to cover the equally modest expenses of the Society. The year following (1887/88) the income, owing mainly to a generous donation of £25 from the Earl of Dysart (who remained a liberal supporter for a number of years), rose to £42 4s. This rise in income led, however, to a credit balance of over £23. The item Lecturers' Expenses appears as two guineas for the Session. The increase in the subscriptions received, and more particularly in the membership during the third year, was most gratifying. The receipts rose from £42 to £248, whilst the membership leapt from 40 to 137. The corresponding augmentation in expenditure was almost entirely accounted for by the new expenditure which devolved on the Society through its "practical work".

During the year 1889/90, the Society's membership increased from 137

to 177 and the subscriptions and donations from £248 to £289. Teachers' salaries accounted for £122 on the expenditure side. In the following year income and expenditure were around £250, the latter including a payment of £60 towards meeting the deficiency in the University Extension work account. The financial statement for 1892/93 indicates a further small fall in income and the credit balance of £85 is converted into a debit balance of about £30; but at the close of the next financial year there was a credit balance of £238. (£300 out of the £382 received were contributed by two members, the Earl of Dysart and Mrs. Stephen Winkworth.)

Owing mainly to Mrs. Winkworth's continued munificent financial support, the General Account begins in 1894/95 with the substantial credit balance mentioned and registers over £300 in receipts, Mrs. Winkworth contributing £200 towards this sum. The same subscriber contributed also £50 to the University Extension Fund Account and a like amount to the Guild Account. About £140 of the General Fund went to covering the deficits in the two subsidiary activities, leaving still a credit balance of over £277.

The subscription list for 1894/95 shows 188 subscribers. The subscriptions have risen to £333, making with the balance in hand and sundries a total of £615 on the receipt side (as against £13 19s. 2d. in 1886/87). On the expenditure side we notice for the first time the item of lecturers' fees (£58 16s.). (During the School of Ethics period this item oscillated around £45.) Contributions to the Guild and to the University Extension work account for nearly £200; but a heavy credit balance of some £233 remains.

The last Treasurer's statement, that for 1896/97, begins with the above credit balance and closes with one of £148. The receipts amounted to no less than £394. On the expenditure side we note £71 for lecturers' fees and no less than £252 towards the expenses of the Guild and of the University Extension work.

Examining the figures in chronological sequence, we note that the Society steadily progressed both as regards income and aggregate membership.

9. *Temporary Amalgamation with the West London Ethical Society.*

The Report for 1892/93 chronicled a signal event in the history of the London Ethical Society, when the Essex Hall Sunday Evening Lectures were supplemented by Sunday Morning Lectures at the Princes' Hall, Piccadilly, this as the result of the union of the London Ethical Society with the West London Ethical Society under the name London Ethical Society. In the Chapter on the West London Ethical Society this event has been somewhat exhaustively dealt with. The London Ethical Society's Report for 1892/93 refers to the union and its dissolution in the following terms:—

"As already noted, a union was entered into at the close of 1892 with the West London Ethical Society, with a view to pursuing the joint aims of the two Societies under one name and administration. In the course of the

Spring of the present year, however, it became obvious that although the general aims of the Societies appeared to be identical, their respective views of the best means to realise these aims differed considerably and that the Societies would work more effectively and harmoniously if each were left free to pursue the course it had already marked out for itself before the union. At a meeting therefore of the Joint Society, held on Monday, June 26th, at Essex Hall, a resolution was adopted by a large majority to rescind the union. A meeting of the members of the former London Ethical Society was afterwards held on the same evening, at which the Society was reconstituted on its former basis and officers elected for the ensuing year. While regretting that it was not found possible permanently to unite as had been proposed, the Committee does not regret the opportunity it has enjoyed of coming into close and friendly contact with those who are pursuing similar objects by different methods."

10. *The Dissolution of the Society.*

The last Report, that covering the period July 1896 to October 1897, rings the death knell of the Society and is manifestly different in structure from the ten Reports that preceded it. The long introductory Statement is omitted. So is the Section dealing with kindred Societies. And the list of subscribers has disappeared. The Society's leaders, it appears, had become convinced that, in the given historical circumstances, the theoretical work of the Society, in the form of a School of Ethics, should take precedence over the practical and that the Society should be absorbed in the projected School. However, there was a recommendation that " in case the Sunday Lectures at Essex Hall should cease, that similar lectures should be given in connection with the School ". Finally, " at the General Annual Meeting of the London Ethical Society held on October 24th, 1897, at the Passmore Edwards Settlement, a resolution was submitted and carried to the effect that the Society desired to merge itself in the new School of Ethics and Social Philosophy just founded, and transferred thereto its cash balance and general interests."

11. *Retrospect.*

In studying the history of the London Ethical Society, we are struck with the earnestness, the sobriety, and the steadfastness of the Society's appointed leaders. The Society changed its place of meeting only once and that for a cogent reason. It changed its name from Ethical Society to London Ethical Society, also in obedience to a change in external circumstances. It never changed its admirable Secretary (who in 1897 became Professor at the University of Birmingham). It never changed its financial year, nor its minimum subscription. Its excellent Object remained unaltered from the first time it appeared in the third Annual Report. Except for the first few months, it held Sunday Evening meetings regularly, from 1886 to 1900. The scholarly type of lecturer remained the same. The lectures were followed by discussion, there being no kind of " ethical service " such as has been general in British Ethical Societies. It had a series of highly distinguished Presidents: Prof. Edward Caird, Prof. J. R. Seeley, Prof. William Wallace, Prof. G. von Gizycki (Berlin), Dr. Felix Adler (New York), Prof. Henry Sidgwick, R. B. (later, Lord)

Haldane, Leslie Stephen, and Dr. Bernard Bosanquet. Its only weakne was its excessive readiness to efface itself.

As we have seen, the Society developed its Principles gradually an year by year it reprinted them in its Annual Reports, and offered thus comprehensive statement of the Society's view on the social and ethic problems of the age. This was an extremely useful habit deserving c wide imitation by Ethical Societies. It engaged in Guild work an gradually developed it. It proceeded similarly with University Extensio Teaching. Its expenses on its own fundamental work remained exceed ingly modest from beginning to end irrespective of income. And it Annual Reports were a model of what such Reports should be—virtuall complete records of events—and practically unvarying in structure an appearance because wisely conceived.

Nor did the Society selfishly concentrate on itself. Its lecturers wer ever ready to speak at other ethical and social centres. It proved it interest in kindred societies by publishing a list of them for the benefit o its members. And it did not stand aloof as if it represented a uniqu species of Ethical Society. On the contrary, it was proud to record yea by year that "through the courtesy of the American Ethical Union, th London Ethical Society has been recognised as a corresponding membe of the Union" and that it thus "has the right to welcome the Lecturer and Members of American Ethical Societies who may visit the country, a *fellow-workers in a common cause*". (Italics not in the original.)

Everything considered, it was nothing less than a calamity for th British Ethical Movement that the London Ethical Society should hav dissolved after only eleven years of experience and experiment, mostly o an encouraging kind.

SOURCES.

Almost the whole of the material utilised in the above outline history of the London Ethical Society was most generously placed at my disposal by Dr. James Bonar. Prof. Muirhead supplied the introductory sketch as well as an invaluable Minute Book and helped in numerous other ways. Of the three Annual Reports missing in Dr. Bonar's collection, one was supplied (with other important material) by Mr. Myer S. Nathan and the other two were found in the Library of the London School of Economics. The type-script history of the British Ethical Movement, lent by the Rt. Hon. Lord Snell, C.B.E., also proved valuable in this connection, and *The Ethical World* yielded useful information.

Chapter Ia.—TOYNBEE HALL ETHICAL LECTURES.

As we have seen, the London Ethical Society transferred its lecture centre in the autumn of 1888 from Toynbee Hall to Essex Hall. The Committee of Toynbee Hall, however, it is interesting to note, decided to continue the Sunday evening ethical lectures. Accordingly, the lectures started on October 14th. *The Toynbee Hall Record* for November 1888, contained the following statement:—

Lectures. The subject was 'Culture and Religion', and the need of, as well as the possible irreligiousness of, culture were alike insisted on. A discussion is allowed after the lectures, but not a debate; it being understood that the object of the discussion is to get further light from the lecturer on points that he has dealt with, rather than to give opportunity to oppose or to express personal opinions. The lectures begin at 7.30, and admission is free. On the 21st Prof. Seeley lectured on 'The Ethical Movement'. The audiences have averaged about 120."

The lecture programme until 5th May 1889, when the ethical lectures were discontinued, was as follows:—

October 14.—Rev. S. A. Barnett, "Culture and Religion."
October 21.—Prof. J. R. Seeley, "The Ethical Movement."
October 28.—
November 4.—Henry Cunynghame, "The Ethics of Pain."
November 11.—Henry Cunynghame, "The Ethics of Pleasure."
November 18.—Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc., "Ideals of Character." (1.)
November 25.—Mrs. Bryant, D.Sc., "Ideals of Character." (2.)
December 2.—D. G. Ritchie, M.A., "Utilitarianism."
December 9.—S. Alexander, M.A., "Man and the Law."
December 16.—B. F. C. Costelloe, M.A., "Culpable Luxury."
January 13.—G. J. Romanes, "The Ethics of Christianity."
January 20.—J. M. Macdonald, "Socrates."
January 27.—W. H. Fairbrother, "Can a Good Man be a Good Citizen?"
February 3.—W. C. Coupland, LL.D., "The New Morality."
February 10.—Rev. W. Tuckwell, "Christian Socialism."
February 17.—W. L. Courtney, M.A., "Mill and His Ethical Views."
February 24.—Mrs. S. Bryant, D.Sc., "Ideals of Character."
March 3.—R. E. Mitcheson, "The Christianity of a Russian Nihilist."
March 10.—Percival Chubb, "The Ethics of Work."
March 17.—J. M. Macdonald, "Agnosticism."
March 24.—J. Allanson Picton, M.A., "The Ethics of Democracy."
March 31.—J. H. Muirhead, M.A., "Life and Political Ideas of the late Professor T. H. Green."
April 7.—J. M. Macdonald, "Agnosticism."
April 14.—R. B. Haldane, M.P., "Karl Marx and his Socialism."
April 28.—Arthur Sidgwick, M.A., "The Ethics of the Greek Drama."
May 5.—Prof. J. Estlin Carpenter, "Brahmanism: Its Philosophy."

In the December issue of the *Record* there is the following passage:—

"At the Sunday Ethical Lectures the attendances have been regular and the interest shown great. Mrs. Bryant gave her second lecture to an audience of about 140, and it is hoped that, by the help of those who attend these lectures, their usefulness may be still further increased and the knowledge of them widened. During the past month, Dr. Stanton Coit has lectured on 'The Neighbourhood Guild in New York'."

And in the February issue we read:—

"On the 20th, Mr. J. M. Macdonald, to whose efforts the arrangement of the interesting course for the present session is almost entirely due, lectured on 'Socrates'."

In the autumn of 1889, the Sunday Evening Ethical Lectures were replaced by Sunday Evening Lectures of a more general type.

CHAPTER II.—THE SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY.

In the spring of 1887, the Committee of the South Place Religious Society, chiefly at the instance of its retired Minister, Dr. Moncure D. Conway, decided to invite Dr. Stanton Coit, "a gentleman well known in the United States in connection with the Ethical Culture Movement", to address the Society for several consecutive Sundays. Dr. Stanton Coit accepted the invitation and in September of the same year he delivered four discourses at South Place, speaking on the 4th on "The Death of Socrates", the 11th on "The Ethics of Shakespeare", and on the 18th and 25th on "Ethical Culture as a Religion for the People".

As these lectures were the first ethical discourses Dr. Stanton Coit delivered in Great Britain and as the double address on "Ethical Culture as a Religion for the People" led to an invitation for Dr. Coit to become the Minister of the Society, it will be in place to quote here some passages from this address:—

"Ethical Culture, as a religion for the people, offers in the place of God's vigilance an adequate increase of men's vigilance, in the place of a presence believed in, a presence actually seen and felt and heard—men and women looking and hearing, preventing, warning, condemning, rescuing. The dread of being caught by one's fellow-men offers, I believe, the strongest check that can be found to one's evil impulses. The possibility of incurring the contempt even of strangers, holds us back from our sweetest transgressions; and the thought of the merest chance of being found out by those who respect us and love us tenderly, cuts into the soul like a knife, it spreads sharp pain through the finest pleasure, so that we recoil from our fondest schemes." (p. 152.)—"Next to the fear of being caught in evil-doing, the motive most powerful for good over the minds of ordinary men, and especially of the poor and illiterate, is the desire for personal approbation when they have done well, and the fear of offending and disappointing someone who cares for them. This longing for personal fellowship in the inner moral life is, I believe, the deepest need of the human heart." (p. 153.)—"Friends, if you hold up the Christian's ideal of a loving God in the strongest light of your moral insight, you will see that it is in outline the perfect human character projected outward, that it is a vision which the human soul throws out from its own depths upon the clear blue sky of inward meditation. No sadder error has ever been committed than to mistake it for a reality and rest in the sight of it. We must make it a reality, else it has no existence. . . . But because we do not mistake it for a real existence, but regard it as a thing to be made real in our lives and in society, we maintain that ethical culture in this respect is better fitted than theistic religion to bring religion to the people." (p. 157.)—"It is one thing to say as atheistic ethics does: 'There is no personal God, therefore let us take up with the next best thing, and love our fellow-men'; and quite another—as different as day from night—to say: 'The highest thing is to love where there is the greatest need. . . . Because fellowship with living men bears upon it the sovereign seal of the moral sanction, therefore will I know no other fellowship until that be perfected.'" (p. 162.)—"Duty is a jealous God. . . . 'What, am I not the highest?' says the voice of Duty, 'Thinkest thou that if the veil were rent and thou stoodest face to face with what is now the mystery of being, thou shouldst find it fairer than I am? Then hast thou never known me'." (p. 162.)—"If we do not base ethics on atheism, or theism, or agnosticism, or positivism, what

do we base it upon? We answer: Ethics is the science of good character and right conduct, and it is based on our moral experience and our moral judgment, and should be kept independent of all theology, just as the science of correct thinking is, or political economy, and all other sciences of the mind and society, and as all practical arts are. We are pledged to no philosophical theory as to the nature of God and the universe, or as to the limits of human knowledge. And so long as the atheist, or theist, or agnostic, or positivist does not derive his sanctions to right actions from his speculative theories, we gladly welcome him. We would leave the speculative thought of each individual as untrammelled as you do here at South Place, and assert that character and conduct are independent of philosophical speculations. We would then unite on the basis of character and conduct, and try to build up these as best we can in ourselves and others." (p. 163.)—"But to seek out Christ as the unique sustainer and inspirer of our moral life, as the only name whereby a man can be saved, is again anti-social. It lets Christ do what we ought to do, the higher work." (p. 165.)—"In the place of heaven which awakens contemplation, we set before men the vision of a glorified earth. Stung by its splendours, men will leap to create it. It was always the glorified earth that the heart of man longed for. It was only as the hopes of our realising it faded away that the vision of another world began to shed its strange unnatural light over this earthly existence." (pp. 167-168.)—"Ethical Culture is a religion for the illiterate, because it intends and hopes to do away with illiteracy altogether; it sees that illiteracy ought not to be; furthermore, it is demonstrating that it need not be." (p. 169.)—"The doctrine that our Moral impulses do not well up out of our own nature, but are injected upon supplication to a superhuman being for help, is so palpably false and degrading that it should be silenced. . . . The power to do right is a part of ourselves. It is as much a part of ourselves at least as the power to think, to see or to eat, and there is no more need to ask some superhuman being for it than for these. There is only need of exercising it, no matter how weak it may be." (p. 170.)—"What, then, have we to offer? To the neglected, a friend; to those in moral danger, a guard; to the weak, encouragement; to the erring, self-respect; to the ignorant, knowledge; and unto the sorrowing, an inward joy." (p. 171.)—(Last paragraph.) "The light which streams from conscience bathes in opal beauty every individual life; it penetrates and makes radiant with the splendour of pure joy every family on earth; the city where it gleams has no need of the sun, neither of the moon; blessed too are the nations that walk in the light of it. The warmth of its beams reaches to the uttermost limits of mankind; yea, it floods the universe with its effulgence inexhaustible. We behold a glory in the sea and sky, and on the distant mountains, which is not their own. We lose ourselves in light. Such is the poetry of the moral life. Such is the gospel of ethics." (p. 174.)

In response to the Society's invitation Dr. Coit replied that he felt honoured at the proposal, but that he could only become its permanent Minister on condition that the name of the Society was altered to "South Place Ethical Society". The acceptance of Dr. Coit's condition was strongly supported by Dr. Conway in the following remarkable letter (quoted from the Annual Report of the Society for 1887):—

"230, West 59th Street, New York,
November 23rd, 1887.

To my friends at South Place,

"Dr. Stanton Coit has this day sent me a letter which he has written to

Mr. Hickson, and requested me, if I approved of it, to forward it. I have concluded to do so, and with it to forward Dr. Coit's wish, so far as I can....

"My experience and observation have convinced me that South Place could hardly recover its old power unless it could find a right and true man for the work, notwithstanding the ability and culture of those who have successively occupied its desk (which indeed have been remarkable). And while listening to Dr. Stanton Coit in the Ethical Society here, and observing his noble labours among the poor boys and girls, I was filled with an ardent desire that he should be heard at South Place. He appeared to me as your coming man. My eyes, indeed, have been mistaken in such things before this, but it appears that in the present instance my judgment has been confirmed. You also have recognised the power, the fine spirit, the high moral tone, and the scholarship of this young minister,—about which in this city there can be no two opinions among those who know him and his work.

"From my interviews with him I have realised that if he were to settle in London it could not be as a mere successor of anyone. Were he to be merely an interesting appendix, it were hardly worth while for you to have him. No; a strong man must always mean a new departure. He is not to finish another's statue, but carve his own, embodying his own ideal. Dr. Stanton Coit has his own aim; he has prepared for it here and in Germany; it implies a career of his own.

"If you accept him it must be with his own purpose, his own implements. Otherwise you would get him, if at all, without the special training and enthusiasm which will alone enable him to do his very best. In other words, you need the whole man—nothing left over here, nothing seeking channels that South Place refuses. His request that South Place should include the word Ethical in its name is the result of his love of the Ethical Movement in this country. He has good reason to love it. Those who have read my pamphlet written among you—*Unitarianism and its Grandchildren*—will know that I regard this Ethical Movement as substantially one with the South Place idea. It is the most living movement now; and as South Place has for many years been informed by the spirit, I trust it will now gladly adopt the appropriate name. Dr. Stanton Coit has considered that it is but fair that you should know just where his heart is; and, if yours is not in accord so far at the outset, that it is best that future possible discord should be prevented by his frankly stating the condition under which he could alone hope for success in London. I entirely agree with him. But even if I did not, exactly, or even if I considered the change of name unnecessary—it would be enough for me (were I a member of South Place, as I shall always be in one sense—in heart)—it would be enough for me that this man desires it. I would not constrain the man whom I ask to do work for me which must depend on his own knowledge and his own perception of the best means to our common end. I would give him every freedom after giving him my faith. If he has love for a good cause, love for a good name—I would make channels for that stream of love where it may broadly run.

"I hope South Place has vitality enough to grow into many more names yet, representing as it were the annual rings on the growing tree. I hope some historian will one day read the whole religious history of England in the successive names of South Place, and find in its fruit the flavour of every truth which unfolded during its time.

"Therefore, my dear friends, I entreat you to let this young teacher have his way. Let him feel at once that he is not called on to abandon this new and living movement along with which he has grown up, and which is to

him what Unitarianism was to Channing, Rationalism to Fox, and Transcendentalism to Emerson. Why, the Ethical Cause is Coit's young bride; they are in the very honeymoon; if he goes to you, you must welcome her with him; and I assure you she is sweet and pretty and will be greatly beloved by you all!

"I have written you a long letter,—a rather vapid and rambling one,—but I do not mean to revise or re-read it even; for it has come out of my heart, and must so remain. However imperfect my appeal, I shall trust that you will ponder it. It may be—I hope so—that it is not needed, that Dr. Coit's request will be cordially and unanimously acceded to; for I remember that South Place did change its name at the desire of myself and others. But if there be hesitation, I trust that it will not extend to any effort to change this young man's purpose,—for it would not be consistent with the fineness of his moral sense to depart from a position which he has assumed after mature deliberation. Dr. Coit will give up a good deal if he leaves here. He has a position of steadily increasing influence. When he returned from London lately there was such a welcome and joy that I had to persuade him not to decide at once about the London plan. But he has now decided, and he is a mildly inflexible man in such things. It will be a large personal sacrifice to part with him. Nothing but my love for South Place would have induced me to persuade him to go. But I cannot repress a deep conviction that this is the opportunity, this the crisis for South Place. So deep is this conviction that it is with emotion that I have read his letter of acceptance, which I hardly expected, an emotion of joy which would turn to despair for my beloved old Society, were it to allow this opportunity of getting the man equal to its need to pass unimproved.

"Your faithful friend,

"Moncure D. Conway."

The question of changing the name of the Society was raised at a Special General Meeting of Members on 21st December 1887, and was resolved in the affirmative. At the same meeting Dr. Coit was formally elected Minister, but several months had to elapse before his arrangements permitted him to enter upon his ministerial duties. The Committee heartily congratulated the members on the change in the affairs of the Society and looked forward hopefully to a new and long career of usefulness for South Place and its Minister.

2. *The Earlier History of South Place.*

At this point it may be of interest to insert an account of the general history of South Place before it became an Ethical Society. The account is reproduced from a pamphlet issued by the Society and entitled *A Short History of South Place Ethical Society and an Urgent Appeal,* published in September 1927:—

"Our Society is the direct descendant of 'The Philadelphians', or Loving Brothers, a Society founded in 1793 at Parliament Court Chapel, Artillery Lane, Bishopsgate, by the Rev. Elhanan Winchester, an American ex-Baptist preacher and a pioneer of clerical disbelief in the doctrine of Eternal Hell. Winchester was followed by the Rev. William Vidler, who added Unitarianism to Winchester's affirmation of universal salvation, and upheld with great courage the principle of religious liberty.

"Vidler died in 1816, and was succeeded by William Johnson Fox, the

famous politician, orator, and preacher. In his introductory address to the congregation at Parliament Court, Fox made the following declaration, 'I believe in the duty of free inquiry, and in the right of religious liberty', and in 1842 he re-affirmed this confession of faith in an address at the twenty-fifth anniversary of his settlement with the Society. The Chapel flourished under his ministry, and Fox also exercised great public influence by his eloquence and his broad and elevated views upon the questions of the day. The Society, outgrowing its home in Parliament Court, decided to obtain larger quarters, and in 1823 South Place Chapel was built. It was opened by Fox on February 1, 1824, as a Unitarian place of worship, and Fox continued as minister until 1852. During his ministry his religious views became less and less sectarian and theological. He passed from Unitarianism to Theism, and, as was the case with his predecessors and with his successors, carried the congregation with him in his changes of opinion. . . .

"The retirement of Fox was followed by an interval during which various preachers occupied the pulpit, but in 1864 Moncure Daniel Conway became the permanent minister. He held this position until 1884, and under his teaching the Society gave up all theological dogma, and was re-named the South Place Religious Society. . . .

"Dr. Conway, in his Preface to his Centenary History of our Society, well described the gradual changes of thought that characterised the development of the Society between 1793 and 1893, and his statements are equally applicable to the attitude of the Society at the present day. He wrote: 'The present minister of the South Place Society [Moncure Daniel Conway] claims no literal continuity with the particular doctrines of his predecessors, though he believes that their spirit has animated the changes it has undergone. Under its successive names, adopted or given—'Philadelphians', 'Universalists', 'Society of Religious Dissenters', 'South Place Unitarian Society', 'The South Place Society', 'The Free Religious Society', 'The South Place Religious Society', 'The South Place Ethical Society'—is traceable a constant endeavour to study carefully and keep abreast of, the growing knowledge of the world, at whatever cost to traditional prejudices or opinions; to do this in a spirit of tolerance no less than of sincerity.'"

This account may be supplemented by excerpts from the South Place Religious Society's Annual Report for 1887, to indicate the type of its activities just before it changed its name to South Place Ethical Society:—

"The Sunday Afternoon Lectures during the past year were much appreciated, the Chapel being crowded on more than one occasion. The debates on the subject of Socialism and Individualism were particularly attractive. . . The Scientific Lectures, on Tuesday evenings, have also been successfully carried on. . . . In connection with the Science Lectures, it may be added that some very pleasant and instructive 'Natural History' rambles were organised in the Summer on Saturday afternoons, and during the month of August on Sundays. . . . The People's Concert Society, . . . having terminated its season of 1886 earlier than usual, several members of the Society formed themselves into a Sub-Committee to carry on the work. Seven concerts were given, and proved so successful that the same Committee is this season making arrangements to give a longer series under the title of 'South Place Sunday Popular Concerts'. . . . The Lending Library continues its excellent work. . . . The usual monthly Soirées, as well as Dances . . . have been, as in former years, a source of great pleasure to the members attending them. An endeavour has been made during the past year to organise something in the way of pleasant instruction for the children connected with South Place—

something to take the place of the 'Sunday School'. . . . A Reading Class, for the study of philosophical works, has been formed, and holds its meetings fortnightly at the Chapel. The members are at present studying 'Fiske's Cosmic Philosophy'."

To complete the picture, we also add the list of discourses delivered during the same year (1887):—

Jan. 2.—John M. Robertson, The Rise of Christianity.
„ 9.— „ The Collapse of Civilisation.
„ 16.— „ The Renaissance and the Reformation.
„ 23.— „ Present and Future.
„ 30.—W. C. Coupland, M.A., B.Sc., Religious Societies—Their Work and Function To-day.
Feb. 6.—Arthur W. Hutton, M.A., The School of St. Martin.
„ 13.— „ Lamennais and the People's Cry.
„ 20.— „ Utopia Discounted.
„ 27.— „ Reasonable Service.
March 6.—John M. Robertson, Reaction and Indifferentism.
„ 13.— „ Pessimism.
„ 20.— „ Culture as Strength and Stimulus.
„ 27.— „ The Art of Progress.
April 3.—H. C. March, M.D., The Father to the Man.
„ 10.— „ The Pre-Christian Faith of Indo-Europeans.
„ 17.—Dr. Andrew Wilson, Rounded with a Sleep.
„ 24.— „ Society, Culture, and Happiness.
May 1.—F. Sydney Morris, The Riddle of the Sphinx.
„ 8.— „ The Common Things of Human Life.
„ 15.— „ Morality.
„ 22.— „ Religion.
„ 29.—"Unitarianism and its Grandchildren," by Moncure D. Conway, M.A. (Read by Mr. G. Hickson.)
June 5.—The Rev. T. W. Chignell.
„ 12.—W. C. Coupland, M.A., B.Sc., Laon and Cythna.
„ 19.— „ Cardinal Newman's Poems.
„ 26.— „ Aurora Leigh.
July 3 and 10.—John M. Robertson, The Religion of Shakespeare.
„ 17 and 24.— „ The Past and Future of Woman.
„ 31.—George C. Griffith Jones, By Bread Alone.
Sept. 4.—Dr. Stanton Coit, The Death of Socrates.
„ 11.— „ The Ethics of Shakespeare.
„ 18 and 25.— „ Ethical Culture as a Religion for the People.
Oct. 2.—Dr. Andrew Wilson, Is Life Worth Living?
„ 9.—George C. Griffith Jones, Dogma, Faith, and Reason.
„ 16.—Dr. Andrew Wilson, Latter-Day Religion.
„ 23.—George C. Griffith Jones, The Unknown God.
„ 30.—Dr. Andrew Wilson, The House Beautiful.
Nov. 6.—J. Allanson Picton, M.A., M.P., The Christ of Mythology.
„ 13.— „ The Christ of Theology.
„ 20.— „ The Christ of History.
„ 27.— „ The Christ of Religion.
Dec. 4.—George C. Griffith Jones, The Church Historical.
„ 11.— „ The Church Ethical.
„ 18.— „ The Church Militant.
„ 25.— „ The Church Triumphant.

3. *During Dr. Coit's Ministry.*

Dr. Stanton Coit began his ministry on 1st September 1888. But already the Annual Report for 1888 spoke very hopefully of the situation. "There is indeed", the Report states, "but one fact of importance to put on record, the coming amongst us of Dr. Stanton Coit, as permanent Minister, and that event is as yet too recent for its full significance to be appreciated, although the results, both moral and material, are already sufficiently obvious to warrant an expression of satisfaction at the course taken at the end of last year." And a little further on we read: "Immediately Dr. Coit commenced his active duties in September, a marked improvement was manifested in the attendance on Sunday mornings."

Some members had only reluctantly assented to the change of name. On this subject the Report remarks: "It is hoped that those who would have preferred to retain the name under which the Society has so long existed and worked, will recognise that after all nothing has been changed but the name, and that their energies and sympathies can still be devoted as earnestly as ever to the combined work—on the one hand of breaking down superstition, and on the other of introducing higher and truer motives of action in the place of those which have disappeared; whilst there is as free and ample scope as ever for the practical service of mankind."

The work of the Society's various subsidiary branches was continued during 1888 as usual. Special mention should be made, however, of a successful course of 29 Sunday Afternoon Lectures on Different Phases of Religious Development.

"In addition to these," we read, "under the inspiring influence of Dr. Coit, who seems to infuse some of his own enthusiasm into all with whom he comes in contact, new channels for both getting and doing good have been sought. Several meetings have been held of the men and women of the Society respectively, at which various opinions were expressed, and schemes of work discussed, a Special General Meeting of the Society was called on December 13th, to consider the desirability of forming an Ethical Union, which terminated, after an animated but amicable discussion, in the appointment of a Special Committee, whose recommendations have been adopted by the Committee and will in due course be carried out. The outcome of the whole proceedings seemed to show a general consensus of opinion that the Society itself is, or ought to be, an Ethical Union; that all its members should have the opportunity of gaining further knowledge of Ethical principles by conversation and discussion; and that with regard to any new departure in practical work, the method hitherto followed should be adhered to, *i.e.*, of forming a Special Committee to formulate plans and direct the operations under the supervision of this Committee. To this end it has been decided to hold a Conference for the reading and discussion of papers on Ethical subjects on the third Monday in each month, whilst Dr. Coit has also kindly undertaken to conduct an Ethical Class on the second and fourth Monday evenings. No suggestions for practical work have yet taken a sufficiently definite shape to be announced."

During the following year (January 1889 to end of March 1890) several new items of interest appeared in the Annual Report. A revised edition of the hymn book was published (the Minister being a member of the

Revision Committee) under the title *Hymns and Anthems for the Use of the South Place Ethical Society*. Dr. Coit delivered 50 out of the 61 discourses. The Sunday Afternoon lectures were published in volume form, under the title *Religious Systems of the World*. The Reading Class discussed Herbert Spencer's *Data of Ethics*. The following Monthly Discussion Conferences were held:—

Dr. Stanton Coit, The Neighbourhood Guild of New York.
A. W. Hutton, Hymns and Music at Ethical Meetings.
E. K. Blyth, The Compromise of Individual Opinion.
Wm. Rawlings, The Morals of Trade.
G. P. Macdonnell, The Taxation of Land.
J. M. Robertson, The Morals of Some Professions.
W. C. Coupland, Theory and Practice, with particular reference to the Conduct of Life.
R. G. Hember, Prayer.
Wm. Rawlings, Two Types of Society, the Militant and Industrial.

Dr. Coit conducted an Ethical Class from January to May 1889, the text book being Gizycki's *Ethical Philosophy*. There was an average attendance of twenty at this Class. "In accordance with a suggestion made by Dr. Coit, the women of South Place formed themselves into a Committee for the discussion of various schemes of Practical Philanthropy". One of the results of this discussion was the opening of a Girls' Club which flourished for some nine years until its founder and Hon. Secretary, Miss E. Phipson, left London. A Decorative Committee was appointed for providing plants and flowers for the Sunday Morning Services. The South Place Junior Ethical Union was formed and held seventeen meetings. At the close of the Society's year it had forty-five members. The Union's Aims and Objects were:—

"1. The holding of meetings for the purpose of discussion.
"2. The further study of Ethics.
"3. The forwarding and carrying out of Practical Ethical Work.
"4. The promotion of social intercourse between the members and their friends.
"5. The propagation of Ethical principles."

The chief aim of the Junior Ethical Union is stated to be "to bring together the younger members of the South Place Ethical Society and their friends, for the purpose of studying and discussing Ethical problems and principles; of assisting in and undertaking such practical work as especially tends to elevate character; of promoting good fellowship among its members; and of bringing about a wider and more complete recognition of the following fundamental principles:—

"1. That good character and right conduct are of supreme importance to Society as a whole, and its members as individuals.

"2. That the desire to act rightly should be made the highest bond of human fellowship.

"3. That in order to know and to practise what is right, it is not necessary to believe in the supernatural."

The Report for 1890/91 records in the following terms Dr. Conway's visit to London:—

"Of the events which have occurred in the history of the Society during the past year, the one which has raised the greatest amount of pleasurable interest is, undoubtedly, the visit of Mr. Moncure D. Conway, accompanied by Mrs. and Miss Conway, made to London in the Summer of 1890. It was the privilege of the Society to meet and welcome them once more in social intercourse, both at South Place and, by the kind hospitality of Dr. Coit and his coadjutors, at Leighton Hall. In the month of May, Mr. Conway delighted crowded meetings with a series of discourses pregnant with the spirit and characteristic tone so well known to his South Place audiences in former years. With a couple of entertainments in the early part of October, the opportunities of further intercourse terminated, and the visitors returned to the United States."

The Report continues:—

"Another occasion of interest was furnished by the departure of Dr. Stanton Coit for America in November, for the purpose, among others, of being present at the yearly Convention of The Union of Societies for Ethical Culture, and to which he was the bearer of a sympathetic message from this Society."

The Report concludes with the following paragraph:—

"The monthly lists testify to the fulness of life and activity animating the Society. In a quiet and earnest way the members of South Place continue doing satisfactory work in many directions. It is pleasing to note that, whilst seeking to benefit others, these endeavours have not ceased to be directed as well to the necessary self-culture, the tendency of which has, indeed, for some years past, been towards more systematised knowledge—a matter of vital importance to the modern-thought movement and its practical ethics."

The year following (1891/92) the Society passed through a grave crisis. Dr. Stanton Coit informed the Society that he could only remain its Minister if five proposals, which he specified, were accepted in substance. After discussion, followed by divisions protracted through two General Members' meetings, his proposals were substantially accepted. One of these conditions, however, required ratification by a two-thirds majority in a meeting convened specially for the purpose. This meeting was duly held on 15th December 1891, but negatived the motion "That it is desirable that Dr. Coit be *ex-officio* a member of all committees in this Society." Thereupon Dr. Coit unconditionally resigned, his resignation to take effect 1st January 1892.

The Society's Annual Report commented as follows on the situation created:—

"Three years is not a very long time in the history of an institution, but it is enough for the knitting of ties and the kindling ot personal attachment. Our recent Minister had a rare gift of stimulating young and ardent minds, and there are probably few of any age who have not been impressed by his evident sincerity and zeal for the elevation of the people. It was not extraordinary, therefore, that many were prepared to go great lengths in suppressing private predilections, either theoretical or practical, to retain the services

of so earnest a public worker. The late troubles seem to yield at least one clear lesson, namely, that the condition of success for South Place in the immediate future consists in a fusion of the traditional encouragement of unrestricted intellectual activity, and a practical earnestness which is the key-note of the movement for ethical culture. Whether a Society with such positive and inclusive aims be styled religious or ethical, is of secondary moment. More than names are needed moral truth and enthusiasm, and the right men to expound and evoke them."

4. *Dr. Conway Returns.*

In the circumstances, the Committee had naturally great satisfaction in being able to announce that Dr. Moncure D. Conway had consented to resume his old place for six months, commencing the first Sunday in October 1892. The Committee hoped that the members would sink all differences in warm and sustained support of the Society, and in a joint endeavour to carry it forward to a more prosperous future.

In the interval between Dr. Coit's departure and Dr. Conway's arrival, the platform was occupied by a number of well-known speakers.

The Annual Report for 1892/93 comments as follows on Dr. Conway's return:—

"On Sunday, October the 2nd, 1892, the Chapel was filled with an overflowing audience, eager to welcome Mr. Conway on the delivery of his first discourse, and once more to profit by his eloquent teaching and wide experience. Every succeeding week has shown that time has but increased his intellectual vigour, and the freshness and originality of his treatment of the moral and religious questions with which he deals."

Dr. Conway finally accepted the invitation to become once more the permanent Minister of South Place. He made only one condition, which was readily acceded to, that he would occupy the platform during the whole of April, May, and June, as well as half the time during the autumn months, altogether five full months in the year.

After five years of the happiest relations between him and his Society he was, however, regretfully compelled to terminate his ministry at the end of June 1897, owing to the continued serious illness of Mrs. Conway. He concluded his farewell address on 27th June 1897, on "Cabot Discovering America, 1497", with the following words:—

"We have had a voyage to make, you and I, fellow-mariners, sailing towards every star of truth; we have cleared away many monsters, many superstitions, and still we journey to some happier land, it may be to some golden, some fortunate isle; it may be we shall see happier times and the unfolding of great principles.

"I trust that you may always remain strong and united. Let no discord, no difference take you away from unity and comradeship. I assure you from my knowledge of the world that there is no society, or religious body equal to South Place. As we leave you now after long years of labour, with no reproach, only feelings of gratitude and affection, we shall always hear with satisfaction as long as we live of the progress of South Place.

"Your leader will come. You will find someone to voyage with you, my fellow-mariners. I cannot say all I want, and now on the part of both of us, I bid you farewell."

How deeply lodged in the affectionate memory of South Place Dr. Conway has been, is manifest from the fact that twenty years after his departure, when it was decided to erect a new home for the Society, the name chosen for it was Conway Hall.

Returning to the Annual Report for 1892/93, we note the gratifying fact of " a gradual increase in the membership, amounting to an addition of about ninety in the twelve months succeeding March of last year ".

The year 1893/94 is marked by a number of significant minor events. Until that year, the Society had not discussed the question of the desirability of possessing aims and principles. As a result of suggestions, however, a small Committee was appointed to consider the formulation of a statement of aims. Three years later, after full examination of the problem, the Society adopted the following statement:—

" The object of the Society is the cultivation of a rational religious sentiment, the study of ethical principles, and the promotion of human welfare, in harmony with advancing knowledge."

This statement was amended in 1930 to read as follows:—

" The objects of the Society are the study and dissemination of ethical principles and the cultivation of a rational religious sentiment."

In 1893/94 the Committee reports " the united action of the several London Ethical Societies for the purpose of guiding opinion on the vexed question of religious instruction in Elementary Schools ". Since that day the South Place Ethical Society has co-operated on many occasions with the other London Ethical Societies. The following year the Committee speaks of " the good plan of the different Ethical Societies meeting when their common interests are affected ". And, in connection with the Sunday School, we read (in 1894/95): " An effort is being made to bring the teachers and children connected with the various Ethical Sunday Schools into touch with one another. This has been effected to some extent in the Annual Children's Services in the Chapel, and during the past year two or three exchanges of lessons have been made." In pursuance of this policy, the South Place Ethical Society became later affiliated to the Moral Instruction League.

The outstanding event of 1893/94 was the publication of Dr. Conway's memorable *Centenary History of the South Place Society*. The same year, surveying the subsidiary activities of the Society, the Committee stated that " there never was a period in the whole history of the Society when more well-directed activity could be seen ".

In 1894/95 the Junior Ethical Union was re-organised under the name of the South Place Discussion Society. During the year, the first issue of *The South Place Magazine* appeared. This *Magazine* was succeeded in October 1909 by the *Monthly List*. Since March 1920, it appears under the title *The Monthly Record of the South Place Ethical Society*.

In 1895/96 the interesting idea was mooted of the desirability of an assistant minister for South Place in order to ensure greater continuity of thought in the Sunday morning discourses. The Committee made the idea its own, but circumstances did not favour its realisation.

5. *The Pre-War Period.*

The Report for 1898/99 contains two striking passages which evince how earnestly the South Place Ethical Society conceived its ethical mission. "One of the serious practical questions that all the Ethical Societies have to face," the Report states, "is, how best to get the problems of life that daily present themselves considered in relation to their ethical import, instead of being settled almost wholly on grounds of the lowest expediency." And, later on, there is the following paragraph: "On two occasions during the year the Committee have been privileged to welcome to South Place other Societies engaged in kindred work. The Moral Instruction League held their Annual Meeting within our walls, and members of the different Ethical Societies who were giving a farewell to Mr. F. J. Gould also availed themselves of our hospitality. It is to be hoped that other occasions will arise when South Place can give friendly help to the London Ethical Societies. Its central position marks it out for the purpose, and such meetings may help to cement the goodfellowship which should exist amongst those working in the same cause."

On the last Sunday in September 1899, the first of the Annual Ethical Reunions organised by South Place was held at the Chapel. According to the Annual Report, it "afforded a very pleasant opportunity for all who believe in the importance of conduct rather than creed to meet and exchange their views". Since that date the Reunions have continued to be a popular annual function.

Dissatisfied with the discontinuity in the lectures, the Committee arranged in 1899 with Mr. Herbert Burrows, Mr. J. A. Hobson, and Mr. John M. Robertson that they should confer among themselves and with the Committee upon the course of thought to be presented, and the subject and mode of treatment of the lectures, these three lecturers to occupy the greater number of the available Sundays. In 1901, the experiment started with a course of lectures on "The Nineteenth Century". The scheme, in this form, was, however, found difficult to realise. Accordingly, from 1903/04, the speakers referred to simply took the place of a minister, speaking on any subject that appeared to them appropriate. With slight variants this scheme has been adhered to ever since, the present official lecturers being Dr. C. Delisle Burns, Mr. John A. Hobson, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, and Mr. John M. Robertson. But, as before, non-official lecturers occupy the platform at frequent intervals.

In 1908/09 the institution of an Annual Moncure Conway Memorial Lecture was decided on. The delivery of this lecture has remained an important annual event in the history of the Society. The following lectures have been delivered up to date:—

1910.—John Russell, M.A., The Task of Rationalism.
1911.—H. W. Nevinson, Peace and War in the Balance.
1912.—William Archer, Art and the Commonweal.
1913.—Norman Angell, War and the Essential Realities.
1914.—Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson, The Life Pilgrimage of Moncure Conway.
1915.—Prof. Gilbert Murray, The Stoic Philosophy.
1916.—Edward Clodd, Gibbon and Christianity.

1917.—Israel Zangwill, The Principle of Nationalities.
1918.—Sir Harry H. Johnston, The Urgent Need for a Reform in Education
1919.—Miss Jane E. Harrison, Rationalism and Religious Reaction.
1920.—Dr. Ivor Ll. Tuckett, Mysticism and the Way Out.
1921.—Dr. A. C. Haddon, The Practical Value of Ethnology.
1922.—Hon. Bertrand Russell, Freethought and Official Propaganda.
1923.—John Drinkwater, The Poet and Communication.
1924.—Prof. Graham Wallas, W. J. Fox: 1786-1864.
1925.—Sir Arthur Keith, The Religion of a Darwinist.
1926.—Leonard Huxley, LL.D., Progress and the Unfit.
1927.—Prof. G. Elliot Smith, Human Nature.
1928.—J. B. S. Haldane, Science and Ethics.
1929.—Laurence Housman, The Religious Advance Toward Rationalism.
1930.—Julian S. Huxley, Science, Religion and Human Nature.
1931.—Prof. J. W. Gregory, Race as a Political Factor.

In 1910/11, the Sub-Committee appointed for the preparation of a new hymn book completed its labours. The Book, the Report stated, was mainly a reprint of Miss Josephine Troup's *Hymns of Modern Thought*, with a Supplement from the older South Place collection. The new hymn book became available in 1912.

6. *The War Period.*

The outbreak of the War affected the Society on the financial side more particularly. But for this, as with the other Ethical Societies, the effect of the War was rather stimulating. Thus the Committee states that " there has been evidence that even more interest than usual has been taken in the Society's work, the war having forced people to regard life more seriously, and impelled them to take a more active part in movements which are vitally concerned with the deepest ethical problems of national and international existence ". In 1915/16 an actual increase of members is reported and an advance of 14 per cent. in the collections. Surveying the situation, the Committee states:—

" On the whole we can claim that the Society has done decidedly better than might have been expected, and is, at least, making sufficient headway to justify the officers, members, and friends in continuing their work, and in determining to make the Society an increasingly important factor in the development and promulgation of those principles of philosophy and religion for which the Ethical Movement stands."

In 1917/18 the Committee solemnly re-affirms this attitude, stating that " the sovereignty of ethical principles in the present state of the world is even more important than in normal times ". This year the eye is struck by an unusually short sentence in the Annual Report: " The Sunday School is temporarily disbanded." Unfortunately, the Sunday School has not met since.

7. *Leaving South Place Chapel.*

A spirit of optimism pervades the Report for 1919/20:—

" The Society need not fear comparison with former years; in fact, its

vitality during the past twelve months is more characteristic of the ebullience of youth than of a Society which years ago celebrated its centenary. The *Monthly List* (now *The Monthly Record*) for February announced in the Diary of the month twenty-four meetings, surely a notable achievement."

Some time prior to the War already, the Society had seriously considered the question of selling the freehold of South Place Chapel and building on a more desirably situated site, and in 1913 the sale of the site was authorised by the members. The War, however, intervened. At last, in 1921, the freehold was sold for £36,000. The year following, the Society took the momentous step of purchasing a site in Red Lion Square, Holborn, whereon to erect its new home. The Trustees and Committee then commissioned Mr. F. Herbert Mansford, who belongs to an old South Place family, to submit plans for the new building. On 31st March 1927, the Society vacated South Place Chapel. The Sunday morning lectures were delivered in the theatre of the adjoining London Institution, the Concerts were held in the great hall of the City of London School, the Dances and the more important of the Social Evenings took place in the Eustace Miles Restaurant, and the Play Reading and Discussion Circles and the various Committees met at the Society's temporary office in Bloomsbury Square. Twice the Ethical Church was generously placed at the Society's disposal for the Annual Reunion Soirée organised to meet friends from kindred Societies. It is interesting to learn that the removal to temporary premises scarcely affected the attendance at the Sunday morning services.

Building operations commenced in 1928 and the Inaugural Meeting was held on Monday evening, 23rd September 1929, in the Large Hall of the new building. Dr. Delisle Burns presided over a large and enthusiastic gathering and speeches were delivered by Prof. Gilbert Murray, Miss Athene Seyler, Mr. John A. Hobson, Prof. Graham Wallas, Mr. Richard Walthew, Mr. Albert Halstead, and Dr. Stanton Coit.

South Place Chapel was not forgotten. A commemorative tablet was placed on the exterior of the new building which now occupies its site. The wording of the tablet is :—

1824-1927.
On this site stood
South Place Chapel.
Ministers :
1824. William Johnson Fox.
1864. Moncure D. Conway.
In 1888 the Society adopted the name
South Place Ethical Society.

On 1st February 1924 a meeting was held at South Place to celebrate the centenary of South Place Chapel. The Right Hon. J. M. Robertson presided and a series of speakers, including Mr. John A. Hobson, Prof. Graham Wallas, Mr. Harry Snell, M.P., Mrs. Fletcher Smith, Mr. C. J. Pollard, Mr. F. J. Gould, Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner, and Mr. R. Dimsdale Stocker, addressed the meeting. A message was also read from Dr. Delisle Burns.

The 1924/5 Annual Report starts with the following interesting paragraph:—

"At the Annual Meeting last year Mr. Delisle Burns [who joined the staff of South Place lecturers in 1918/19] expressed the opinion that if the Society is to attract new members, 'we have to experiment: experiment in the form of service; experiment in new methods; experiment in the social side of the Society. We have to modify our customs and traditions so that we may take a live institution into new surroundings.' Acting in the spirit of these suggestions, the Committee has made a number of experiments during the year under review. After careful consideration it was decided that, in view of the special interest taken by Mr. Delisle Burns in the Society's work and the general appreciation of his discourses, arrangements should be made, subject to approval by the next Annual Meeting, for him to deliver at least 25 discourses during 1925. Experiments have also been made with regard to the music at the Sunday morning services by the occasional substitution of instrumental music for the hymns and anthems. Efforts have been made to improve the congregational singing by holding a practice at the close of the service. Arising out of the changes made, the Committee have thought it desirable to ask the congregation to refrain from applause on Sunday mornings."

Two special events are recorded in the 1925/26 Annual Report. On Saturday, 27th June 1925, Dr. Felix Adler, the Founder of the Ethical Movement, delivered an address to the committees of the various Ethical Societies at South Place. And the Annual Reunion Soirée on Sunday, 28th September 1925, took the form of a celebration of the seventieth anniversary of Mr. F. J. Gould, whose signal services in the cause of the moral instruction of children are dwelt on in other portions of this Documentary History.

8. *Settling at Conway Hall.*

A jubilant note is struck in the 1929/30 Annual Report. In the very first sentence we are informed that "the year just ending has been one of the most successful in the history of the Society". And further on we read:—

"Conway Hall has effected a transformation. From the day of its opening, the life of the Society has been full of energy and good cheer. The Committee need sound no restrained note. They can give their satisfaction full voice. . . . Every activity of the Society is re-vivified by the delightful change to Conway Hall. The members have now a meeting-place of which they can be proud, and the greater virility of the Society is demonstrated on any and every occasion when the members meet together within its walls. Many more people attend its meetings and everybody displays a lively and healthy spirit."

The last Report which can be noticed here, that for 1930/31, is pitched in the same exhilarating key-note as the last. No apprehension need therefore be felt that the initial success was to be attributed to the public's quest for novelties. The Report thus sums up the year's results:—

"The Committee are pleased to report that the first full financial year at Conway Hall has more than justified the most optimistic expectations. The vision of those who agitated and worked, more than twenty years ago, for rebuilding, has materialised, and the new home of the Society hums with

activity. From October to April there is hardly an evening without some intellectual or social function. It is only necessary to mention the new activities which have sprung into being since Conway Hall was opened, to realise the re-vivifying effect of a building possessing beauty of architecture and utility of design. The Joint Conway Discussion Circle, The Study Circle, The Poetry Reading Circle, the Sunday Afternoon 'At Homes', the Country Dance Class, all these attract members, new and old, and the other activities have acquired fresh life. The influx of new members and associates, chronicled in last year's Report, continues, and we now number nearly 600 in all. As will be seen from the financial paragraph on a later page, the Treasurer's accounts are the most satisfactory for many years. The lettings have exceeded any estimate made when the probable income for Conway Hall was considered."

The Society has always been noted for its manifold activities. We saw what these were in 1887 and in the early 'nineties. To-day, as we shall now learn, they are not less varied. We quote from the Annual Report:—

"The attendance at the Sunday morning services is maintained, and efforts are now being made to advertise them more widely. . . . The twenty-first Conway Memorial Lecture, delivered by Mr. Julian Huxley on October 1, entitled 'Science, Religion and Human Nature', was certainly the most popular of the series. . . . On Sunday, September 28, a large gathering of members and friends of the Ethical Movement met at the Annual Soirée, when Prof. Graham Wallas spoke on 'Science and Ethics'. The Sunday Concert Committee are to be congratulated on the successful completion of their 45th season. The artists give of their best and the crowded audiences are attentive and enthusiastic. . . . Twenty-seven concerts were given, bringing the total to 1,110. The Conway Discussion Circle, arranged under the joint auspices of the Rationalist Press Association and the Society, has for the second year provided a most interesting series of discussions. . . . One of the most healthy signs of renewed vigour in the Society is the formation and rapid growth of the Study Circle. . . . The average attendance numbers over twenty. . . . The League of Nations Union Branch has held one meeting. . . . Five Sunday Afternoon 'At Homes" have been well attended. . . . The Country Dance Class continues its successful career. . . . The Play Reading Circle . . . has provided interesting and amusing items for some of the social gatherings. The monthly dances have been very enjoyable. . . . The Rambles continue to be well supported and give great pleasure to all who take part in them. . . . The Lending Library is used increasingly by members."

It remains only to chronicle the Secretaries of the Society. Mrs. C. Fletcher-Smith (until 1887, Miss C. Fletcher) occupied the post of Secretary or Co-Secretary from 1882 to 1929—for forty-seven years—a truly wonderful record. She resigned in her 89th year. She was assisted by the following: from 1889/90 to 1892/93, by Mr. T. S. Mansford; in 1893/94, by Mr. Henry Hursthouse; in 1895/96 by Mr. W. H. Wilkins; from 1907/08 to 1908/09, by Mr. Frank M. Overy; from 1909/10 to 1912/13, by Mr. F. W. Read; in 1913/14, by Mr. F. M. Overy; from 1914/15 to 1915/16, by Mr. C. J. Pollard; from 1916/17 to 1918/19, by Mr. W. T. Harvey; from 1919/20 to 1928/29, by Mr. F. M. Overy; since when Mr. Overy has been the sole Secretary.

The following statistical table will convey some idea of the financial position of the Society during the period under review:—

GENERAL ACCOUNT—TOTAL EXPENDITURE.

1887	£917 4 8	1909/10	£782 1 1
1888	1,025 9 3	1910/11	806 11 7
1889/90	1,390 1 7	1911/12	803 2 4
1890/91	1,034 0 1	1912/13	728 9 6
1891/92	925 0 9	1913/14	718 14 1
1892/93	990 6 5	1914/15	716 9 10
1893/94	977 18 2	1915/16	750 10 6
1894/95	989 10 1	1916/17	693 16 0
1895/96	1,035 8 6	1917/18	721 5 1
1896/97	945 1 2	1918/19	758 18 7
1897/98	912 11 11	1919/20	890 2 6
1898/99	800 6 2	1920/21	961 16 8
1899/1900 ...	820 6 10	1921/22	979 10 0
1900/01	775 7 4	1922/23	963 8 3
1901/02	741 15 10	1923/24	969 10 8
1902/03	732 7 6	1924/25	(not available)
1903/04	741 9 2	1925/26	944 6 1
1904/05	744 16 10	1926/27	760 16 8
1905/06	765 17 7	1927/28	836 18 3
1906/07	803 9 7	1928/29	872 5 1
1907/08	776 11 9	1929/30	1,608 18 5
1908/09	849 10 4	1930/31	2,635 18 10

SOURCES.

The Society's Annual Reports and other material were kindly placed at my disposal by the Society's Secretary, Mr. Frank M. Overy, who in every way facilitated my researches and also read through this Chapter.

Chapter IIa.—THE LEIGHTON HALL NEIGHBOURHOOD GUILD.

Almost immediately after his return to New York from Europe in 1886, Dr. Stanton Coit started the first Neighbourhood Guild in one of the poorest and most crowded centres of New York City. It had as great success in the number of members and variety of enterprises undertaken as its house accommodation and finances would permit. When Dr. Coit accepted the pastorate of the South Place Religious (later, Ethical) Society in London some two years and a half subsequently, the New York Neighbourhood Guild consisted of six clubs and a kindergarten. This Guild was taken over by the then newly formed American University Extension Movement as its first settlement and centre of work.

In his volume on *Neighbourhood Guilds,* published in London in the early autumn of 1891—that is, about two years and a half later—Dr. Coit reports that he founded a similar institution in London:—

"It had its origin in a club consisting of eight working lads, meeting once a week in a private drawing-room. It now consists of five clubs and counts 230 members of all ages, representing less than one hundred families. It has reached the limit which its present house-room can accommodate. It meets every evening at Leighton Hall, Leighton Crescent, Kentish Town, N.W.

This building, which contains twenty-four rooms and stands detached in a garden, besides being the home of the Guild, is also what is called a University Settlement, half of the house being used as a residence by a number of university graduates who devote leisure hours to the work of the Guild." (pp. 13-14.)

At the date Dr. Coit's volume appeared, the Kentish Town Neighbourhood Guild had been at Leighton Hall for only fourteen months. Previously it had rented a school room for two nights a week. Dr. Coit furnishes further particulars as to the activities of the Guild. He states:—

"It is something, however, in two and a half years . . . to have organised five clubs well, and through them to have founded a Circulating Library, Sunday Afternoon Free Concerts, Sunday Evening Lectures, Saturday Evening Dances for members, a Choral Society, and fifteen to twenty classes in various branches of technical and literary education, and to have inspired the members of the Guild with the desire to plant new Guilds and to push forward, as they are doing, at least one specific reform of general interest." (pp. 14-15.)

Dr. Coit defined as follows the nature of a neighbourhood guild:—

"The very name, Neighbourhood Guild, suggests the fundamental idea which this new institution embodies: namely, that irrespective of religious belief or non-belief, all the people, men, women, and children, in any one street, or any small number of streets, . . . shall be organised in a set of clubs, which are by themselves, or in alliance with those of other neighbourhoods, to carry out, or induce others to carry out, all the reforms—domestic, industrial, educational, provident, or recreative—which the social ideal demands." (p. 7.)

The essence of the neighbourhood guild is to afford separate and joint opportunities for the members of the families of a neighbourhood to meet for social, educational, and other purposes. Thus, leaving aside the youngest members, for whom special provision may be made, there would be separate clubs for boys and girls (including ages 12 to 17, say), separate clubs for young men and young women (from 18 to 25, say), and separate clubs for adult men and women, whilst there would be arrangements for the boys and girls, the young men and young women, and all of both sexes and every age to meet in omnibus gatherings at regular intervals for recreative, business, and other objects. Here is unity within variety and variety within unity. Although no neighbourhood guild appears to exist to-day, the idea, as developed in Dr. Coit's work, is fraught with such beneficent consequences that it is bound to be realised in the future and this on a world-wide scale.

My only source for the above account is Dr. Coit's *Neighbourhood Guilds*. In May 1892—that is, some eight months later—appeared the first number of *The Moscheles Review*, "devoted to the work of the Leighton Hall Neighbourhood Guild". This Review was produced by the Moscheles Club, constituted of the young men of the Guild. Social reformers and art lovers will recognise in the name Felix Moscheles, the noted painter and pacifist, who took a deep interest in the Leighton Hall Neighbourhood Guild.

From this first number the following figures may be culled. The Social Club for adults had a membership of 99 (43 men and 56 women); the Moscheles Club for young men between 20 and 25, had 66

members; the Excelsior Club for young women between 18 and 23 had about 60 members; the Junior Moscheles Club for boys between 14 and 20 had 43 members; and the Victoria Club for girls between 14 and 18 had 28 members. This means that the whole Guild consisted of roughly 300 members. (In July of the same year the aggregate number was 280.) The activities referred to in the report included, apart from sundry Classes, the Choral, the Violin, the Literature, and the Elocution Classes, the finding of country and seaside residences for prospective holiday makers, Saturday Evening Dances, a Fancy Dress Ball, Debating Society, Sunday Concerts, Sunday Evening Free Lectures, Neighbourhood Guild Sick Benefit and Sharing-Out Club for Men, Chess and Draughts Club, Swimming Club, Football and Cricket, and Lawn Tennis Clubs which played at Parliament Hill.

In July 1892, *The Neighbourhood Guild Review* superseded the *Moscheles Review*. It was adorned with a cover designed by Mr. Henry Holiday, representing The Awakening of Humanity by Love, Faith, Hope, and Light.

The fixtures for October 1892 will convey a general idea of the activities of the Guild at that period:—

"1. Saturday.—Victoria and Junior Moscheles Clubs' Dance, 6.45 to 9 p.m. Excelsior and Moscheles Clubs' Dance, 8.30 to 11 p.m.
2. Sunday.—First Sunday Afternoon Concert, 4 p.m. Ethical Meeting, 8 p.m.
3. Monday.—Orchestral Society's Practice, 8 p.m. Social Club 'At Home' (Hostess, Mrs. T. Bradford).
4. Tuesday.—Excelsior Club's Business Meeting, 9 p.m.
5. Wednesday.—Junior Moscheles and Victoria Clubs' Business Meetings, 9 p.m.
6. Thursday.—Moscheles Club's Business Meeting, 9 p.m.
7. Friday.—Social Club's Business Meeting, 9 p.m. Choral Society's Practice, 8.30 p.m.
8. Saturday.—Junior Clubs' Dances, 6.45 p.m. to 11 p.m.
9. Sunday.—Second Sunday Afternoon Concert, 4 p.m. Ethical Meeting, 8.30 p.m.
10. Monday.—Orchestral Society's Practice, 8 p.m. Social Clubs' Ordinary Dance.
11. Tuesday.—Excelsior Club's Business Meeting, 9 p.m. Moscheles Club's Special Business Meeting, 9 p.m.
12. Wednesday.—Junior Moscheles and Victoria Clubs' Business Meetings, 9 p.m.
13. Thursday.—Guild Quarterly Conference, 8.30 p.m.
14. Friday.—Social Club's Business Meeting, 9 p.m. Choral Society's Practice, 8.30 p.m.
15. Saturday.—Social Dance (all clubs), 7 to 11 p.m.
16. Sunday.—Third Sunday Afternoon Concert, 4 p.m. Ethical Meeting, 8.30 p.m.
17. Monday.—Orchestral Society's Practice, 8 p.m. Social Club's Ordinary Dance.
18. Tuesday.—Excelsior Club's Business Meeting, 9 p.m.
19. Wednesday.—Junior Moscheles and Victoria Clubs' Business Meetings, 9 p.m.
20. Thursday.—Moscheles Club's Business Meeting, 9 p.m.

21. Friday.—Social Club's Business Meeting, 9 p.m. Choral Society's Practice, 8.30 p.m.
22. Saturday.—Junior Clubs' Dances, 6.45 to 11 p.m.
23. Sunday.—Fourth Sunday Afternoon Concert, 4 p.m. Ethical Meeting, 8.30 p.m.
24. Monday.—Orchestral Society's Practice, 8 p.m. Social Club's Ordinary Dance.
25. Tuesday.—Excelsior Club's Business Meeting, 9 p.m.
26. Wednesday.—Junior Moscheles and Victoria Clubs' Business Meetings, 9 p.m.
27. Thursday.—Moscheles Club's Business Meeting, 9 p.m.
28. Friday.—Social Club's Business Meeting, 9 p.m. Choral Society's Practice, 8.30 p.m.
29. Saturday.—Junior Clubs' Dances, 6.45 to 11 p.m.
30. Sunday.—Fifth Sunday Afternoon Concert, 4 p.m. Ethical Meeting, 8.30 p.m.
31. Monday.—Orchestral Society's Practice, 8 p.m. Social Club's Ordinary Dance.

"N.B.—Groups (Classes) are held on every day in the week from October 1st, 1892, to March 31st, 1893."

We have followed so far the fortunes of the Leighton Hall Neighbourhood Guild for about four years. Our next and last printed document, the Annual Report for 1895, presupposes a two years' blank in our account. During that period, Mr. Spensley writes, the principal event was the formation of the Allcroft Road Guild in the poorest neighbourhood of Kentish Town, by members of the Social Club.

The Annual Report for 1895 provides a fairly complete survey of the activities of the Neighbourhood Guild. It permits insight into the vitals and details of the organisation and its text, although extensive, is therefore reproduced here almost in full:—

"Order is our Basis; Improvement our Aim; and Friendship our Principle."

. . . . . .

"In presenting the Balance Sheet for 1895, the Guild Committee are able to report another year of steady work, although they have been beset by many anxieties and difficulties. . . .

"*Amalgamation of Clubs.*—We have to record with great regret the resignation through ill-health of Mr. Edgar Skinner, who had thrown himself with much zeal into the organisation of the younger boys. After his withdrawal it was found necessary to amalgamate the Young Men's and Boys' Clubs; and as the Guild Committee was not successful in finding a leader for the Girls' Club, they were drafted into the Young Women's Club, then under the guidance of Miss Margaret Booth Scott, so that for the last few months we have had only three separate Clubs organised instead of the usual five.

"*Choral Society.*—On the other hand, other bodies have been formed and strengthened. The Choral Society has been resuscitated, with Mr. Summers again as conductor; although the membership is not so large as it ought to be, the practice gives a great amount of pleasure, not only to the members but to their friends, to whom they open their doors from time to time.

"*Orchestral Society.*—The Orchestral Society, meeting on Monday even-

ings except for two months in every year, is also fulfilling another want, and their courage in attacking some of the best classical music for their own improvement deserves recognition in any record of the Guild life, as well as their amiability in playing at Guild theatricals, garden parties, and the like. Their enthusiastic Secretary, Mr. A. J. Clements, and their conductor, Mr. Symons, would be very glad if friends would make the Society better known in the neighbourhood and bring new members.

"*Sunday Afternoon Concerts.*—The musical element in the Guild is well to the fore in the Sunday Afternoon Concerts carried on through the six winter months, and now in their sixth season. The unflagging energy of Mr. A. J. Clements and Miss Annie C. Muirhead has shown itself in the admirable programmes arranged, and it is of interest to notice the increased attention and intelligence on the part of the audience. . . .

"*Lectures.*—Passing from music to lectures, the Committee have to report a very valuable series given in the Spring by Mr. J. A. Hobson, M.A., entitled 'Work and Life.' These lectures were under the direct supervision of the Guild Committee, who were indebted almost entirely to one of their members, Mrs. Russell Rea, for the needful organisation. These lectures were felt to be of great value, not only because of their important subject-matter, and the weight Mr. Hobson carries, but because they drew together many local elements, and gave stimulus to many people interested in various phases of social work. . . .

"A great number of miscellaneous lectures have been given in the Social Club (men and women), who carried through a scheme of holiday papers read by such of their own members as are fortunate enough to get out of London for some part of the year. Through the Autumn the plan has also been tried of having talks or addresses after the business meetings on Friday evenings, and they have taken the form of short lectures on Modern English Poetry and History on alternate Fridays. The Young Women's Club has also had several addresses given on such subjects as 'American Women,' by Mrs. Amie Hicks; 'The Girls' Club at Cleveland Hill,' by Sister Grace; 'The Life of Working Girls in Holland,' by Mrs. Rutgers, of Rotterdam, etc.

"*North London Ethical Society.*—Finally, Guild members have had the opportunity of attending the regular meetings weekly of the North London Ethical Society, which has been renting the hall for the greater part of the year, and has often had the advantage of Dr. Coit's presence. This Society has now the right to elect three representatives to the Guild Committee.

"*Ethical Class for Children.*—An Ethical Class for children, under the control of Mrs. Dryhurst, which meets every Sunday afternoon at 5.15, must not be left unmentioned, as it holds much promise for hope, and ought to be more widely known.

"*Library.*—The Guild Committee sets apart 10 per cent. of the money received from members' subscriptions for library and reading room expenses; during 1895 all the available money went for newspapers and periodicals and repairing books, so that no new books have been bought, but very acceptable presents have been received from Mr. Wm. Thompson, Mr. and Mrs. Bale, and Mrs. Jackson, to whom the Committee would tender their best thanks.

"*Lodge of Oddfellows.*—The Loyal Leighton Hall Lodge, Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, which was established on the Guild premises in February, 1893, has now 97 members and promises to become one of the most useful institutions of the Guild. It has been of considerable service to its members in cases of illness.

"*Gymnastics.*—On the side of physical development, it may be noted that there are Gymnastic Classes for both young men and women under competent teachers, Miss Clara James and Mr. D. Grange.

"*Teas for Poor Children.*—Through the Men and Women's Club the Guild is linked to the Charity Organisation Society, and to the Brabazon scheme for visiting the old inmates of the Local Workhouse. It is largely through the instrumentality of this Club also, following on the initiative of Mr. Morressy, that a party of the poorest children from the local schools is brought to the Guild every Saturday afternoon, and allowed to play to their hearts' content in the hall, where they have a good tea and plenty of bright music and singing.

"*Party from Drury Lane.*—This Club always shows itself ready to help where it can, and it only needed a suggestion in the Summer for a party of children to be brought from the slums of Drury Lane, the garden providing a great attraction to the children, and an enormous boon to the entertainers.

"*Social Life of the Guild.*—This active co-operative spirit is persistently manifested in the Guild social life; many forms of entertainment, dances, quiet social evenings, concerts, garden parties, etc., are organised by the members. . . .

"The garden parties of 1895 were very successful, both socially and financially, but the dances for a time fell off and lost some of their brightness. . . .

"A strong Committee to look after the matter of advertisement was formed as the year closed.

"*The 'Settlement'.*—There are some changes to record in the little community of those who have taken up their residence in Leighton Crescent because of their interest in the Guild. We have to deplore the absence of Dr. Coit, who has moved to the West of London to give himself almost entirely to the work of the West London Ethical Society, but who still comes to see us when he can and has spoken many times during the Winter for the North London Ethical Society. In the Autumn we also lost our Chairman of Committee and faithful friend, Mr. Findlay Muirhead, who has gone abroad for several months at least. This double loss has been very hard for the Guild to weather, but we fortunately gained new friends at the same time. Mr. Fechheimer [later Dr. S. S. F. Fletcher] has been able to live here again; and take the position of head-worker, and has been aided by Mr. Spensley. The House vacated by Dr. Coit was taken by Mrs. and Miss Lange, and Messrs. Cook and Sharman, all of them sympathisers and workers in the Guild. Mrs. Stanbury and Miss Annie Muirhead took the house given up by Mr. F. Muirhead in the Autumn, and made themselves responsible for a certain amount of Guild work. The house in which Mr. and Mrs. Clements live is still filled with good workers.

"In the Autumn we had a visit from Mrs. Rutgers and Miss Kramers of Rotterdam, both of them zealous workers in social and political reform, and since their return to Holland we have received a copy of Dr. Coit's *Neighbourhood Guilds,* translated into Dutch by Miss Kramers, and we hear of a Guild formed through the energy of these ladies in Rotterdam. . . .

"In making a rapid survey of the year's work, and giving this brief account of the various organisations within the Guild, it is after all only the *outside* of the life that can be touched on. The underlying influences at work, binding friend to friend, helping towards the realisation of the duties of citizen to citizen, of the possibility of healthy pleasure without selfishness, of the deeper and soberer joys of life, of the power in co-operation, of the

sweetening of life by a common life—all these things are almost impossible for anyone not a member, and an enthusiastic member, to know, and yet it is because of the faith in these impalpable realities that we desire most earnestly to draw in more of our neighbours, and to gain the aid of outside friends who have money to spare, that we may be enabled to continue our experiment in the social laboratory."

After this period, printed documents are not available. Mr. J. Calvert Spensley, O.B.E., who, as we have seen, was one of the Settlement workers of the Guild, kindly furnishes the following supplementary statement:—

"My first association with Leighton Hall was in December 1891, when I attended a 'business meeting' of the Moscheles Club. At that time, Mr. St. John E. C. Hankin was acting as President to teach the members how to conduct a meeting. Later on, one of the members acted as President, Mr. Hankin attending the meetings as observer. He was a true product of Oxford with a mordant wit. No business meeting could have been conducted with stricter regard to proper form. I went into residence in the summer of 1892. At that time there were at No. 7 Leighton Crescent, Dr. Stanton Coit, S. S. Fechheimer (afterwards Dr. S. S. F. Fletcher, Lecturer in Education in the University of Cambridge and Master of Method in the Cambridge Day Training College), St. John Hankin (at that time a dramatic critic for the *Saturday Review*), Dr. J. C. Baker, Arthur Alexander, and myself. Others came for periods—Litellus Gould (an artist friend of Findlay Muirhead's), Christian Collin (Professor of English Literature in the University of Christiania), and others. Mrs. Stanbury, Mr. Findlay Muirhead, Miss Annie C. Muirhead, and Miss Hope Rea were in other houses close by."

Mr. Spensley also informs me that when he left in 1900, "the Guild was in going order."

I further learn from Mr. F. B. Kirkman that he joined the staff of workers at Leighton Hall in 1898 and that he was in charge from 1899 until 1902 when Leighton Hall was disposed of. He also states that the Adult Club was broken up as a consequence, but that the Young Men's Club and the Young Women's Club continued in being, under a change of name until 1916 (which Mr. M. Carnochan confirms), at first as an integral part of the St. Pancras Ethical Society and after that Society had dissolved, independently. To this may be added that reports and leaflets of the St. Pancras Ethical Society referring to 1907/8, 1908, and 1910 furnish information concerning these clubs.

SOURCES.

The sources have been indicated in the text. Mr. J. Calvert Spensley very kindly not only wrote a note and corrected the text, but furnished all the Leighton Hall documents here utilised—*The Moscheles Review* for May 1892, *The Neighbourhood Guild Review* for July, September, and October of the same year, and the Neighbourhood Guild *Annual Report* for 1895. Assistance has also to be gratefully acknowledged from Mr. F. B. Kirkman, who was for a number of years closely connected with the Young People's Clubs after Leighton Hall was closed, his collaborator, Mr. M. Carnochan, Mr. Frank Hall, and Mr. A. J. Clements who organised the Sunday Concerts at Leighton Hall.

CHAPTER III.—THE CAMBRIDGE ETHICAL SOCIETY.

1. *The Founding of the Society.*

INFLUENCED by the founding of the London "Ethical Society" in 1886, a few Cambridge men decided two years later to proceed to the formation of a Cambridge Ethical Society.

On 4th March 1888, accordingly, a meeting was held "in the rooms of Mr. Stout, St. John's". There were present: "Dr. Ward, Messrs. Stout, A. H. Thompson, Dodgson (Trin.), Darbishire, Fletcher, Gael, Bascombe, McLean, Love, and Mackenzie. . . . A short paper was read by J. S. Mackenzie, Trin., on the aims of the Society. Discussion followed, and it was finally agreed that the following should be asked to serve on a Committee for the purpose of organising a Society in Cambridge similar to the 'Ethical Society' in London: Sir R. K. Wilson, Messrs. Caldecott, Stout, Cunningham, Stanton, Keynes, Adam, Jessop, Monckton, Leathes, McTaggart, and Mackenzie." (It is noteworthy that neither of the above lists mentions Professor Henry Sidgwick, who was to be the guiding spirit of the Society from its inception to its passing.)

The Cambridge Review (of 7th March 1888) announced the formation of the Society in the following terms: "*Ethical Society.* At a meeting held on Sunday evening, in J. F. Stout's rooms, St. John's College, it was decided to form an Ethical Society in Cambridge similar to that existing already in London, and a committee was formed to arrange lectures for next term." (p. 249.)

A Preliminary Meeting followed on Friday evening, 18th May, in the Trinity College Guest Room. Over seventy persons were present, of whom about half were ladies. The Chair was taken at 8.30 by Professor Sidgwick who delivered a stimulating introductory address. He held that "the aim of such an Ethical Society, in the Aristotelian phrase, is not knowledge but action" and that "it would be presumptuous to suppose that in such a Society as this, including, as we hope, many members whose intellectual habits as well as whose aims are practical rather than speculative, we can settle the old controversies of the schools on ethical first principles; but it may be possible by steering clear of those controversies to reach some result of value for practical guidance and life." His view of the general function of the Cambridge Ethical Society was "to bring into a more clear and consistent form the broad and general agreement as to the particulars of morality which we find among moral persons, making explicit the general conceptions of the good and evil in human life, of the normal relations of a man to his fellows, which this agreement implies." "We must remain as far as possible", he urged, "in the 'region of middle axioms'—if I may be allowed the technical term." He hoped the Society would not discuss "the nature, origin, and development of moral ideas and sentiments" and would not "waste words on the question of the freedom of the will," nor enter into a discussion of utilitarianism.

There was to be no rivalry with the Churches. "The Ethical Society", he said, "will make no attempt to compete with the

Churches" in supplying "extra-mundane motives stimulating men to the performance of duty. . . . There is at least a large region of secular duty in which thoughtful Christians commonly recognise that an ideal of conduct can be, and ought to be, worked out by the light of reason independently of revelation; and I should recommend our Society to confine its attention to this secular region. . . . As a Society, I conceive that our attitude ought to be at once non-exclusive as regards the non-religious, and unaggressive as regards all forms of Christian creed." However, "I myself can hardly conceive a working Ethical Society of which the aim would not include in essentials the apostle's definition of the pure service of religion. We might characterise it as the aim of being in the world and yet not of it, working strenuously for the improvement of mundane affairs, and yet keeping ourselves, as the apostle says, unspotted of the world:—that is, in modern phrase, keeping clear of the compromises with sordid interests and vulgar ambitions which the practical standards of all classes and sections of society are too apt to admit. . . . To sum up: the region in which we are to move I conceive as, philosophically, a middle region, the place of intermediate ethical generalisations which we are content to conceive in a rough and approximate way, avoiding fundamental controversies as far as we can, while from a religious point of view it is a secular but not therefore irreligious region, in which we pursue merely mundane ends, but yet not in a worldly spirit."

Lastly, Prof. Sidgwick advised that the discussion of practical problems, such as are involved in "social questions", should not be regarded as falling within the Society's ambit.

Here, then, a definite and comprehensive programme was placed before the new Society.

In the discussion which ensued, the Secretary pointed out that "the aim of the Society, as expressed in its Rules, was two-fold, (1) 'to stimulate interest in ethical questions', and (2) 'to afford facilities for their discussion'. In recognition of this two-fold aim, it had been decided that the meetings should be of two kinds, lectures and debates, the former open to the general public, the latter confined to members of the Society. It was expected that in general each debate would grow out of the preceding lecture, but occasionally it might be found to be necessary to start a fresh subject, and in such cases the debate would be opened with a short paper."

The discussion then turned on the point whether some of the lectures should not be of a practical kind, Mr. Holmden urging "the importance of ethical teaching in the poorer districts of Cambridge, and in particular in Barnwell." The Secretary considered that "the Society was originally intended to afford facilities both for discussion and for the teaching of practical ethics, and he thought that it ought to endeavour to do justice to both".

However, as we shall see, the Cambridge Ethical Society, presumably for practical reasons, adopted no measures to facilitate either the realisation of Prof. Sidgwick's comprehensive programme or the teaching of practical ethics, common to all Ethical Societies.

The Cambridge Review (of 10th May 1888) heralded the meeting we have somewhat fully reported above in the following lengthy notice, furnishing valuable information to those who might be interested in the new Society and showing indirectly that the Society intended to keep in touch with the press.

"CAMBRIDGE ETHICAL SOCIETY.

"The Cambridge Ethical Society, which was constituted at the end of last term on the model of the well-known Ethical Society in London, is to hold its first meeting on Friday, May 18th, when a paper will be read by Professor Sidgwick on 'The Problems of Practical Ethics'. It is expected that some of the leading members of the London Ethical Society will be present, and will take part in the debate. The rules of the Society are:—

"1. The Society shall be called 'The Cambridge Ethical Society'.

"2. Its object shall be to stimulate interest in ethical questions and to afford facilities for their discussion.

"3. The Officers shall be President, Chairman of Committee, and Secretary, who, with at least six others, shall form the Committee of the Society for the transaction of business. Three members shall form a quorum.

"4. The Officers and other members of the Committee shall be elected at a general meeting to be held annually in the October Term.

"5. All annual subscribers of 5s. or upwards shall be members of the Society.

"The following are the members of the Committee:—Professor Sidgwick (President), Professor Marshall, the Master of Selwyn, Sir R. K. Wilson, Dr. Ward, Messrs. Caldecott, Cunningham, Holmden, Keynes (Chairman), Leathes, McTaggart, Monckton, Stanton, Stout, and J. S. Mackenzie, Trin. (Secretary). All communications with reference to the Society should be made to the Secretary." (p. 315.)

Two comments may be in place here. First, the Rules, but for a trifling change, remained unaltered throughout the history of the Society. Secondly, the distinguished personages who composed the first Committee make it abundantly clear that the Society occupied a not unimportant position in the extra-academic life of the University and that notwithstanding its religious neutrality, it appealed intimately to a considerable number.

On 29th May 1888, at a meeting of the Committee, the following comprehensive resolution was carried, containing interesting information more particularly in respect of the organisation of the Society's activities:—

"It was decided that a report of the Preliminary Meeting on May 18th, including the President's address, should be printed for private circulation; that a meeting of the Society should be held in the first week of the Michaelmas Term for the election of Office-bearers and the transaction of other business; that, in addition to this meeting, there should be two regular meetings of the Society in each term, one for lecture and one for debate; that each debate may, if necessary, be adjourned and continued at another meeting to be thereupon arranged; that the lectures should be ordinarily delivered in the lecture room of the Guild Hall, and that the debates should be held in one of the College Lecture-rooms; that the ordinary hours of meeting should be from 8.30 to 10 p.m.; and that the regular meetings in

next Michaelmas Term shall be held on Monday, October 22nd, and Monday, November 12th, respectively."

It may be noted that the Preliminary Report just referred to started with a practical motto from Goethe: "Gedenke zu leben".

2. *The Society's Activities.*

For the next few months the thread is supplied by *The Cambridge Review*. The issue for 1st November 1888 states:—

"*Cambridge Ethical Society.*—A general meeting of the Cambridge Ethical Society was held on Thursday, October 25th, in Trinity College Lecture Room 3, at 8.30 p.m. The President, Professor Sidgwick, occupied the Chair; and, after some general business had been gone through, a short address was delivered by Dr. Stanton Coit on the Ethical Societies in America. He explained that these societies are not, as has sometimes been supposed, anti-theological in their aims. They supplement the work of the churches in respect to the teaching of practical ethics, but are not in any way opposed to that work. Their attention has been directed to a great extent to the moral education of the young, in the carrying on of which they have endeavoured not so much to impart instruction as to elicit the innate sense of right and wrong. In this respect their work might be characterised as an extension of the Kindergarten system to moral training. Those who took part in this ethical teaching, though all actuated by a common spirit, were not by any means at one in their opinions on the fundamental principles of ethics; nor did they profess to have any ultimate solution to offer with respect to the larger problems of the moral life. Their mission was rather that of stimulating men to thought than that of providing them with results. The strength of such teaching was to be found in the moral enthusiasm of those who united to carry it on. Its weakness, on the other hand, lay in the fact that it was to a great extent a groping about in the dark. The mere ethical teacher was after all but 'a quack', in the sense that he had to depend for the most part rather on the guesses of intuition than on definite principles derived from systematic thought. For this reason Dr. Coit thought that such an Ethical Society as that which has now been formed in Cambridge might supply a valuable supplement to the work of the American Societies. The task of the Cambridge Society would be that of bringing the problems of practical ethics into more definite relation to the philosophic thought of the time, and in that way affording a somewhat clearer insight into the principles on which their solution will depend. Discussion followed, and a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Dr. Coit for his stimulating address. . . ." (p. 60.)

And the issue for 22nd November 1888 reports as follows:—

"*Cambridge Ethical Society.*—A meeting was held in the Small Room of the Guildhall, on Monday, under the presidency of Prof. Sidgwick, when an address on 'Our Opportunities and Tasks' was delivered by Prof. Seeley. There was a good attendance.

"The Chairman announced that it was the inaugural meeting of the Cambridge Ethical Society. The Society proposed to have in each term of the academic year a series of addresses, of which they would hear the first that evening. To introduce to them Prof. Seeley would be absurd. They had to express their sincere gratitude that he had withdrawn from other pursuits and come to inaugurate their Society that night.

"Prof. Seeley, in his preliminary remarks, observed that he came there

that night simply in compliance with the request of the Society to give advice and offer suggestions. He accepted their invitation to be present that evening with great pleasure, for this reason: he saw a great current flowing among them: a new movement daily commencing, which took the same direction and was produced by the same cause. The general movements of reformation of the last half century had altered the country both politically and socially, and had from the outset a certain ethical tinge. Whether they would come to the aid of the Christian Church, or whether they would push it on one side, was the question they would have to consider. In any case, what made their enterprise interested with practice was that they must place themselves on the ground which had so long been occupied by the Christian Church. They might regard ethics in two different ways, either theoretically or practically, or, rather, he would say, they might give the preponderance to theory or practice. Had they convinced themselves that the only safety for the nation lay in a firmer grasp of ethical principles on the part, not of a few persons here and there, but of the people themselves? He laid it down that their Ethical Society should be above all things practical and not controversial; that it should assert ethical principles as against unethical principles. . . . There was a gap; there was a wheel wanting in their machinery of culture. They had the apparatus of discovery and distinguished truths, an apparatus to communicate it to certain parts of the people, but no apparatus for spreading it everywhere. A great multitude never came to hear all the necessary truths. No instructions were within their reach. If their Ethical Society was by itself, he would not expect it to be capable to deal with such an enormous evil. But their movement was only one amongst many that had taken the same direction and the same grasp of affairs, which, in the main, might produce great results. Societies precisely like theirs were springing up in all parts of the world. Some of those societies were called educational, political, and what not, but, regarded on the whole, the movement should arouse the whole nation at once to a higher moral level. The first great lever of the movement was the University, and the second was the Christian Church. The Church had been for nearly two thousand years the great Ethical Society of the world, for if the University spread its influence widely, the Church was actually everywhere, not only in great towns, but in every village, and everywhere its influence was established. In that movement, in speaking of the Church, he was speaking of the Nonconformist Body as well, which had taken a good share directly, and still greater indirectly. Such a movement could scarcely prosper except where Christianity had prepared the way. After dealing with the subject as it concerned educational, political, and social questions, the Professor said he thought it was important for them to decide what attitude towards the Church they would assume. He advised that they should enter into a most hearty and most unreserved alliance with the Churches. In conclusion, Prof. Seeley said that if in that Society some were orthodox and others might be heterodox, even in an extreme degree, it seemed to him that they could not only work together, but, perhaps, he would go further and say that they might even adopt, if in a somewhat different sense, the same sacred motto, and say, 'Other foundations can no man lay than that which is laid'." (pp. 108-109.)

From the Minutes of 4th February 1889, we learn that "it was agreed that at future meetings of the Society it should be understood that each member is at liberty to bring a friend."

We are once more indebted to *The Cambridge Review* for spanning the time breach. In the issue for 7th February 1889, we read:—

"*Cambridge Ethical Society.*—Professor Sidgwick, President of the Cambridge Ethical Society, occupied the chair on Monday evening, at a lecture delivered by Professor Wallace, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford University, who took for his subject, 'The Ethics of Socialism'. There was a very good attendance, including a large number of University men and ladies. . . ." (p. 195.)

And under date 7th March 1889, we find that a meeting of the Society was held on 4th March in St. John's College, when a debate on the Ethics of Socialism was opened by Mr. Sydney (later, Lord) Olivier, of the Fabian Society. (p. 257.)

The Minutes for 7th June 1889 raised new hopes which were doomed to remain unfulfilled. We read: "A paper was read by Mr. Caldecott on the possibilities of the Ethical Society. The discussion which followed turned on the desirability of adding to the interest of the meetings by the introduction of music and poetry. It was decided that some members of similar Societies in London should be consulted on the subject, and that it should be brought up again at a future meeting." Twelve months later (2nd June 1890), the restlessness had not abated, as seems probable from the following Minute: "Meeting in Trinity College, Lecture Room XIII. Paper by J. S. Mackenzie on 'Is the Ethical Society realising its Aim?' The following took part in the discussion: Dr. Sidgwick, Mr. Headlam, Sir R. Wilson, Rev. A. Caldecott, and J. J. Lias."

For our history we must again quote from *The Cambridge Review* of 24th October 1889:—

(In Summary and Notes.) "Professor Caird's lecture at the Ethical Society on Friday represented a line of thought which is too unfamiliar to Cambridge undergraduates of the present day. Belief and disbelief we have with us always. But the attempt to deal constructively with the ultimate problems of thought, without the aid of revelation, is almost unknown among us. Such a lecture will do good, if it does nothing more than remind us that there is such a thing as philosophy, and that it has a bearing not altogether insignificant on practical life." (p. 18.)

Here we may interrupt our account by reproducing the official list of members subscribing for 1890, a list which shows the esteem in which the Society was held among the intellectual élite of Cambridge: Professor Sidgwick, Mrs. Sidgwick, Prof. Marshall, Mrs. Marshall, Prof. Macalister, Francis Darwin, Mrs. Francis Darwin, Miss Darwin, Sir R. K. Wilson, Lady Wilson, Miss Clough, Miss Jane Lee, Dr. Ward, Mrs. Ward, the Master of Selwyn, Miss Alice Gardner, Miss Hughes, Miss Lock, Miss B. Skeat, Miss Aitken, J. N. Keynes, S. H. Holmden, Susan Wood, J. F. Bascombe, T. F. C. Huddleston, Rev. R. B. Somerset, Mrs. Shaw, R. Bowes, W. E. Johnson, Rev. J. Lias, G. F. Stout, A. E. H. Love, Rev. A. Caldecott, E. Edwards, Rev. Appleton, Rev. W. Cunningham, N. W. Thomas, S. Leathes, T. E. McTaggart, R. G. Bury, Dodgson, Duncan, Rev. F. Wallis, J. Welton, Thomas Thomely, G. W. Prothero, Mrs. Prothero, Dr. Waldstein, A. Berry, T. J. Hardy, J. Adam, Norman McLean, D. D. Robertson, T. R. Tanner, Miss M. Greenwood, Prof. Creighton.

With which list we may compare the subscribers for 1895/96: Miss

E. E. C. Jones, Prof. Sidgwick, Mrs. Sidgwick, Miss M. Greenwood, Miss Alice Gardner, Miss B. A. Clough, Miss Hughes, Prof. Marshall, Mrs. Marshall, Dr. J. Ward, Dr. Keynes, Francis Darwin, M.A., Mrs. F. Darwin, S. N. Holmden, T. F. C. Huddleston, Mrs. Shaw, R. Bowes, W. E. Johnson, G. F. Stout, A. E. H. Love, Prof. Macalister, Rev. W. Cunningham, S. Leathes, T. E. McTaggart, Rev. V. H. Stanton, Dr. Waldstein, Arthur Berry, Oscar Browning, W. Chawner, J. Adam, Norman McLean, H. Rackham, T. Thornely, Dr. Deighton, Mrs. Kennedy, Mrs. H. C. Hawkins, E. T. Dixon, Miss Whitehead, Miss E. Harding, Rev. A. Halliday Douglas, C. E. Campbell, and undergraduate members.

On 16th May 1892, Dr. Felix Adler, the Founder of the Ethical Movement, addressed the Society on "The Ethical Element in Religion". "Numerous questions were asked at the end of the lecture." (Minutes.) On 7th November of the same year Dr. Sophie Bryant "had a crowded audience at the Henry Martyn Hall, when she read a paper on 'Self-Development and Self-Surrender'." (*The Cambridge Review*, 10th November 1892, p. 67.) These lectures, we observe, were of a practical order and were apparently highly appreciated.

The Cambridge Review (of 9th March 1893) refers as follows to Mr. (later, Earl) Balfour's lecture which naturally aroused keen interest at Cambridge:—

(In News.) "The paper on 'The Insufficiency of Naturalism as a Basis of Ethics', which Mr. Balfour read last Saturday in the Alexandra Hall before the Ethical Society, upset the expectations of the audience. They had looked for metaphysics; Mr. Balfour gave them a lay sermon on the practical effect which an acceptance of the naturalistic theory would have on conduct. . . ." (p. 256.)

A few weeks later (11th May 1893) the *Cambridge Review* comments at length on the Cambridge Ethical Society:—

(In News.) "The Ethical Society seems at any rate to have one fixed principle—that nothing shall ever induce it to become metaphysical. Whatever else may be brought in, metaphysics are carefully avoided. This is perhaps scarcely wise. To speak of metaphysics as a popular subject may seem absurd. But the fact remains that when an undergraduate gets interested in a religious or ethical question his first impulse is to ask which answer is true. For a specialist in Comparative Theology the question may be how the belief arose. And for older men who have taken their own position for life the consideration of the practical result of a belief may be more absorbing. But the average man up here cannot be a specialist in Comparative Theology, and a permanent intellectual position is seldom attained till the right to wear fur—or even silk—on one's shoulders has lost its novelty. Therefore, we cannot but think that the Ethical Society lost a great chance when, having obtained such an important subject and two such competent lecturers, the fates decreed that Mr. Balfour should treat merely the question of practical results, and Dr. Fairbairn that of historical origin.

"Dr. Fairbairn's audience was large, and that it was interested was proved by the fact that even the temperature of the lecture room could scarcely diminish it till the lecture was over. But we cannot help thinking it must have been a little disappointed. The logical connection between belief and

conduct was not touched on. Instead of it we had a most thoughtful and interesting account of the relation of the religions of China and India to their ethical systems. But this is scarcely, we fancy, what the majority of the audience would have liked to hear from Dr. Fairbairn. It may seem rather ungracious to look a gift horse in the mouth, but the few scraps of anything but history scattered about the paper were so good as to make us want more. Such was the ingenious defence of anthropomorphism, the definition of religion, which would have borne a good deal of working out, especially as to the meaning attached to supernatural, and the account of the postulates of ethics, with the emphasis laid on permanence. . . ." (pp. 321-22.)

This line of reasoning was further pursued in a later issue (9th November 1893):—

"The meeting of the Ethical Society on Monday evening suffered from clashing with Sir Robert Ball's lecture, which was proceeding contemporaneously in the same building. . . . Mr. Rashdall, an Oxford lecturer of great promise for acuteness of critical faculty, after a preliminary skirmish against the Oxford free lance in philosophy, Mr. Bradley, settled down to a demonstration of the necessity for scientific principles of conduct. . . . The concrete character of Mr. Rashdall's subject seems to have been appreciated by some who attend those meetings and find the topics chosen rather too abstract as a rule." (pp. 70-71.)

Also, on 1st February 1894, we read:—

"The Ethical Society has resolved to abandon the abstract questions that are wont to engage it, and next Monday, the Rev. W. D. Morrison, Chaplain of what the card of the Society describes as 'H.M. Prison, Wandsworth', is to deliver a lecture under its auspices on 'The Juvenile Offender and the Conditions which produce him'. . . . " (pp. 188-89.)

That the Society had wider interests is incidentally revealed by the fact that on 24th October 1894 the Committee of the Society "decided to make a grant of £5 from the funds of the Society towards paying off the debt of *The International Journal of Ethics*".

We may conclude our account with reproducing two lists, beginning with what may be the complete list of lectures delivered before the Society during its active existence:—

LIST OF LECTURES.

May 18, 1888.—Prof. Sidgwick, "The Problems of Practical Ethics."

October 25, 1888.—Dr. Stanton Coit, "The American Ethical Societies."

November 19, 1888.—Prof. Seeley, "On Opportunities and Tasks."

December 4, 1888.—Prof. Sidgwick, "The Ethical Aspects of Party Government."

February 4, 1889.—Prof. Wallace, "The Ethics of Socialism."

May 6, 1889.—Prof. Sidgwick, "The Morality of Strife."

June 7, 1889.—Mr. Caldecott, (discussion) "The Possibilities of the Ethical Society."

October 18, 1889.—Prof. Edward Caird, "The Relation of Religion to Ethics."

January 30, 1890.—Prof. Henry Jones, "The Ethics of Robert Browning."

May 5, 1890.—Bernard Bosanquet, "The Civilisation of Christendom."

June 2, 1890.—J. S. Mackenzie, (discussion) "Is the Ethical Society Realising its Aim?"

October 30, 1890.—Leslie Stephen, "The Moral Aspect of Socialism."

November 24, 1890.—Mr. Caldecott, (dicussion) "Equality as Social Ideal in its Moral Aspect."

January 26, 1891.—Prof. Stanton, "Practical Counsels of Economic Science."

May 4, 1891.—Mr. Alexander, "Natural Selection in Ethics."

October 29, 1891.—Rev. W. J. Richmond, "The Relation of Economics and Morals."

March 2, 1892.—Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, "Gambling."

May 16, 1892.—Dr. Felix Adler, "The Moral Element in Religion."

November 17, 1892.—Mrs. Bryant, "Self-Surrender and Self-Development."

March 4, 1893.—A. J. Balfour, "The Insufficiency of Naturalism as a Basis of Ethics."

April 19, 1893.—Dr. Fairbairn, "Religion and Ethics as a Question in Comparative Theology."

November 6, 1893.—Rev. H. Rashdall, "The Limits of Casuistry."

February 5, 1894.—W. O. Morrison, "Juvenile Offenders."

May 7, 1894.—Prof. Sidgwick, "Luxury."

November 29, 1894.—Mr. J. H. Muirhead, "How Ought we to Teach Religion?"

May 7, 1895.—Prof. David Ritchie, "Social Evolution."

December 3, 1895.—Prof. Sidgwick, "The Ethics of Religious Conformity."

February 19, 1896.—Rev. Thomas Fowler, "The Ethics of the Intellectual Life."

May 21, 1896.—Prof. Seth, "Mr. Balfour and his Critics."

LAST COMMITTEE (May Term, 1896): *President*: Prof. Sidgwick; *Secretary*: H. Barker; *Committee*: Arthur Berry, M.A.; C. E. Campbell, B.A.; Rev. W. Cunningham, D.D.; Rev. A. Halliday Douglas, M.A.; T. F. C. Huddleston, M.A.; Miss E. P. Hughes (Newnham); Miss E. E. C. Jones (Girton); J. N. Keynes, Sc.D.; Stanley M. Leathes, M.A.; Norman McLean, M.A.; J. E. McTaggart, M.A.; Prof. Marshall; Mrs. Marshall; H. Rackham, M.A.; Mrs. Sidgwick; Prof. Stanton; G. F. Stout, M.A.; W. F. Trotter; James Ward, Sc.D.

President (for the whole (?) period): Professor Sidgwick.

Secretaries: J. S. Mackenzie (March 1888 to June 1890), Ed. Edwards (June 1890 to May 1892), D. D. Robertson (May 1892 to April 1893), P. M. M. Amos (April 1893 to May 1895), and H. Barker (May 1895 to (?) June 1897)."

3. *Dissolution of the Society.*

I have not been able to trace the exact date when the Society ceased to exist. It is probable that the lecture delivered on 21st May 1896 was the last one and that—as Mr. H. Barker, the Society's last Secretary, tentatively suggests in reply to an enquiry—activities were then, in the normal course, suspended but never resumed. In any case, on the cover of a parcel containing the Minute Book, etc., of the Society, figure the words: Received by Prof. Sidgwick from Mr. Barker, June 1897. Received from Mrs. Sidgwick, July 1902, W. R. S[orley].

4. *Retrospect.*

The Cambridge Ethical Society, we have seen, had high ambitions and dreamed noble dreams, as Prof. Sidgwick's and Prof. Seeley's introductory addresses,* and some events, indicate. But the ambitions were not realised and the dreams did not come true. The Society's activities resolved themselves into organising between two to five lectures and discussions annually and these afforded no opportunities for carrying out a more elaborate programme than that of enabling its members and others to listen a few times a year to eminent lecturers hailing from every part of the country. The very fact, however, of there being an Ethical Society at Cambridge and that under its auspices distinguished thinkers discoursed on ethical themes, must have made a deep and lasting impression on the Society's members and to some extent on those who more or less regularly attended the Society's gatherings.

SOURCES.

All the available official material was kindly placed at my disposal by Professor W. R. Sorley. (A casual first conversation with Professor Sorley at an International Congress abroad, disclosed the highly gratifying fact that he was in possession of the official material.) The other main source, a very valuable one, was *The Cambridge Review*. I have also to thank two of the Society's Secretaries, the first and the last, Prof. J. S. Mackenzie and Mr. H. Barker, for helpful replies to enquiries addressed to them.

References to the Cambridge Ethical Society were found in the following issues of the *Cambridge Review*: 7th March 1888, p. 249; 10th May 1888, p. 315; 1st November 1888, p. 60; 22nd November 1888, pp. 108-109; 7th February 1889, pp. 195-196; 7th March 1889, p. 257; 13th June 1889, p. 403; 24th October 1889, p. 18; 24th October 1889, p. 29; 23rd January 1890, p. 147; 6th February 1890, pp. 177-178; 3rd November 1892, p. 51; 10th November 1892, p. 67; 26th January 1893, pp. 153-154; 9th March 1893, p. 256; 11th May 1893, pp. 321-322; 9th November 1893, pp. 70-71; 1st February 1894, ppp. 188-189; 8th February 1894, p. 203; 10th May 1894, pp. 314-315; 18th October 1894, p. 4; 15th November 1894, p. 69; 29th November 1894, p. 102; 2nd May 1895, p. 290; 9th May 1895, p. 307.

CHAPTER IV.—THE EAST LONDON ETHICAL SOCIETY.

A VERY early notice of this Society is to be found in an article contributed by Mrs. McCallum, of the London Ethical Society, to the *International Journal of Ethics* for January 1891. Here, under the subheading "East London Ethical Society", we read:—

"This Society, which has been in existence for about a year, 'has for its object the development of good character and the promotion of right conduct on a purely human basis.' Its distinctive motto is, 'Give your life a moral purpose.' As its name indicates, it occupies itself with a district of East London where it organises lectures in a small hall during the winter, and in the summer months in Victoria Park. Dr. Stanton Coit has there

* Both addresses will be found in *Ethical Religion*, a volume of ethical lectures published in 1900 by Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

attracted large audiences, and it seems probable that the Society will be of great use to many among the working-classes who are not won by the church services. Fortnightly excursions draw the Society together and increase their store of healthful and intelligent interests."

In view of the scantiness of the available material, despite a determined search, the following article, reproduced from *The Ethical World* of 28th January 1899, and presumably written by Mr. F. J. Gould, is of special value since it practically covers the first decade:—

"A BRAVE ETHICAL SOCIETY.

"For nine years the East London Ethical Society has maintained its place and purpose in a depressing quarter of our great metropolis. Towards the close of 1889 a little group met in a private house and lit the sacred fire. In February, 1890, the Society held its first public meeting in a Mile End dancing saloon. Next year it opened a Sunday School with about a dozen scholars. Later on it was evicted, the landlord having found that polkas and quadrilles yielded higher profits than the poor friars of the Ethical Movement. The Society found shelter under the roof of the Theosophists in the Bow Road. Then, straining every nerve and sinew, this little company (never numbering a hundred) managed to build an iron hall in Libra Road, Old Ford, and soon afterwards established a club for boys and girls. The Society piped to various tunes—philosophical, historical, literary, sociological, etc.; but the people round about took little heed. The Old Ford folk are mostly steady, honest, hard-working men and women; but their educational level is low, and on Sundays they are dead tired with the week's toil, and are in no mood to listen to intellectual discourses. The Society's experience has demonstrated the need of a special school of lecturers who possess the gift of translating the Ethical doctrine into the rousing and homely language of the proletariat. Like the Christian Church, we want 'diversities of operation', and the cultured speaker who appeals to one class of minds must be supplemented by a more popular—but not less earnest and religious—body of Ethical preachers adapted to working-class audiences.

"Amid these difficulties the East Londoners fought on, always encouraged by the fact that the work among the children was growing and strengthening. Two years ago the Bow and Bromley Vestry Hall was taken for week-night lectures by Dr. Coit, and this experiment aided the spread of Ethical ideas in the district. The Sunday gathering, however, was felt to be the necessary centre of effort and increase, and in 1898 the Bow Vestry Hall (opposite the building just referred to) was made the new basis of Sunday propaganda. This departure was led up to by a succession of open-air meetings in Victoria Park on Sunday afternoons. According to the Ninth Annual Report, the Bow meetings augur well: 'The size of the audience has varied, but has never fallen so low as at Libra Road. There is increased heartiness in the singing, many more strangers come to hear our principles explained, many questions are asked, more literature is sold, members are added from week to week, our bills are more vigorously distributed, and there is a better tone all round. The regular meeting is now usually followed, after a brief interval, by a discussion on a topic of general interest, and the experiment has been fairly successful.'

"The membership stands at about four-score. It is interesting to note that the Society takes charge of about the same number of children, 54 in the Sunday School, and 26 in the Old Ford Ethical Club. The Sunday School meets all the year round, the session lasting from three o'clock to a quarter

past four. There are two classes, senior and junior. Lessons are preceded by responses on the Ethical life or on the Sacred Books of the World. Three or four songs are always sung. A box of books from the McIntyre Ethical Library is in continuous use. The Committee is far from thinking its responsibility limited to mere lesson giving. It seeks to take the children out of the unpicturesque Old Ford environment as often as possible. Last year the children were taken to Westminster Abbey, two May festivals, Epping Forest, and the Zoological Gardens; and the year wound up with a pleasant Christmas party.

"Closely linked with the Sunday School is the Club, into which boys and girls (mainly from the School) are received at the age of 12 and upwards. The programme includes musical drill, table games, singing, and refreshments. On Sunday mornings the Club assembles at a little Ethical Service, which embraces songs, readings, distribution of library books, etc., and a Moral Instruction lesson; and both order and attention are very gratifying. The Committee which manages the Club carries on the excursion methods of the Sunday School, and in 1898 the Club took part in a May festival, and visited South Kensington Museum, Epping Forest, Windsor Castle, Hampton Court, and the Savoy Theatre.

"The results thus chronicled in the Report may not be brilliant, but they certainly merit a page in the history of our Movement. While the members of the Society make no inconsiderable personal sacrifices to carry on the enterprise, various sympathisers have contributed generous support; and these friends, some of whom have never been able to go and see the work with their own eyes, will be glad to find that their kindness bears good fruit. Copies of the Report may be obtained from the Secretary, Mr. Gustav Spiller (104, Gore Road, Victoria Park, E.)."

According to the First Annual Report, that for 1890, the Society was constituted on 10th November 1889. Its public activity began on 2nd February 1890, with a series of lectures at the Assembly Rooms, Cottage Grove, Mile End Road, E.

The following were the object and methods of the Society when it was originally formed and for at least the first thirteen years of its life:—

"The East London Ethical Society has for its object the development of good character and the promotion of right conduct on a purely human basis.

"The methods it seeks to adopt are:—

"1. Public Meetings for the propagation of ethical principles.

"2. Meetings of members and friends for social intercourse, and for the study and discussion of questions of ethical and social interest.

"3. The undertaking and furtherance of practical social reforms."

The Society's motto, "Give your life a moral purpose", also remained unchanged during the above period.

The minimum subscription was fixed at one penny a week in 1890 and was one shilling per annum ten years later.

The Committee's First Annual Report sums up as follows the progress made during the inaugural year:—

"From the time when a small band of twelve met at a private house to consider the advisability of forming themselves into an Ethical Society, until now, when your Committee has every reason to believe that the foundation of a healthy and prosperous society has been laid and tested, there has been great advance. The twelve apostles have become sixty. Their ideas are now

embodied in regular Sunday evening discourses, preceded and followed by hymns, and delivered in a very pleasant hall. Outdoor lectures have been given in Victoria Park. Fortnightly discussions have been held during the year. Excursions, that helped to strengthen the bonds of friendship, were made during the summer. Monthly social meetings were inaugurated three months ago, and have been very successful. The subject of a Sunday School has been repeatedly discussed, but the difficulties in the way of establishing one have not yet been overcome."

The average attendance at the lectures was 45 and the highest attendance over 90. The annual income just exceeded £33 and the expenditure fell about £1 below this.

It may be of interest to quote here the list of lectures delivered during the first four months of the Society's public existence. These, as will be seen, were of the same type as those popular then and since in Ethical Societies generally.

February 2.—Dr. Stanton Coit: "Ethics the True Religion for the People." (I.)
„ 9.—Dr. Stanton Coit: "Ethics the True Religion for the People." (II.)
„ 16.—Mr. F. J. Gould: "The Universal Church."
„ 23.—Mr. G. Spiller: "Ethics in Relation to Christianity."
March 2.—Dr. Stanton Coit: "The Death of Socrates."
„ 9.—Mr. W. Rawlings: "Emerson as a Religious Teacher."
„ 16.—Mr. W. Marshall: "Manliness."
„ 23.—Miss Clara E. Collet, M.A. (Lond.): "Thornton and Higgins; or Master and Workman."
„ 30.—Mr. Arthur W. Hutton, M.A.: "The Gospel of Duty."
April 6.—Dr. Stanton Coit: "The Death of Jesus."
„ 13.—Dr. Stanton Coit: "The Resurrection of Jesus."
„ 20.—Mrs. McCallum: "Every-day Ethics."
„ 27.—Mr. Bernard Bosanquet, M.A.: "Some of Robert Owen's Ideas."
May 4.—Dr. Stanton Coit: "John Milton, the Champion of Liberty."
„ 11.—Mr. C. H. Johns: "William the Silent."
„ 18.—Mr. G. Spiller: "Duty and Pleasure."
„ 25.—Mr. F. J. Gould: "Saint Francis of Assisi."

The Tenth Annual Report adds little to what may be learnt from the Ninth, which Mr. Gould utilised in his article.

Since the Annual Report for 1902 is the last of the series of Annual Reports at my disposal, I shall cite from it liberally.

The Report of the General Committee sums up the year's activities in the following words:—

"Our last Annual Report stated the fact that the Society had hired the Bromley Vestry Hall for its Sunday evening services. We have now to report that meetings were held there during the year 1902, with the exception of the months from June to September. The building which is well situated, and the hall which is very attractive, seemed naturally marked out for an ethical centre, in default of our having an attractive meeting-place of our own. From the beginning we had good audiences, running up to 120, and averaging perhaps 70 or more, and the numbers, we are happy to report, have not tended to decrease There have been, however, two serious drawbacks. A

general feeling was present from the first that new members would be slow in coming, and that we should, therefore, have to struggle for perhaps two or three years if we wished to build up a large society. This feeling has proved true, since the addition to our list of members has been but small. . . . The other activities of our Society have been continued at our own hall in Libra Road, Old Ford. The Ethical Club for Boys and Girls still meets, under Mr. and Mrs. [F. G.] Gould's superintendence, on Saturday evenings and Sunday mornings, while the Sunday School, under Mr. Henry Spence's energetic superintendentship, is as flourishing as ever."

The report of the Sunday School provides cheerful reading. Its first part is here reproduced:—

"The eleventh year has passed very happily and successfully.

"Although the School was closed during July and August, we believe it has resulted in good both to teachers and taught.

"The average number of scholars on the register has been 57, with an average number present of 46; this is an average attendance of 81 per cent. during the year. There are now 62 names on the register.

"The lessons during the year have been of a varied character. Simple lessons have been given to the Juniors, who range from 6 to 9 years of age, on such subjects as Bruce and the Spider, The Dog in the Manger, Grace Darling, The Police Man, etc. The lessons to the Seniors, who range from 9 to 14 years of age, have included a series on the Egyptian 'Book of the Dead', and The Origin of the Alphabet, by the Superintendent, as well as lessons on Thrift, Great-Mindedness, Courtesy, Patriotism, Peace, etc., by other teachers.

"The following is a calendar of the principal events, showing also the number of children who were present:—

January 18th.—New Year's Party (69).

May 4th.—Children's Flower Service, South Place Chapel (44).

July 6th.—Excursion to Epping Forest (43).

September 20th.—Visit to the Zoological Gardens (30).

December 13th.—Visit to Children's Hospital, West Ham. Six large scrap books had been prepared, and were given to the patients by the scholars."

The report of the Social Work Committee affords insight into another department of the Society's activities:—

"Meetings of the Old Ford Ethical Club for Boys and Girls were held at frequent intervals during the year 1902. The principal interest of the winter and early spring centred round the Cantata. This was more difficult than those learnt in previous years, and numerous practices, extending into March, were necessary. The result of the steady perseverance shown by the eighteen girls and two boys who comprised the company was very satisfactory. Three performances were given at the Hall in Libra Road to large and appreciative audiences. Regular meetings of the Club for the purpose of recreation took place every Saturday evening up till May, and ethical meetings were held on Sunday mornings throughout the year, except during the months of July and August. One whole-day excursion into the country in each of these two months provided keen enjoyment to the young people, who were thus kept together during the recess. The Saturday evening meetings were resumed in October, but it was not possible to have them weekly until December, when the accession of some valuable helpers enabled the old order of things to be re-established, and an attractive programme of games, dancing and musical drill to be provided. At the end of the year the total member-

ship of the Club was only 22. The Committee has thought it desirable to increase the minimum age to 14 years, the stage at which our boys and girls usually leave day school and enter into industrial life. . . . "

The number of subscribers and donors was about one hundred in 1902 and the total net expenditure (including the expenses of the Sunday School and the Social Work Committee) £137 5s. 8d.

I shall now draw, in conclusion, on the Notes in *The Ethical World.*

In January 1904, the Sunday School and Clubs were still flourishing. After that date, however, no mention occurs of these two subsidiary activities.

In May 1905, we learn that " at a meeting of members last Sunday evening, the East London Ethical Society voted to change its name to the Bow and Bromley Ethical Society, to indicate the more restricted area in which it holds its Sunday evening meetings ". A year later, however, the lectures were apparently resumed at Libra Hall.

In 1908 the Bow and Bromley Ethical Society became the Hackney Ethical Society and from October of that year met in one of the rooms of the Morley Hall, Mare Street, Hackney.

In 1911 (November 15th) *The Ethical World* remarks: " The Hackney Ethical Society remains small; but, despite many obstacles, it continues a vigorous propaganda. The membership is fairly steady, and its little band of workers loyally support the regular Sunday meetings; while other activities, such as social gatherings, rambles, and week-night lectures, keep them well-occupied. This year, although less advertising than usual has been done, the audiences are larger, and the friends are encouraged."

After September 1912, the references to the Hackney Ethical Society cease.

The Secretaries of the Society, so far as traceable in the accessible records, were the following: Mr. G. Spiller, until September 1904; Miss E. A. Richards, until the end of 1905; Mr. F. J. Williams, during 1906. In 1907, Miss J. Elliott became Secretary, after which date we have no information on the subject.

SOURCES.

The International Journal of Ethics, January 1891; *The Ethical World;* the Society's Annual Report for 1902, kindly lent by Mr. F. G. Gould; and the Society's Annual Reports for 1890 and 1899, in my possession.

CHAPTER V.—THE ETHICAL CHURCH.

(Until 1914, The West London Ethical Society.)

1. *Formation of the Society.*

IN December 1891, as we learnt in Chapter II., Dr. Stanton Coit resigned his pastorate of the South Place Ethical Society. Not a few of those who had been among his admiring listeners at South Place Chapel, were consequently eager to found a new spiritual home where

his conception of the ethical gospel would be perpetuated and where his voice might be heard.

Accordingly, on 31st January 1892, some 50 or 60 like-minded men and women met at Leighton Hall, Leighton Crescent, Kentish Town, London, and, on the proposal of Mr. H. Westbury Preston, unanimously agreed that a Provisional Committee should be appointed to enquire and report upon the feasibility of starting an Ethical Society in Central London.

About a month later, on 21st February, a second preliminary gathering resolved that a subscription list be opened for the purpose of founding an Ethical Society in the West End, and that in the event of £500 being subscribed, another meeting of those interested be called to consider the report of the Committee and make final arrangements. At this meeting the subscriptions promised amounted to over £200. Four months later, at a meeting of subscribers which took place at Essex Hall, Strand, on 15th June, the Hon. Secretary reported that the amount promised stood at £530.

At a further general meeting of subscribers and sympathisers, held on 26th June, on a motion by Dr. Stanton Coit, seconded by Dr. W. C. Coupland, it was unanimously agreed "that this meeting constitute itself into the West London Ethical Society".

Thus on 26th June 1892 the West London Ethical Society came formally into being.

This meeting also carried unanimously two other significant resolutions. The first was to the effect "that this Society hopes an arrangement may be made with Dr. Coit to lecture before it for three or four months" every year, and the second, a somewhat unexpected one in the circumstances, was moved by Mr. (later Prof.) J. H. Muirhead and seconded by Dr. Stanton Coit "that the Committee be authorised to negotiate with the London Ethical Society with a view to ascertaining and reporting if an amalgamation of the two Societies were desirable". This last motion was the more significant in that its mover was the Hon. Secretary of the London Ethical Society.

As a result of the amalgamation resolution, a joint meeting of the Committees of the two Societies approved on 24th July 1892 the following statement as the basis of union, a statement which was subsequently accepted by the members' meetings of the two Societies and, so far as the Principles and Aims were concerned, remained in force after the two Societies had again separated. This statement possesses historic value, seeing that it virtually carries us back to the establishment of the (London) Ethical Society forty-five years ago, in 1886, and that it expresses about equally well the fundamental thought and spirit of the Ethical Movement of to-day.

"STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND AIMS.

Suggested as the basis of a union between the above-mentioned Societies.

(Our Principles are virtually the same as those printed in the Report of the London Ethical Society five years ago, viz.:—)

1.—That the good life has a claim upon us in virtue of its supreme worth to humanity.

2.—It therefore rests for its justification on no external authority, and on no system of supernatural rewards and punishments, but on the nature of man as a rational and social being.

3.—In practice it is to be realised by accepting and acting in the spirit of such common obligations as are enjoined by the relationships of family and society, in so far as these are a means to a fuller human development.

Our Aims are:—

1.—To assist individual and social efforts after right living.

2.—To free the current ideal of what is right from all that is merely traditional or self-contradictory, and thus to widen and perfect it.

3.—To assist in constructing a Theory or Science of Right, which, starting with the reality and validity of moral distinctions, shall explain their mental and social origin, and connect them in a logical system of thought.

The Means we adopt as best fitted to attain these ends are:—

1.—Sunday morning and evening meetings of the Society and its friends,—when discourses, attempting to enlighten the moral judgment and to enkindle conscience, will be delivered.

2.—The formation of local Ethical Societies and the establishment of Ethical Classes and Neighbourhood Guilds in London and its vicinity, with a view to instruction in civic duties and in ways of innocent pleasure, and for the promotion of systematic reforms in regard to such matters as health, leisure, and industrial conditions.

3.—Ethical lectures to be delivered before such societies or meetings as may be willing to hear them.

4.—Week-day lectures on the theory of ethics and the history of morals.

5.—The publication of such pamphlets, periodicals, and books as will advance the principles of the Society.

6.—Week-day meetings of the members of the Society for the discussion of our work and aims, and for the adoption of new plans.

7.—The organisation of a union of the Ethical Societies of Great Britain, for the more effective carrying out of the object common to them all.

We invite all persons who sympathise with these aims and methods to become members of our Society, whether they can attend our meetings or not. The mere avowal of their sympathy, implied in membership, will help us; and even if they cannot support the Society financially—still in their own circle of friends they can make the Society known and spread its principles. For financial support we shall depend upon regular voluntary contributions. The only condition of membership is moral sympathy with our principles and aims."

On 26th June 1892 the West London Ethical Society was, as we have said, formally constituted and at that meeting a resolution in favour of amalgamation with the London Ethical Society had been passed. Eight days previously, on 18th June, a deputation from the proposed West London Ethical Society was, by arrangement, present at a special Committee meeting of the London Ethical Society, with the object of discussing the advisability of the two Societies amalgamating. A few days before, on 12th June, according to the Minutes of the Committee of the London Ethical Society, the Provisional Committee of the W. L. E. S. had unanimously expressed in favour of union. The Special Committee

of the L. E. S. also reported favourably to an ordinary meeting of its Committee held on the following day. This meeting approved the proposal by 5 votes against 2, the opposition being based on administrative considerations alone.

On 12th October 1892 the scheme of amalgamation was approved at a Members' Meeting of the W. L. E. S. and, seven days later, at a Members' Meeting of the L. E. S. The title of the new body was to be that of the older Society. The first General Members' Meeting was held on 18th January 1893 at Essex Hall, Strand, at which it was agreed that the Princes' Hall morning meetings of the late W. L. E. S. and the Essex Hall evening meetings of the late L. E. S. should both be continued.

The new London Ethical Society laboured assiduously and successfully. However, at a Committee Meeting on 1st May 1893, "after some discussion on the future arrangements for the Sunday morning lectures, a special Sub-Committee was appointed consisting of Mr. Corrie Grant, Mr. Russell Rea, Miss Gilliland, and Mr. Bosanquet, to meet Dr. Coit in order to hear from him what his own arrangements were and report on the subject of his future relations to the Society". At a Committee meeting on 17th May, to quote the dramatic Minutes,

"Mr. Corrie Grant moved the adoption of the report which made no recommendations but simply stated that the Sub-Committee thought that less than £400 could not be offered to Dr. Coit for the work suggested. Mr. J. H. Muirhead seconded and the report was adopted. Proposed by J. H. Muirhead, seconded by Mr. J. A. Hobson, that inasmuch as the Committee, while considering it undesirable that there should be a paid Secretary for organising work of the kind mentioned in the Sub-Committee's report, thinks it advisable to provide that the Sunday Lectures of the Society should for at least a portion of the year be conducted by men having had some experience in organising ethical work similar to that undertaken by the American Ethical Societies—it suggests that negotiations be entered into with Dr. Adler as representing the American lecturers with the view of securing under the scheme suggested by him for the payment of £250 or £300 a year the services of two lecturers for two months each, it being understood that the duties of the lecturers under this arrangement be not confined to Sunday morning lectures but extend to such additional work as may be suggested by the General Committee and that for the coming year 1894 Dr. Coit be asked to lecture under these conditions for two months in the summer term. Proposed as an amendment by Mr. Russell Rea, seconded by Mr. Findlay Muirhead, that in the opinion of this Committee it is advisable that Dr. Coit be permanently attached to the Princes' Hall branch of the Society's work and that he be invited to assume the position of lecturer or organiser for that branch. After a prolonged discussion in which on behalf of Mr. Leslie Stephen (absent member of Committee) it was stated that he disapproved of the scheme suggested by the Sub-Committee and on behalf of Dr. Coit (also absent) that he did not wish the present difference to be carried to the length of a split in the Society, it was agreed to re-open the discussion at the end of the month. There was no formal withdrawal either of the motion or the amendment but it was understood that if it was the unanimous desire of the other members of the Committee to consult the Society as to the desirability of dissolving the union of the former Societies the proposers and seconders would not ask for a division."

At a Committee meeting on 29th May, at which all the members except Dr. Coit were present, the above amendment was

"put to the vote and rejected by 7 against 4. The motion was then withdrawn to make room for a motion proposed by Mr. Bosanquet, seconded by Miss Gilliland, 'that a General Meeting of the Society be called to consider the question of the formation of the Society into two separate Societies'. Moved as an amendment by Mr. Corrie Grant, seconded by Mr. Findlay Muirhead, 'that a General Meeting of the Society be called to consider the whole situation'. On the amendment being put, it was lost, 3 voting for, 7 against. After some further discussion, in which several of the members of the Committee representing the former London Ethical Society strongly deprecated bringing the question in a contentious form before the Society as a whole and urged the Committee to come to a unanimous decision in favour of a friendly attempt to re-establish as far as possible the *status quo* of July, 1892, Mr. Bosanquet accepted the words 'and to discuss the whole question' as an addition to the motion. The motion was then put, seven members voting for it, none against. Mr. Bosanquet and Mr. Corrie Grant were asked to draw up a circular stating the facts of the case to be circulated to the members before the day of meeting which was fixed for Monday, June 19th, at Essex Hall."

The General Meeting above referred to was held on 26th June 1893, exactly twelve months after the West London Ethical Society had been formally constituted, and decided in favour of dissolving the union.

The above account of the amalgamation and of the separation of the two Societies is compiled from the official Minutes of the two Societies. To complete the picture, however, we shall quote a less formal account as contained in the West London Ethical Society's Annual Report for 1892/93:—

"Even before the formal constitution of the Society overtures for union had been received from the London Ethical Society, founded six years earlier. These were cordially received by the new Society; a common statement of Aims and Principles and a mutually satisfactory Scheme of Union were adopted; and from November, 1892, till June, 1893, the two Societies were amalgamated under the name of the London Ethical Society. The result of the experience gained during these eight months, however, seemed to show that the cause which all the members had at heart could best be served by the two Societies working independently. For although the identity of principles and aims remained, and still remains, unaffected, there was a divergence of opinion as to the best methods of working, which seemed to call for a return to the system of two distinct and independent administrations. Short though the union was, the younger Society learned much from the experience and knowledge of the older Society, for which it desires here to express its grateful acknowledgments."

The reader will find this incident in the history of the two Societies rather perplexing. That a body of persons should at one and the same meeting decide on forming itself into a Society and also on the desirability of amalgamating with another Society, has probably few precedents. The dissolution is even more difficult to comprehend, particularly in view of the largely personal reasons which led to the formation of the West London Ethical Society. According to the full Minutes quoted above, it was proposed by some that Dr. Coit be permanently

attached to the Princes' Hall branch (organised in the first instance by the West London Ethical Society) and that he be invited to assume the position of lecturer or organiser for that branch. Inasmuch as such a proposal had to be anticipated from the beginning and as the opposition only differed in desiring two lecturers-organisers, one of these to be Dr. Coit, at least for the first year, there appears to have been, on the surface, no adequate cause for dissolution. Nor do the Minutes suggest anything but the most cordial co-operation during the amalgamation period. Manifestly, the union was entered on under some misapprehension.

On 9th July 1893, at a Members' Meeting of the former West London Ethical Society, between 50 and 60 members being present, it was carried unanimously "that the West London Ethical Society be formally reconstituted by this Meeting". At this Meeting, too, it was moved and agreed *nem. con.* "that the Rules of the [amalgamated] London Ethical Society, with the necessary verbal alterations, be adopted by this Society", showing that the differences between the two amalgamated bodies were of a purely administrative order. It was, further, unanimously agreed "that this Society considers it desirable that Dr. Coit should be linked with the work of the Society by being appointed to some permanent office and remits it to the Committee to make the necessary arrangements".

This Annual Report also supplements the Minutes quoted relating to Dr. Coit's position in the Society. We read there:—

"Dr. Coit having accepted this invitation, the Committee, under powers entrusted to them for the purpose, have had the satisfaction of appointing him to a permanent post with a salary of £400 per annum. On his return from America in April, 1894, Dr. Coit will thus resume, in a new capacity, his active work in connection with the organisation of the Society, while he will identify himself with its practical work in all its directions, and will occupy the platform for several months each year."

Some insight into the aims and methods of the early British Ethical Movement may be obtained by the list of lectures delivered before the West London Ethical Society at Princes' Hall, Piccadilly, on Sunday mornings during the eventful first year and a half of its existence.

1892.

June 12.—Dr. Felix Adler, The Functions of an Ethical Society.
" 19.— " " " "
October 2.—Dr. Stanton Coit, The Three Principles of the West London Ethical Society.
" 9.— " " " " "
" 16.— " " " " "
" 23.— " The Historical Foreshadowings of an Ethical Movement.
" 30.— " Imagination and Morals.
November 6.— " The Social Education of Working Men and Women.
" 13.— " Is Conscience a Radical or a Conservative Force?

November 20.—Dr. Stanton Coit, Can the Church of England be Converted into an Ethical Society?
„ 27.— „ Renan the Sophist.
December 4.—Mr. Leslie Stephen, The Aims of Ethical Societies.
„ 11.—Mr. B. Bosanquet, Sentimentalism in Literature and Life.
„ 18.—Mr. Frederic Harrison, Economic Morality.

1893.

January 8.—Mr. J. H. Muirhead, What an Ethical Society can do.
„ 15.—Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, Our Lady's Tumbler: a Legend and a Problem.
„ 22.—Mr. Leslie Stephen, The Sphere of Political Economy.
„ 29.—Mr. Augustine Birrell, The Measure of Respect properly Due to Majorities.
February 5.—Dr. W. C. Coupland, Emerson's View of Future Religion.
„ 12.—Prof. W. Wallace, The Religious Sanctions of Morals.
„ 19.—Mr. Tom Mann, The Labour Problem.
„ 26.—Mr. A. W. Hutton, Richard Wagner and Ethics.
March 5.—Mr. W. J. Jupp, The Ethical Significance of Browning's Poems.
„ 12.—Mr. B. Bosanquet, Training in Enjoyment.
„ 19.—Mr. R. B. Haldane, Schopenhauer.
„ 26.—Mr. J. Murray Macdonald, The Problem of the Unemployed.
April 9.—Dr. Stanton Coit, Children and the Idea of God.
„ 16.— „ Children and the Ideals of Conduct.
„ 23.— „ Children and the Ideals of Character.
„ 30.— „ Whitman: The Poet of Democracy.
May 7.— „ Emotionalism in Morals.
„ 14.— „ Self-Realisation.
„ 21.— „ Social Lessons from the Anti-Slavery Movement.
„ 28.— „ Abraham Lincoln, I.
June 4.— „ Abraham Lincoln, II.
„ 11.— „ The Philosophy of Wagner's "Parsifal."
„ 18.— „ Ethics for the People.
„ 25.— „ The London Ethical Society.
October 15.—Mr. William S. Salter, The Deeper Meaning of Faith.
„ 22.— „ Permanent Elements in Christian Morality.
„ 29.— „ Socialism from an Ethical Standpoint.
November 5.— „ Ethics in the Light of Darwinism.
„ 12.— „ The Next Step in Christianity.
„ 19.— „ An Ethical View of Life.
„ 26.—Mr. A. E. Fletcher, The Principles of the Sermon on the Mount applied to Practical Politics.
December 3.—Prince P. Krapotkin, Justice and Morality.
„ 10.—Mr. W. J. Jupp, Poetry and Ethics.
„ 17.—Mr. Frederic Harrison, The Ethics of the Gospel and the Ethics of Science.

The Officers and the Executive Committee for 1894 are also given here for historical reasons: President—Mr. Leslie Stephen. Hon. Secretary—Mr. Findlay Muirhead. Hon. Treasurer—Mr. Russell Rea. Organising Lecturer—Dr. Stanton Coit. Executive Committee—Dr. Bass, Mr. W. F. Champion, Dr. Stanton Coit, Dr. W. C. Coupland, Mr. Corrie Grant, Mrs. Ruth Homan, Miss B. E. Lyon, Mrs. Morgan-

Browne, Miss F. Routledge, Mrs. Stanbury, Mr. F. Hbt. Trench, Miss E. J. Troup."

2. *The Distinctive Character of the Society.*

On rising from a perusal of the Annual Reports and other documents concerned with the West London Ethical Society, one is impressed with the Society's strong individuality. Most Ethical Societies just "carry on"—loyal to their traditions, enthusiastically doing their share of the world's daily task, and hoping and trusting that the day will soon be here when Ethical Societies will be planted and rooted in every parish of the land. Others, like the South Place Ethical Society, also, on the whole, just carry on; but they attempt this on a comparatively imposing scale that has a virtue of its own—think, for example, of the thousand and more excellent Sunday Public Concerts which stand to its credit. And again, there is the premier Ethical Society, at New York, which has developed almost to the *n*th degree its original programme. What was started on a modest scale—educational work, social work, vocational ethics work—is now conducted on a gigantic scale, which not only does honour to the Society but is recognised as of national importance.

In all the above instances the past is qualitatively almost identical with the present. Not so with the West London Ethical Society. The present is in this instance vastly unlike the distant past. Here the reverse holds: the past can only be read in the light of the present. Or we may explain this course of events by realising that Dr. Stanton Coit (born in 1857 in the United States) has been organically connected with the Society right from its beginning to the present moment and that, as he tells us,* when a mere youth he was already a disciple of Emerson and was most impressed by these words of his master: "Pure Ethics is not now formulated and concreted into a cultus, a fraternity with assemblings and holy days, with song and book, with brick and stone. Why have not those who believe in it and love it left all for this?" Hence the seeds of the present Ethical Church lay compact in him who has been its guiding spirit throughout its long history. But for this personal factor, patently operating without intermission, the chequered and arresting career of this Society cannot be understood. Its historic trend reflects, except for external circumstances, the trend of its leader's mind, the mind of an "uncrowned king," consecutively figuring in the list of officers as Organising Lecturer, Lecturer, Chairman and Organiser, President, Executive Officer, Chairman of Committee, but always giving a lead and leading.† To conceive the Society without him, would be even more confusing than to think of *Hamlet* with the Prince of Denmark left out—we should be almost entirely without a clue to the Society's

* *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Ethical Movement (1876-1926).* D. Appleton and Company, New York and London. p. 193.

† Mr. Leslie Stephen was President of the Society 1894-1895 and 1899-1903 and Dr. Stanton Coit from 1913 onwards. The Hon. Secretaries have been: 1892-1894, Mr. Findlay Muirhead; 1895-1897, Mr. J. Calvert Spenseley; 1898-1899, Mr. Hugh H. Quilter; 1900, Miss Zona Vallance and Mr. F. J. Williams; 1901-1906, Mr. W. Sanders; 1907-1911, Mr. G. E. O'Dell; 1913-1915, Mr. Alfred Cloake: 1916-1918, Mrs. Lyle; 1918-1925, Miss Beatrice Mann: 1926-1930, Mr. G. Spiller; 1930- Mr. John Murphy.

development. This notwithstanding the fact that the leader always acted through his Committee or, at least, not in opposition to it.

3. *The Meaning of the Two Statistical Tables.*

The following Table tolerably sums up the general history of the Society so far as figures can achieve this. However, for a few years the amounts are seriously misleading, as, *e.g.*, donations intended for the Building and Organ Fund are at first accounted for separately or certain payments are made privately and therefore do not appear in the Society's balance sheet. Taking the totals column as a guide, we see the amounts rising from £626 in 1892 to £811 in 1895; then, four years at a steady but slightly reduced figure; then, an alarming drop to £293 in 1900, maintained about this level to 1906; then, a sudden and almost miraculous rise in 1907 to £800, fluctuating around this sum to 1914; then, during the War, a comparatively moderate fall to around £600; and then, a partly fictitious rise due to special donations being now included in the General Account. The other columns explain themselves.

TABLE I.

Year	Receipts. £ s. d.	Balance. £ s. d.	Disbursements. £ s. d.	Balance. £ s. d.	Total. £ s. d.
1892	626 8 7	—	386 2 4	240 6 3	627 8 7
1893	375 13 2	240 6 3	565 18 2	50 1 3	615 19 5
1894	637 6 0	50 1 3	642 4 2	45 3 1	687 7 3
1895	766 14 1	45 3 1	801 11 11	10 5 3	811 17 2
1896	720 17 11	10 5 3	671 19 7	59 3 7	731 3 2
1897	646 0 7	59 3 7	731 10 0	—26 5 10	731 10 0
1898	562 12 5	—170 8 8	706 15 3	—26 5 10	733 1 1
1899	632 1 6	—	632 1 6	—	632 1 6
1900	293 12 6	—	282 10 6	11 2 0	293 12 6
1901	251 5 5	11 2 0	258 18 3	3 8 9	262 7 5
1902	246 18 8	3 8 9	241 7 6	8 19 11	250 7 5
1903	344 16 7	8 19 11	294 16 2	59 0 4	353 16 6
1904	238 6 3	59 0 4	291 2 9	6 3 10	297 6 7
1905	242 16 6	6 3 10	247 6 7	1 13 9	249 0 4
1906	257 4 4	1 13 9	282 5 1	—23 7 0	282 5 1
1907	800 7 10	—	792 1 0½	8 6 9½	800 7 10
1908	788 17 4	8 6 9½	733 14 3½	63 9 10	797 4 1½
1909	852 1 10	63 9 10	916 11 8	—	716 11 8
1910	887 1 0	—	830 17 11½	56 3 0½	887 1 0
1911	734 3 10	—56 3 0½	798 13 3½	2 4 11	800 10 2½
1912	562 4 4½	—10 3 4	531 5 7½	30 18 9	562 4 4½
1913	799 10 6	30 18 9	796 3 6	34 5 9	830 9 3
1914/15	1,108 4 11	19 17 3	1,128 2 2	—	1,128 2 2
1916 July	451 17 4	—65 8 2	517 5 6	—	517 5 6
1917 „	520 16 5	—	381 3 10	139 12 7	520 16 5
1918 Aug.	555 10 11	29 18 2	533 17 4	31 11 9	585 9 1
1919 „	578 8 6½	31 11 9	597 18 9¾	9 1 5¾	607 0 3½
1920 „	692 0 7	9 1 5¾	634 12 6¾	26 9 6	661 2 0¾
1921 „	759 6 6	26 9 6	731 7 1	54 8 11	785 16 0
1922 „	610 10 10	54 8 11	589 8 6½	75 11 2½	664 19 9
1923 „	827 8 11	75 11 2½	836 6 0½	66 14 1	903 0 1½

TABLE I. (*continued*).

Year	Receipts.			Balance.			Disbursements.			Balance.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1924 „	704	2	3	66	14	1	733	2	5½	37	13	10½	770	16	4
1925 „	546	0	10	37	13	10½	574	11	6½	9	3	2	583	14	8½
1926 „	628	6	8	9	3	2	614	10	2¼	24	0	7¾	638	10	10
1927 „	600	17	9	24	0	7¾	605	16	10¾	19	1	6	624	18	4¾
1928 Dec.	960	11	2½	19	1	6	809	18	5	169	14	3½	979	12	8½
1929	1,016	14	2½	169	14	3½	1,022	4	2	164	4	4	1,186	8	6

In studying the figures in this Table and the next, allowance should be made for the fact that the purchasing value of the £ has considerably depreciated since about the outbreak of the War and also that, generally speaking, " real " incomes have probably somewhat fallen. From this point of view the latest figures suggest that the Church, with a reduced membership, is about as prosperous at present as when the War broke out.

Table II. will repay study for those who are not repelled by statistics. Column 1, lecturers' fees, scarcely tells its own tale. Presumably the first two years include some salary or honorarium for Dr. Stanton Coit. For 1894, £300 is salary; for 1895 to 1898, £400; and for 1899, £106 9s. 1d. From 1st October 1917 to 1923 the items represent portions and arrears of payments towards a stipend of £200. After that date, outside lecturers' fees were not paid from the Society's treasury.

Column 2 tells an absorbing story. We see here that music entered into consideration from the very first. " During this first session," we read, " the lectures at Princes' Hall were preceded each Sunday by music, consisting usually of some of the slow movements from works written by the chief composers for a quartette of strings. During the session beginning in 1893, the music was discontinued, chiefly on account of the considerable expense." (First Annual Report.) (Congregational singing was introduced in 1896. In 1901 a small organ was purchased.) Fluctuations in income almost entirely account for the notable fluctuations in the expenditure on this item in the course of the years; but the forward tendency is unmistakable, showing at the beginning a disbursement on music of some £40 and, in 1929, of nearly £400, a large organ (first used on 11th May 1924) of the value of over £2,000 being understood. What a difference between the original string quartette introducing the speaker, to to-day when an organist, a quartette of singers, and a cantor participate! Thus, on the musical side of the Service to-day, comes first an organ voluntary and an introit, later a canticle, then the intoned Statement of Belief, and, in their due places, an anthem, a hymn, an organ voluntary, another anthem and hymn, and the Amen. Emerson would see his hopes fulfilled at the Ethical Church in Bayswater. He would probably admire, as virtually every visitor does, both the quality of the music and the ability of the performers.

The Secretarial column is only encouraging if we assume that the mass of clerical work required was undertaken by efficient volunteers.

The variations in payment of rent explain themselves and are of no

special interest. After 1909, the Society acquired a building of its own and therefore paid no longer any rent.

The column stating the number of subscribers is certainly of interest. From this we learn that from 1892 to 1906 the numbers oscillated between 150 and 250. Then the subscribing members suddenly more than double and soon very nearly treble. Unfortunately no subscribers' lists were published after 1913, with the exception of 1927 when 215 subscribers are registered. ("During the year ending July 31st, the number of members on the Church Roll was 377, of whom 58 were non-active and 21 honorary members." Committee Minutes, 29th September 1919.) At first subscription was voluntary. Thus we find in 1893 150 subscribers and 334 members—a great disparity. But from 1899 to 1914 a subscription was compulsory; in 1915, this was fixed at 5s.; and in 1922 the minimum for new members was raised to one guinea, allowing for exceptions. (The actual membership might be said to be at any time roughly 10 per cent. higher than the list of subscribers indicates.)

The Collections column is important as showing that an appreciable proportion of a Society's income may be derived from collections. Naturally the collections are likely to be heavier when there are two Services and heavier still when there are three or even four Services, as was the case for a time at least. Also, the "silver" collection taken since 1917, tends to raise this source of income, especially since the three-penny piece has largely passed out of circulation.

TABLE II.

Lecturers' Fees.				Music			Secretarial.			Rent.			Subscribers.		Collections.		
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
147	0	0	1892	39	18	0	14	5	8	46	19	6	1892	188		?	
325	10	0	1893	66	3	0		—		96	11	1	1893	150		?	
78	15	7	1894	21	0	0		—		93	8	6	1894	200	77	12	0
300	0	0	1895	77	14	0		—		124	2	6	1895	229	140	6	1
410	10	0	1896	76	15	0		—		85	11	6	1896	192	127	4	11
436	15	0	1897	91	4	0		—		95	6	0	1897	226	135	11	5
431	10	0	1898	60	15	0		—		98	1	3	1898	248	111	4	8
106	9	1															
28	7	0	1899	54	1	6	150	0	0	133	8	6	1899	236	100	13	2
47	5	0	1900	39	18	6		—		133	18	6	1900	184	61	18	7
70	18	0	1901	64	14	6		—		60	17	2	1901	199	71	18	5
52	1	0	1902	42	1	3		—		70	17	6	1902	204	66	2	8
53	6	0	1903	106	1	3		—		53	11	0	1903	187	64	6	5
46	4	0	1904	104	18	9		—		56	14	0	1904	180	63	13	3
44	2	0	1905	88	4	6		—		56	14	0	1905	178	85	3	0
40	19	0	1906	96	6	4		—		56	14	0	1906	163	102	4	1
11	11	0	1907	146	2	0	150	0	0	119	14	0	1907	399	285	14	5
53	11	0	1908	135	6	6	150	0	0	81	18	0	1908	470	241	1	2
53	11	0	1909	38	11	9	175	0	0	126	0	0	1909	436	217	19	8½
55	8	0	1910	56	8	9	175	0	0		—		1910	438	197	2	2½
47	4	0	1911	19	11	3	183	6	8		—		1911	441	239	1	11
37	1	0	1912	18	4	0	116	13	4		—		1912	417	224	5	6
74	3	9	1913	102	11	0		—			—		1913	452	280	17	7
236	5	0	1915	213	10	4	22	3	6		—		1915	?	406	11	6

TABLE II. (*continued*).

Lecturers' Fees.				Music.			Secretarial.			Rent.			Subscribers.		Collections.		
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
68	7	4	1916	148	14	10	2	0	0	—			1916	?	158	11	10
5	5	0	1917	88	10	2	2	6	11	—			1917	?	137	0	8
10 months' Stipend—																	
„ 166	13	4	1918	123	6	0	—			—			1918	?	150	12	11
„ 96	19	8	1919	94	0	4	—			—			1919	?	175	1	3½
„ 125	0	0	1920	162	2	10	—			—			1920	?	149	15	7
„ 200	0	0	1921	162	0	0	—			—			1921	?	183	19	10
Arrears—																	
„ 20	0	0															
„ 93	5	4	1922	207	9	3	—			—			1922	?	200	9	4
„ 64	15	0	1923	237	10		—			—			1923	?	201	1	2
„				17	17	6											
—			1924	248	5	2	—			—			1924	?	185	13	8
				15	19	2											
—			1925	251	1	0	—			—			1925	?	174	17	8
				12	5	6											
—			1926	250	0	0	—			—			1926	?	182	8	9
				13	10	2											
—			1927	247	6		—			—			1927	215	176	6	4
				18	1	10											
—			1928	314	19	0	—			—			1928	?	217	5	3
				17	16	0											
—			1929	327	6	0	—			—			1929	?	165	17	11
				40	0	0											
				11	15	3											

4. *The Tenets of the Society.*

We have seen how determined the London Ethical Society was to make its standpoint clear to itself and to the public. Now the West London Ethical Society started precisely where the London Ethical Society had stabilised its expressed views. At the commencement, the West London Ethical Society's Principles, Aims, and Means (already quoted above), were textually those it had adopted in 1892 when the two Societies amalgamated. Till the close of 1897, they remained unaltered. In 1898 there is a slight change in the Means proposed, part of it consequential on the formation of the Union of Ethical Societies. And until 1901 there is no further change. That is, from 1892 to 1901, for ten years, the Principles and Aims of the West London Ethical Society underwent no kind of transformation. But in 1901 principle 1. and 2. are fused; principle 3. is altered and becomes 2.; and there is an entirely new 3. which is distinctive in character. The Aims, again, are now altogether different as to points emphasised, from those found in the earlier Annual Reports. The Means are dropped. The Object remains. Here is the new statement of Principles and Aims:—

"STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND AIMS.

Our Principles are:—

1.—The good life has supreme claim upon us, and this claim rests on no

external authority, and on no system of supernatural rewards or punishments, but has its origin in the nature of man as a social and rational being.

2.—In practice the good life is to be realised by performing such duties as are commonly recognised and are morally acceptable, and, further, by fulfilling obligations not yet enjoined by the general social conscience.

3.—Since the claim of the good life upon us is supreme, the moral ideal must be set up as the object of religious devotion—religion being allegiance to an object to which supreme devotion is regarded as due.

Our Aims are:—

1.—To assist in developing the Science of Ethics.

2.—Without denying or affirming a life after death, or a reality beyond experience, to teach that we ought to make our moral ideas and our moral life independent of these beliefs.

3.—To emphasise the moral factor in all personal, social, political, national and international relations.

4.—By purely natural and human means to help men to love, know, and do the right.

5.—By membership in our Society to gain the strength and inspiration that come from moral fellowship."

In 1903, the second Aim is slightly altered and in 1904 again, when it read:—

"2.—While leaving every member free as to the belief in the existence of a life after death, and of a reality beyond experience, to teach that we ought to make our moral ideas and our moral life independent of these beliefs."

The same year the Object is dropped.

Until the autumn of 1914, the Principles and Aims remain as above quoted. Then, on 16th October 1914, after a series of eleven meetings, a new set of Principles and Methods was adopted. The three Principles remained unchanged and headed the others, and these three alone were to be binding on the old members. New members, too, were only expected to affirm general sympathy with the new Principles, not literal or detailed assent.

The final meeting concluded with carrying by 26 votes against 1, the following consequential motion: "That in Rule 1 of the Society the words the West London Ethical Society be replaced by Ethical Church." Thus the West London Ethical Society became the Ethical Church, the original proposal having been that it should be called The Church of the Empire.

Here is the new Statement in full:—

"PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

Basis of Membership.

The Ethical Church invites to its membership all persons who believe that the historic religious organisations, if they are to succeed in their great mission of developing the spiritual life of mankind, must bring religious teaching and practice into accord with the following

PRINCIPLES:—

1.—The good life has supreme claim upon us; and this claim rests on no external authority, and on no system of supernatural rewards or punishments, but has its origin in the nature of man as a social and rational being.

2.—In practice the good life is to be realised by performing such duties

as are commonly recognised and are morally acceptable, and, further, by fulfilling obligations not yet enjoined by the general social conscience.

3.—Since the claim of the good life upon us is supreme, the moral ideal must be set up as the object of religious devotion—religion being allegiance to an object to which supreme devotion is regarded as due.

I. *Personal Salvation.*—Personal devotion to the Cause of the Good in the World is the way of salvation from suffering and sin. It possesses expulsive power, driving out inordinate egoism, morbid anticipation of pain, and fear of death. It consoles the spirit in the hour of bereavement. It gives us motives to right conduct, beyond fear of punishment or desire for reward, by filling us with enthusiasm in the doing of our daily task.

II. *Religion in General.*—The distinguishing mark of all religions, whether in their personal and inward or in their social and external aspects, is the fixing of the attention, steadfastly and reverently, upon whatever is believed to be the source of the supreme blessings of life, in order to secure them.

III. *True Religion.*—True religion is the fixing of the attention, steadfastly and reverently, upon the Moral Ideal, and upon all the powers and conditions in the universe of experience that favour its actualisation, in order to secure the reign of righteousness on earth.

IV. *The Word "God."*—Any power which men have believed to be the source of their highest blessings, they have felt to be the all-holy and supreme reality of life; and, on that account, they have called it God.

V. *God the Reality.*—By experience we discover that the supreme blessings of life come to us in their fulness, only when we keep equally near in spirit to the Ideal of truth, beauty and goodness in our souls, to Individual Human Beings in so far as their life and thought embody the ideal, and to the Group-Spirit of some company of persons who are trying to make the world more nearly perfect. These three ultimate sources of spiritual insight and strength, together with all the Tendencies in the universe that favour the actualization of the ideal, embrace every manifestation and power of goodness, and are therefore the true and living God.

VI. *The Test for Revision of Creeds and Ceremonies.*—All religious rites and creeds, and all ecclesiastical policies and forms of government, must be judged by their efficacy in enlightening the moral insight of citizens, and in deepening devotion to the ideal ends of nations and of humanity, and must accordingly be so revised as most effectively to accomplish this object.

VII. *Every Nation the Church of its Citizens.*—Each one of the nations of the earth is the spiritual environment that is continuously moulding and being moulded by the character of all its citizens, for moral good or evil, and is therefore the actual living Church—however imperfect—of which every citizen is an active member.

VIII. *The Empire the Church of all British Subjects.*—The ideal interests which bind together the different countries of the Empire, constitute the Church to which all British subjects inevitably belong, and to which each country should contribute the insight gained by its own particular history and character, while the various religious denominations should become so many auxiliary bands of thinkers and workers.

IX. *Each Nation to be True to its own Inner Light.*—Religion has proved to be a blessing to human society, only when, on the one hand, its aim has been to embody the Universal Ideal in the lives of nations, and when, on the other, it has taught each people to revere and obey as their God the indwelling Power of Righteousness revealing itself in their own history and opportunities.

X. *God Indwelling in the British People.*—The Power of Righteousness, expressing itself in the moral evolution of the British people and now moving with greater momentum than ever before towards a democracy of Social Justice as the goal of the Empire's destiny, is God immanent, whom all British subjects should unite in revering and obeying.

XI. *Religion and the Future of Nations.*—Religion has proved to be a blessing to mankind only when (as in the life-work, for example, of Isaiah and of Jesus Christ) the Future to which it has turned men's hearts has been that of cities and States, rather than of individual souls after death.

XII. *Co-Workers with Jesus Christ.*—As the establishment of a democracy of Social Righteousness in every nation would be the fulfilment of Christ's Kingdom of God on earth, all persons who dedicate themselves to that end are co-workers with Jesus Christ; they are one with him, even though they may not look to him as the source of their inspiration.

XIII. *The Inviolability of Nations.*—For one nation to intervene in the ideal interests of another against its will, or to take its material possessions without its consent or without the sanction of an established international tribunal, is a violation of an ethical law of social life, which all the other nations should oppose to the uttermost.

XIV. *The Spiritual Interdependence of Nations.*—The actual—or ideal—contact of contrasting civilizations has been one of the chief causes of national awakening and of human advancement. From this fact among many others it is evident that the fullest development of mankind can be attained only through a federation of all the nations of the earth, both as churches and States.

XV. *Nations the Citizens of Humanity.*—The co-operation of Peoples and the permanent peace of mankind can be secured not by obliterating but by sanctifying nations; and this sanctification can be brought about only by inspiring the citizens of each nation with a sense of its responsibility for the welfare both of its own citizens and of the other peoples of the world.

XVI. *Human Inventiveness and Responsibility.*—Religion has been beneficent and creative only in proportion as it has trusted (even when interpreting itself otherwise) to purely human and natural means of redemption from suffering and sin, and has thus aroused man's Inventiveness and sense of Responsibility. Religion throughout the Empire should now become a scheme for the social and moral salvation of all nations—the salvation not only *of* entire peoples, but *for* and *by* entire peoples.

XVII. *The Co-operative Commonwealth.*—Every political, economic, domestic and educational system must be so reconstructed that its tendency shall be to draw all men and women into Co-operation on a basis of individual Liberty and Equality.

XVIII. *The Essential Blessings of Life.*—The Moral Ideal requires that society shall offer to every man and woman not only the consolations of religion and of a good conscience, but also the greatest possible opportunities for health, friendship, work that one loves, and security from want; for leisure, rest, play, knowledge and reflection; and for the satisfaction—so far as this does not impair one's own social efficiency or that of others—of the fundamental instincts of human nature.

THE METHODS OF THE CHURCH ARE:—

I. *Permeating the Historic Denominations.*—By direct propaganda, and by providing object-lessons in public worship adapted to modern needs, to permeate all religious denominations with the foregoing Principles, and to influence them to revise their forms and teachings accordingly.

II. *Religious Services*.—To establish, first in Great Britain and afterwards in other countries of the Empire, centres of public worship which shall express the sentiments underlying the Principles given above; but, in order not to compete with existing congregations, to establish only so many centres as shall be required to illustrate the new forms and ideas.

III. *Imperial Federation*.—To organise the local members of the Church in each country of the Empire into a Union, to be self-directing within its own territory, and to organise the Unions into a Federation, under a constitution to be drafted in due course.

IV. *Fund for Preachers*.—To raise and administer a fund for the payment of preachers, who shall act as missionaries throughout the world for the spreading of the Principles of the Ethical Church, adapted to the spiritual exigencies of each nation.

V. *Publications*.—To issue books and periodical journals promulgating these ideas, and thus assist in promoting the spiritual unification of the Empire."

In 1921 a Trust Deed was drawn up for the Church. In this connection the new Principles and Methods were somewhat modified and the Principles noticeably reduced in number. Here is the text as it appears in the Trust Deed, dated 26th April 1922:—

"PRINCIPLES:

The good life has supreme claim upon us; and this claim rests on no external authority, and on no system of supernatural rewards or punishments, but has its origin in the nature of man as a social and rational being.

In practice the good life is to be realised by performing such duties as are commonly recognised and are morally acceptable, and, further, by fulfilling obligations not yet enjoined by the general social conscience.

Since the claim of the good life upon us is supreme, the moral ideal must be set up as the object of religious devotion—religion being allegiance to an object to which supreme devotion is regarded as due.

True Religion.—True religion is the fixing of the attention, steadfastly and reverently, upon the Moral Ideal, and upon all the powers and conditions in the universe that favour its actualisation, in order to secure the reign of righteousness on earth.

The Word God.—Any power which men have believed to be the source of their highest blessings, they have felt to be the all-holy and supreme reality of life; and, on that account, they have called it God.

God the Reality.—By experience we discover that the supreme blessings of life come to us in their fulness, only when we keep equally near in spirit to the Ideal of truth, beauty and goodness in our souls, to Individual Human Beings in so far as their life and thought embody the ideal, and to the Group-Spirit of some company of persons who are trying to make the world more nearly perfect. These three ultimate sources of spiritual insight and strength, together with all the tendencies in the Universe that favour the actualisation of the ideal, embrace every manifestation and power of goodness, and are therefore the true and living God.

The Test for the Revision of Creeds and Ceremonies.—All religious rites and creeds, and all ecclesiastical policies and forms of government, must be judged by their efficacy in enlightening the moral insight of citizens, and in deepening devotion to the ideal ends of nations and of humanity, and must accordingly be so revised as most effectively to accomplish this object.

God Indwelling in the British People.—The Power of Righteousness, ex-

pressing itself in the moral evolution of the British people and now moving towards a Democracy of Social Justice, is God immanent in the British Nation, and all British Subjects should unite in revering and obeying it.

Religion and the Future of Nations.—Religion has proved to be a blessing to mankind only when (as in the life-work, for example, of Isaiah and of Jesus Christ) the Future to which it has turned men's hearts has been that of communities and of mankind, rather than that of individual souls after death.

Co-Workers with Jesus Christ.—As the establishment of a democracy of Social Righteousness in every nation would be the fulfilment of Christ's Kingdom of God on earth, all persons who dedicate themselves to that end are co-workers with Jesus Christ; they are one with him, even though they may not look to him as the source of their inspiration.

The Inviolability of Nations.—For one nation to intervene in the ideal interests of another against its will, or to take its material possessions without its consent or without the sanction of an established international tribunal, is a violation of an ethical law of social life, which all the other nations should oppose to the uttermost.

The Spiritual Interdependence of Nations.—The actual—or ideal—contact of contrasting civilisations has been one of the chief causes of national awakening and of human advancement. From this fact among many others it is evident that the fullest development of mankind can be attained only through a federation of all the nations of the earth, both as Churches and States.

The Essential Blessings of Life.—The Moral Ideal requires that society shall offer to every man and woman not only the consolations of religion and of a good conscience, but also the greatest possible opportunities for health, friendship, work that one loves, and security from want; for leisure, rest, play, knowledge and reflection; and for the satisfaction—so far as this does not impair one's own social efficiency or that of others—of the fundamental instincts of human nature.

METHODS:

Permeating the Historic Denominations.—By direct propaganda, and by providing object-lessons in public worship adapted to modern needs, to permeate all religious denominations with the foregoing Principles, and to influence them to revise their forms and teachings accordingly.

Religious Services.—To establish in Great Britain centres of public worship which shall express the sentiments underlying the Principles as given above.

Fund for Preachers.—To raise and administer a fund for the payment of Preachers who shall act as Missionaries for the spreading of the Principles of the Ethical Church.

Publications.—To issue books and periodical journals promulgating these ideas."

The above Principles and Methods are followed in the Trust Deed by the matter subjoined:—

"SUNDAY SERVICES.

"(1) The two Sunday Services shall remain in form practically the same as they are at present, and in contents shall practically remain the same as embodied in the book of 'Social Worship', Volumes 1 and 2, now in use at the Ethical Church.

"(2) Inasmuch as the Universal Litany (being no. 194 on page 163) and The Ten Words of the Moral Life (no. 195 on page 159) of the said book of 'Social Worship', Volume 2, embody the permanent Ethical sentiments of the Church, the same shall in each Church year be said or sung once in each

month; but if in any one month The Litany or The Ten Words has been said or sung at the morning service, it shall in the following month be said or sung at the Evening Service."

It should be added that the Trust Deed speaks of the Church as "professing adherence to the spirit, thought and ideals, but not adherence to the letter of the Statements set forth in the schedule hereto or of these Statements as they shall from time to time, without changing their essential spirit and meaning, be amended, modified, or extended in accordance with the rules and regulations of the said Society for the time being in force."

Since the Trust Deed was drawn up, the Order of Service has been enriched by at least one item. At present the following Statement of Belief is intoned by the congregation, the choir, and the cantor, the cantor alone saying "We believe" and the choir singing the three Holies. The following is the Statement of Belief alluded to:—

"We believe—
In the Ideal of Truth, Beauty and Righteousness:
It is the Principle of life,
The benign and mighty Father of man's spirit,
The God of reason, joy and love.
Its Service is perfect freedom,
With promise of the lordship of man
Over the forces of Nature,
And over the wayward impulses
Of his own heart.

"We believe—
In those who have sacrificed
For Truth, Beauty and Righteousness,
And we look to them
As saviours of the world
From error, ugliness and sin.

"We believe—
In Man's Effort
To establish the Ideal on earth;
It will draw all nations
Into everlasting brotherhood
Of creative work.
The Ideal is Holy;
Its Servants are Holy;
Its Communion is Holy."

5. *The Society's Places of Meeting.*

We may now turn to another aspect of the history of the West London Ethical Society. First, in this connection, is the question of a suitable hall and the importance of not being compelled to leave it. As we shall see in the next Chapter, the South London Ethical Society suffered in this way severely when it had to leave a large, centrally placed hall and to retire to small and obscure quarters. The West London Ethical Society found itself initially in a similar predicament. It was thriving at the Princes' Hall, Piccadilly, where it had attracted a con-

siderable local public, when it had to remove because the Hall was about to be converted into a restaurant. In November 1895 it resumed its meetings at the Westminster Town Hall, but the Princes' Hall audiences largely refused to follow it there. By October 1896 it had transferred itself to the Kensington Town Hall where it remained until 1899. From October of that year to the end of June 1900, the Society met at the Empress Rooms, Royal Palace Hotel, Kensington. Then it returned to the smaller Hall of the Kensington Town Hall, where it continued until 1909, after which it took up its permanent abode at what is now the Ethical Church, 45, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.2. Even here it was at first a question of a lease and only as late as 1921, when the Church was acquired, partly with the aid of a member's timely legacy, could one speak truly of permanent headquarters. (Significantly enough we read in the 1903 Report already: "The Committee has not been able to secure a suitable building, or site on which to erect a building, for the sole use of the Society.")

It will be manifest that this perpetual uncertainty and the several changes involved therein were a serious handicap and account for some of the disappointments the Society experienced in the course of its earlier history.

6. *Lecture Season and Number of Services.*

Following the general custom ruling in Ethical Societies, the Society's lecture season at first usually lasted from about the beginning of October to approximately the end of June, with the exception of Easter, Whitsun, and Christmas Sundays. The actual number of addresses delivered was: 1892, 14; 1893, 34; 1894, 30; 1895, 37; 1896, 37; 1897, 35; 1898, 35; 1899, 33; 1900, 28; 1901, 39; 1902, 40; 1903, 34; 1904, 36; 1905, 36; 1906, no list; 1907, 68; 1908, 126; 1909, 123; 1910, 130; 1911, 140; 1912, 152. After 1912, no lists appear. Until 1906 there was an average of about 35 addresses annually. After 1906, morning and evening meetings were held at 11 a.m. and 6 p.m. mostly, to which were added for some time Wednesday and Friday Services. Dr. Stanton Coit, we find, spoke at least 68 times in 1907 and the number of addresses delivered in 1912 amounted to as many as 152, Mr. (later, Dr.) H. J. Bridges, Mr. G. E. O'Dell, and Mr. (later, Dr.) C. Delisle Burns being among the more frequent speakers. For some years now two Sunday Services have been held regularly at the Church, including all the Sundays in the year with the exception of those in August and September.

7. *Order of Services.*

We have seen how the musical portion of the Services developed in the course of the years. It has been the general custom in Ethical Societies to start and close with a hymn, to have a reading and announcements, perhaps some instrumental music or solo, the address, and the inevitable collection. To this, following the precedent of the West London Ethical Society, opening and closing words have been generally added.

With the possibilities given in a building owned by the Ethical Church, and a good choir and fine organ, the Service has now assumed

the following form. Some minutes before the Service begins, the organist plays a voluntary. On the speaker, the conductor, and the cantor (dressed in long black or red robes) entering, the congregation rises, the choir sings an introit, and the conductor then reads the Introductory Words. Then a canticle is chanted, the congregation participating. Then, the congregation resuming their seats, the conductor reads a Meditation, lasting some three minutes. This is followed by a two minutes' period of silence. Then, the congregation rising, the pithy Statement of Belief, already quoted, is intoned. This is followed by an anthem, that by a lesson usually chosen and read by the speaker, that by a hymn (standing) and announcements, and that by an address of about 40 minutes' duration. After this the collection is taken whilst the organist plays; an anthem follows; then an invitation is extended to visitors to join the Church fellowship; and, the congregation rising, a hymn is sung, Dismissory Words are said, the choir sings an Amen or Blessing, and the congregation disperses or individuals come forward to converse with the speaker or for general conversation.* The Service occupies altogether about an hour and a half. All but the readings for the lessons are generally taken from *Social Worship,* which allows very considerable choice to the conductor and permits him to select appropriate passages in harmony with the discourse. But the conductor may also have recourse to other sources for his readings.

8. *The Basis for the Services.*

The hymns, canticles, responses, and the words of the anthems, are to be found in volume 2 of *Social Worship,* the readings being in volume 1, where they are arranged approximately in the order of the Service itself so far as this involves readings. It may be added that volume 1 of *Social Worship* is an ethical anthology, drawing and adapting freely from the works of many distinguished writers. This volume is one of the monuments the Society's leader, Dr. Stanton Coit, has erected to himself, a volume which is highly appreciated by not a few ministers and laymen the world over. Volume 2, which is noteworthy as containing original forms of Canticles and Responses, was edited by Mr. Charles Kennedy Scott, the Church's enthusiastic organist and musical director (since 1911), a well-known composer and conductor.

But this basis of the Services at the Ethical Church has in turn a basis. In 1907 and 1908 respectively, Dr. Stanton Coit published *National Idealism and a State Church* and *National Idealism and the Book of Common Prayer,* two portly volumes. Here he incisively, cogently, and brilliantly argues both in favour of an ethical ritual and of ethical churches and of the reinterpretation of the ritual of the orthodox churches on humanistic and non-supernaturalistic lines. Only a lengthy summary could even faintly do justice to these closely reasoned volumes. Accordingly, the reader is referred to the two works the aim of which may be

* For a number of years, beginning in 1911, first some, then all, the Services closed with a twenty minutes' discussion. After varied experiences the experiment was abandoned in 1928.

to some extent gathered from the Tables of Contents which are here reproduced:—

Preface.—1.—Church Discipline and Personal Religion. 2.—National Religion and a State Church. 3.—A Revised Prayer Book as an Instrument of National Unity. 4.—Some Prejudices against Religious Forms. 5.—Effort and Adaptation in the Growth of Liturgies. 6.—Anglicanism plus Idealistic Humanism. 7.—Anglicanism plus Social Democracy. 8.—Christianity plus Science. 9.—Prayer in Humanistic Religion. 10.—Theological Terms in a Humanistic Sense. 11.—The Psychology of Ritual. (*National Idealism and a State Church.*)

Foreword.—1.—The Ten Commandments: "The Lord Thy God." 2.—The Ten Commandments: "Thy Neighbour as Thyself." 3.—The Lord's Prayer: To Whom Addressed. 4.—The Lord's Prayer: The Petitions and the Petitioners. 5.—The Creeds and Articles. 6.—Confessions of Hope and Duty. 7.—Opening Sentences and Benediction. 8.—The Litany, Prayers and Collects. 9.—English Poetry and the Psalter. 10.—English Literature and the Lectionary. 11.—Baptism: Sign of Initiation; Recognition of Children. 12.—Baptism: the Catechism; the Admission of Members. 13.—The Communion Service. 14.—The Marriage Ceremony. 15.—The Burial Service. (*National Idealism and the Book of Common Prayer.*)

It should be mentioned that there are several Special Services—a Woman's Sunday on the first Sunday in February; a Remembrance and Watch Night Service on New Year's Eve; and an All-Nations' Service on Armistice Sunday. The following description of an All-Nations' Service at the Ethical Church appeared in the weekly paper *Reynolds's* (November 1929):—

"Last Sunday I attended a church service which was remarkable for its beauty and moral significance. It was a celebration of the Armistice of 1911, but it was unlike the ceremony in other churches. Yet it was a ritual which churches of every denomination might be glad to adopt; and it is quite possible that they will adopt it when once they begin in earnest to revise their forms of public worship, so as to bring them into harmony with the spiritual needs and demands of our democratic age. Indeed, the nation itself might do well to adapt this new way of celebrating the Armistice to civic use on each future anniversary.

"It was a ceremony such as would appeal to every lover of world peace and world co-operation. It was animated by the idea which has given birth to the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact. It symbolised that international brotherhood which, like a disembodied spirit seeking to be born, haunts the conscience of all men to-day. . . .

"In the churches of Germany one has often seen the German flag; in those of America, the Stars and Stripes; in England, the Union Jack. But in what church, except in the one I attended, have ever been seen flags of various nations—of Germany, England, the United States, Belgium, France and Italy, as I saw them last Sunday? These, I was told, were only a beginning, as the intention is to bring together the flags of all the nations of the world, in recognition of that spiritual unity—one in many and many in one—which, instead of suppressing, encourages the individuality of each national group.

"Let me describe the ritual which I witnessed. While the organ was playing Mr. Martin Shaw's magnificent setting to Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn" and the choir and the congregation were singing the first four stanzas,

the flags of seven nations were brought in and held upright before the altar. Then was sung as a soprano solo the fifth stanza, which begins,

In the beauty of the lilies was Christ born across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom which transfigures you and me.

"During the singing of the next words,

As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,

the flags were slowly lowered on to the altar. This lowering of the flags to the Eternal Values—Truth, Beauty and Righteousness—the so-called 'attributes of God', it was the very opposite of 'flag-waving', and the congregation felt it as such. It was an act symbolising the new conviction of enlightened man: that devotion to ideal ends is the only bond which will ever draw all nations into everlasting brotherhood of creative work. In this act the celebration reached its climax. In future years, when the flags of the fifty-four nations which are already in the League are included, its impressiveness will be overwhelming."

There are also Special Services for the reception of new members, for the dedication of children to the good life, for the Society's anniversary, and for marriages.

9. *The Setting to the Services.*

However, so long as the Society met in hired halls utilised for diverse purposes on week-days, the Society's leader lacked an opportunity to provide an appropriate visual setting for the Services. Indeed, the actual setting had been invariably such as more or less conflicted with the spirit of the meetings. But so soon as the Society began to hold its Services in a church which it could furnish and adorn to its own taste, his eager spirit found full scope and he has gradually evolved a scheme of decoration which visitors greatly admire. Nevertheless the problem of further improvements is never for long out of Dr. Coit's mind. Here we can only offer a rough, impressionist picture, but the Ethical Church published in 1917 *A Souvenir of the Ethical Church, with Thirty-Six Illustrations,* which those who are interested are recommended to procure. A number of important changes have, however, been introduced since.

The exterior of the Church, in Gothic style, is not without architectural merit. On the short stair-way and in the vestibule are hung the portraits of a number of famous humanists—Sir Thomas More, John Milton, George Frederick Watts, Matthew Arnold, Lord Tennyson, Joseph Mazzini, Robert Browning, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, John Ruskin, Professor Felix Adler, William M. Salter, Leslie Stephen, Sir John Seeley, and Professor Henry Sidgwick. In each instance a quotation from the author is inscribed on the portrait frame. For example, on Matthew Arnold's we read:—

"Hath man no second life?
Pitch this one high!"

And on Professor Felix Adler's:—

"Fellowships we want that will hold not religion as a duty but Duty as a Religion."

In the vestibule there are also, on pedestals, the busts of Josephine Butler and Ralph Waldo Emerson, with appropriate quotations.

When we enter the semi-circular church, we note immediately in front of us an oak-panelled wall. The panelling reaches the height of the balustrade of the first gallery, the part of the wall behind the centrally placed pulpit being draped with a richly embroidered curtain. Above the panelling, or rather as part of it, is, in the centre, a framed tempera picture by Walter Crane, with the legend on the frame: "Still the race of Hero Spirits pass the torch from hand to hand", words adapted from Charles Kingsley. (The pulpit, too, was designed by Walter Crane. "His was also the general colour scheme of the interior of the Church, including the blue carpet in front of the pulpit and the gold-starred blue ceiling.") Above this picture is a beautiful bust of Pallas Athene. The lower, central part of the panelling is replaced by a large pulpit, on the upper part of which we read the line from Wordsworth: "Thanks to the human heart by which we live". On the right side of the pulpit, placed against the panelled wall, is a statue of Jesus the Christ and on the left one of Gautama the Buddha, each with appropriate quotations. To the left and right of Walter Crane's picture, on the bare wall, is a caste relief by Lucca della Robbia. On the two extreme limits of the gallery in front, touching the panelled wall, are the busts of Socrates and Marcus Aurelius. (Thus West and East and Greece and Rome are represented.) In the centre of the semi-circular space between the pulpit and the gallery stands, on a heavy blue carpet covering the whole floor space between the pulpit and the pews, a modern Skyess marble altar, with the following inscription for its four sides: *An Altar to the Ideal / The True / The Beautiful / The Good.* (This altar, designed by Mr. Vernon Hill, was provided during the year 1923/24.) There is much else of beauty to be noted in the Church, but here can only be mentioned a series of three stained glass windows, with Joan of Arc in the centre and Elizabeth Fry and Florence Nightingale to the right and left of her, and, in a corner of the Church, a modern shrine containing an ancient porcelain statue of Kwan-Yin, the Buddhist Goddess of Compassion, who, the legend says, refused to enter heaven so long as any one was denied admission.

10. *Subsidiary Activities.*

We can only barely touch on the subsidiary activities of the Society.

During 1893 a "successful Sunday afternoon class for the ethical instruction of children" was conducted.

The Society, we read in the combined Report for 1892 and 1893, "cannot altogether refrain from claiming some hand in the establishment of the South London Ethical Society."

Soon after its reconstitution, the Society held a Special General Meeting at which Mr. George Lansbury (a Minister in the Second Labour Administration) and Mr. Russell Rea (a ship-owner) respectively moved and seconded "that this Society sympathises with the coal miners in their late struggle for a living-wage and expresses its conviction that wages

should not be regulated by competition for profits only ". The resolution was adopted by 24 votes to 2.

In 1894 the Society, together with four other Ethical Societies, actively interested itself in the London School Board Election.—The single Ethical Instruction Class is now represented by four, in four different districts of London.—The Report mentions the publication of Dr. Stanton Coit's *The Message of Man*: a Book of Ethical Scriptures Gathered from Many Sources and Arranged, a volume which has since appeared in several editions.

In 1895, we read, " the Society has been instrumental in forming another Society, now known as the North London Ethical Society ".

In 1895 and 1896, the Society co-operated in forming the Union of Ethical Societies.

In 1897, a week-day class dealing with ethical theory was instituted. Other items of interest recorded are the publication of a new edition of *Ethical Songs,* the founding of the Moral Instruction League, and the forthcoming issue of a weekly journal, *The Ethical World,* under Dr. Stanton Coit's editorship.

In 1903, the Society established the North Kensington Ethical Society which met on Sunday evenings at Cornwall Hall. At this Hall " a Sunday School for children is held on Sunday afternoons, and on Sunday mornings an Adult School with classes on Ethics, Sociology, History, Economics, and the like, these schools being under the auspices of our Society ".

In 1904, in great measure owing to the efforts of members of the Society, the Fulham Ethical Society was started.—The work at Cornwall Hall was further developed in various directions.—The Plumstead Ethical Society was formed this year mainly through the initiative of the Society's leader.

In 1905, the various activities started by the Society at Cornwall Hall, Notting Hill, were continued " with much success ".

In 1906, " the Society's Social Centre at Cornwall Hall, Notting Hill, . . . concluded a third year of usefulness ".

In 1907, we read that " the Committee has named the group of classes and debates, with their accompanying social gatherings, at the Mall Hall, the School of the Humanities ". We further learn that " in accordance with the idea that an ethical society should be chiefly a School of the Humanities, the Committee has during the last twelve months instituted courses of lectures in philosophy, psychology, sociology, English literature, the fine arts, history and hygiene ".—This year members of the Society's Committee were instrumental in establishing the Notting Hill Day Nursery, which is now a well-established institution receiving financial support from the Government. Against this important initiative has to be set that " for various reasons . . . it has been decided to close Cornwall Hall as a centre for social work ".—During the year Dramatic and Musical Evenings were arranged.

In connection with the School of the Humanities, more than 120 class meetings and conferences were held during 1908 at the Mall Hall and the

attendance of students sometimes amounted to over 100 a week. During this year, too, a service for children and young people was started at the same hall. As illustrating the Society's interest in public questions, we quote the following from the Annual Report for 1908:—

"Propositions were placed by the Society on the agenda paper of the Annual Congress of the Union of Ethical Societies as follows, and carried by that Congress:

That this Congress urges the inclusion in the curriculum of State-supported Training Colleges and Secondary Schools of adequate provision for the systematic study of Ethics, Psychology, and Sociology.

That this Congress urges His Majesty's Government speedily to pass a measure admitting women to the Parliamentary Franchise on the same terms as men.

That this Congress endorses the amendments to the Education Bill advocated by the Moral Instruction League in order to secure universal provision for systematic ethical teaching in public elementary schools.

That this Congress considers the time to be ripe for all public hospitals to be supported out of public funds and placed under full public control, and authorises the Council of the Union of Ethical Societies to take active steps to support the movement for these reforms.

That this Congress urges His Majesty's Government to pass a measure making the provisions of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, compulsory instead of adoptive.

That this Congress is deeply concerned at the inhuman treatment of the natives of the Congo Free State which has been persisted in for so long, and gives its fullest support to His Majesty's Government in its determination that an end shall be put to this state of affairs."

Eighty-four lectures were delivered at the School of Humanities during 1909.—The Children's Class on Sunday afternoons was resumed at the Church.—A week's Art Exhibition was organised at the Mall Hall.—A Tennis Club was formed.—Rambles were arranged.

The School of the Humanities continued during 1910. "Seventy Class Lectures were delivered during the year, also ten Lantern Lectures by members; thirteen Conferences were held, also a Class for practice in public speaking, and a Circle for the reading of poetry."—"The attendance at the Children's Class on Sundays was doubled."—Eight Social Meetings were held on week-nights, also a Members' Concert.—"Two Performances of the *Hippolytus* of Euripides were given."

The Children's Class was discontinued in 1911. The social activities were maintained. At the close of this year periodical Fellowship Suppers were instituted and have remained a significant feature.

The following may be quoted from the Annual Report for 1913 as indicative of the life of the Society:—

"The week which was set apart in July for the celebration of the Twenty-first Anniversary of the Society was a most gratifying success. On Sunday, July 6th, at the morning service, the pulpit was occupied by Mrs. Anstruther, Mr. G. P. Gooch, and Prof. Mackenzie, who spoke of the basis and history of the Society. The membership lunch which followed was attended by over 150 persons, and was made the occasion of a presentation to Dr. Stanton Coit from the members. At the evening service a deeply impressive performance of the old morality play, 'Everyman', was given in the Church under the

direction of Mr. William Poel, at which some 300 persons were present. During the week the inaugural meetings of the Ethical Preachers' Guild and Church Comprehension League were held, and the Society also held its first music-service, when the whole of Palestrina's Mass 'Pope Marcellus', generally admitted to be the greatest composition of the master, was sung to words specially written for the music by Dr. Coit. Great discussion was caused in the Press by this bold adaptation of ancient music to modern thought, but Dr. Coit justified himself on the ground that although the mood of the music, and the experience which it embodies, are eternal, yet the intellectual expression of that mood and experience needs harmonising with man's changed view of the universe. . . . A distinguished congregation was present at the music-service, and the splendid rendering of the music and words by the choir under Mr. Scott made the occasion a memorable one."

A special experiment may also be recorded:—

"During the year a new kind of service has been established under the name Spiritual Meditation Service, and it was started in the belief that there is a need in modern life for an hour to be set apart for the quiet concentration of thought and will, and the gathering in of one's self from the many activities over which it is dispersed. The calls of every day's duty are clamant, and it is a spiritual refreshment if one can mark off an hour from business, or pleasure, for the steadying of the nerves and the relaxation of the will. The average attendance at these services has not been large, but, believing there is a need, even though it may be as yet unconscious, for such a discipline of the spirit, we intend to keep the door open, and are convinced that the value of the services will appeal more widely as time goes on."

A Religious Drama Society was inaugurated and organised several Religious Drama Services. Other activities were started. Since the ideas underlying these new ventures are distinctive and characteristic of the Society, the Report for 1913 is here quoted in full on this subject:—

"*Religious Drama Society.*—It has long been the wish of the Society to show that dramatic representation could be made a powerful instrument for bringing home to the minds of men and women the reality of the world of ideals and principles, but there would have been little possibility of this wish being realised had it not happened that the same thought had been working in the mind of Mr. William Poel, the distinguished producer of Shakespeare's plays. As soon as the question was proposed to him he set his mind to answer it, with the result that not the least notable feature of our Anniversary week was the production of the morality play, 'Everyman', in the Church at our first drama-service. All who witnessed that performance will agree that it was a memorable one. In order to avoid the many and vexatious technical regulations governing the production of plays in London, it was found necessary to create a distinct organisation for this purpose, and the Religious Drama Society was formed and quickly gained a hundred members. In October a second drama-service was held, when Mr. Edward Garnett's 'Joan of Arc' was presented, and again the performance created a most powerful impression on the congregation. Two further drama-services are announced to be held in February and July, and if £50 more is obtained in subscriptions by July the Religious Drama Society will have paid its way and will continue its existence. Members should note that arrangements have been made by which they may pay their annual subscription of one guinea to the Religious Drama Society, in four quarterly instalments of 5s. 3d. Each subscription covers two tickets to each of the drama services.

"*Ethical Preachers' Guild.*—The Ethical Preachers' Guild, which we requested Dr. Coit to establish, and which held its inaugural meeting during the Anniversary week, has been holding meetings for its members regularly during the autumn. It consists at present of seventeen members, of whom some seven are already fully-equipped speakers for the Movement, and ten are preparing to become so. We believe that the Guild will prove a most effective means of adding to the power of the Ethical Movement to spread its propaganda, and of seeing that the distinctive point of view of the Movement shall dominate every discourse delivered at an Ethical Society. Under Dr. Coit's vigorous leadership, we are informed, the younger members of the Guild have shown remarkable development in their power to deal adequately with ethical questions, and to present their views in a convincing manner to an audience.

"*Church Comprehension League.*—The members of the Ethical Preachers' Guild have also formed the nucleus of the Church Comprehension League which we authorised our President to found in order that he should have an organisation to expand and elaborate the unique views he holds with regard to the relation of the State Church to the national spirit of England. The members of the League have issued a manifesto containing its aims and principles, which has been widely circulated among ministers of religion. Discussions have been held fortnightly during the autumn with an eye to the publication of a book giving a systematic exposition of the principles of the League, and this will subsequently be made the basis of an appeal to the public.

"*Spiritual Militancy League.*—Feeling that the moral issues involved in the women's movement were being lost sight of through the concentration of public attention on the tactics of the militant suffragists, we called a General Meeting of the Society in February to consider the matter. The result of the meeting was that a powerfully-worded manifesto was issued from the Church to the suffragists of England, urging the cessation of attacks on property and the concentration of effort in educating the public as to the moral injustices inflicted on women by society. The fact that the West London Ethical Society had for over twenty years sustained a vigorous advocacy of the emancipation of women placed us in a position to make our opinion heard, and the manifesto, coming as it did at a moment when a general staleness was being manifested in the Suffrage Movement, produced a stimulating effect. It was well received by the Suffrage leaders, and many of its suggestions have been carried into effect. One result was the formation by the women of the Society of the Spiritual Militancy League, which accepted the suggestions of the manifesto as its basis, and has carried on a vigorous propaganda to secure the discussion of the moral aspect of the Suffrage Movement in the sermons delivered from the pulpits of the land. It also issued a significant manifesto on the moral indignities to women contained in the Anglican marriage service, which was sent round to all clergymen with an appeal to them to turn the attention of their congregations to the women's cause. These manifestoes were very widely reported in the Press, and the activities of the League undoubtedly brought it about that the women's movement was this year, for the first time, discussed at the Church Congress, and that several public meetings of clergymen have been held to further the cause."

In the Report covering the period 1914 to 31st July 1915, we read: "Last autumn, on account of the war, the Wednesday evening services after October were discontinued; nor were the Tuesday afternoon and Friday evening services resumed. . . . Likewise all our weekly classes

and courses of lectures are now discontinued." From this we learn that Services were held on four days of the week for a time, making altogether five Services with the two Sunday Services.

The Annual Reports from this date onwards to 1921, only contained the financial statement, whilst the Minutes of the Committee mainly recorded an incessant struggle to overcome financial difficulties. We may mention, however, that in June 1916 a pamphlet series, *The Ethical Message,* was started, a series which has received from time to time valuable additions.

From the 1921/22 Report we learn that " the Religious Psychology Group, under the leadership of Dr. Coit, met throughout the year ". Also, that the year previous the Friday Club had been formed, to act as a centre of social activities for members of the Church. It is gratifying to record in 1931 that the Friday Club continues to prosper. With its regular social and lecture meetings during the colder season and its rambles during the summer, it satisfies a decided need both among the older and the younger members of the Church. It meets in the tastefully decorated Church Room and is closely linked to, but does not form part of, the Church organisation. Its members need not belong to the Church, although many of them do.

The Religious Psychology Group continued to meet during 1922/23 and 1923/24.

The first of four Ethical Church Calendars, providing ethical quotations for every day in the year, was published in January 1925. A considerable proportion of these Calendars was ordered by the American Ethical Societies.

The Report for 1925/26 contains the following statement:—

" The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Ethical Movement was celebrated at our Church by a United Service, representing all the English Ethical Societies. It was conducted by Mr. Dimsdale Stocker and Mr. Spiller, and addresses were delivered by Dr. Delisle Burns and Mr. John Murphy on behalf of the South Place Ethical Society; by Mr. Harry Snell, M.P., on behalf of the Societies in the English Ethical Union; and by Dr. Coit on behalf of the Ethical Church. After the Service a well-attended social gathering was held in the Church Hall."

During 1926/27, through the exertions of two young university members of the Ethical Church, a Students' Ethical Union was formed at University College, London. During the same year the Society's leader drew up a scheme for an international Foundation for Moral and Religious Leadership which is now formed and is receiving the support of numerous distinguished thinkers in Europe, America, and Asia. Seeing the importance of the step, the whole Prospectus is here reproduced. It was issued in February 1928 by Professor John Dewey and Dr. Stanton Coit.

" *Object.*

The object of this Foundation is to bring the moral and religious idealism of the world into harmony with scientific thought, so that it may more effectively meet the needs of modern life.

Methods.

(1) Its method is to award salaries and student-fellowships (as the case may require) to *men and women of marked ability and approved character, who desire to devote themselves to the teaching and advancement of the good life, and who hold that the highest sanction to the good life is to be found in its own intrinsic worth and in its natural consequences.*

(2) Its procedure is not to create new religious organisations, but to provide Leadership of the highest procurable standard for any association, new or old, which aims to bring its religion into accord with science, so that it may overcome the tyranny of traditionalism on the one side and, on the other, the chaos of disruptive egoism.

(3) There is no occasion to set up a new religious denomination, inasmuch as many congregations in the historic churches are already responding to the modern spirit and will welcome leaders distinguished for intellectual power and for originality of moral and spiritual insight. The members of the Foundation believe that churches, like states, schools, universities and economic organisations, must, and can and will, adapt themselves to modern conditions. New organisations, accordingly, should be encouraged only to the degree to which the already existing churches fail to bring their systems of thought and practice into agreement with the requirements of world-wide democracy and of the modern view of the universe.

(4) Although fully aware of the fact that pre-eminent ability cannot be "manufactured" or produced by training, the Committee believes that in religion and morality, as in other fields of activity, it can be discovered, and can be developed and turned to the service of the community by giving it recognition, security, scope and responsibility.

(5) The Foundation will award (1) salaries to persons already proved to possess capacity and equipment for Leadership of the kind here described and (2) student-fellowships to persons of promise who still require to pursue courses in history, economics, comparative religion, ethics, psychology and philosophy, scientific method, international relations and the humanities in general. With each recipient of a student-fellowship it will advise as to what courses he individually shall pursue and where. With appointees who are already equipped for work it will come to agreement as to where their field of activity shall lie.

(6) The minimum amount of a student-fellowship will be 1,000 dollars a year and the number of years over which it will extend will depend upon the particular circumstances of each recipient. No student-fellowship will be conferred upon anyone except on the understanding that he intends to devote his life to the purpose indicated above and except on the understanding that he will be given an assured salary when his preparation is completed.

(7) The salary will correspond in amount to that of any teacher or professor of equal ability, and will continue on the same conditions as the salary of a professor. The holder of it, however, will be encouraged to accept a post, to his liking, if offered by any society which desires him, under its auspices, to continue the same kind of work. If no such offer be forthcoming, he will be expected to build up a congregation of his own and his salary will be continued as long as he needs the support of the Foundation and is doing good work.

(8) The only tests of fitness to receive either a student-fellowship or a salary will be intellectual ability, character and a fixed desire to further the above-stated object of the Foundation. Under the test of character is to be included a disinterested wish to become a spiritual teacher and adviser on

the great issues which confront modern men and women. As regards mental ability, the Committee regrets that in recent years many men of marked originality have been drawn away from religious leadership into secular professions. It believes, however, that the decline of the pulpit and the growing disregard of religion may be traced chiefly to the fact that the best brains and character of to-day are repelled by the closed intellectual systems to which in bygone ages churches tied themselves, and from which they are beginning to break away.

(9) The Foundation for Moral and Religious Leadership is international; but the members in any one nation will constitute a sub-committee with its own executive officers, to act in its own territory. The sub-committees will appoint the International Executive Committee, which will control the work of the Foundation as a World-Movement. The members of the Foundation believe that the conflict between traditional religious practice on the one hand, and science and democracy on the other, is world-wide, and is no less critical and alarming in the East than throughout Christendom. It accordingly aims to bring the traditions of each people into harmony with the newly awakened spirit of that people and to provide new methods of intellectual and moral discipline which will enlighten and strengthen character.

(10) The Foundation has as yet issued no public appeal for funds and made no public announcement offering fellowships. It desires not to do so, until it has received guarantees of 100,000 dollars a year for six years. This initial amount will be in the hands of its International Executive for the advancement of the work as a World-Movement and will be chiefly spent in publications and in salaries for field secretaries who will make the purpose of the Foundation known to university students and to professors and to prospective donors throughout the world. As soon as sufficient funds are guaranteed, the Foundation will be incorporated as a legal entity, in order that it may be eligible to receive endowments.

(11) The Foundation will be permanent by being self-perpetuating, as each of its national sub-committees will co-opt new members to fill vacancies and will have power to increase its numbers. Each national sub-committee will have its own treasurer, while the Foundation as a whole will have an International Treasurer.

(12) The Committee will continue to consist predominantly, but never exclusively, of University Teachers of Philosophy. Philosophers are constantly dealing, in a spirit of unbiased research, with the fundamental problems of religion and the moral life, and teachers in institutions of learning are in touch with each succeeding generation of educated youth. Teachers of philosophy are thus especially fitted and advantageously placed for discovering suitable candidates for such awards as the Foundation aims to confer.

Organisation.

The detailed organisation of the Foundation will be modelled after that of other international bodies of a similar kind and will be gradually elaborated in the manner which increasing experience in the work will indicate to its members to be best."

In the 1928 Report, covering the period from 1st August 1927 to 31st December 1928, we find the following:—

"The outstanding event during the last eighteen months has been the celebration by the Church of Dr. Stanton Coit's seventieth birthday. In connection with the Anniversary an Appeal was issued to Members and Friends, which brought from various quarters numerous acknowledgments of our leader's signal services to the cause the Ethical Church has so much at heart.

The Appeal also permitted the presentation to Dr. Coit of a purse of £1,512 15s. to be devoted by him to the Church—principally to the reduction of its indebtedness. This enabled us to repay the debt on the Organ, £862, and to return £100 each to two of our mortgage holders. Three hundred pounds were eventually contributed towards the installation of an improved heating system. And some of the remaining money collected was devoted to necessary Church repairs. In connection with the Anniversary, a Reception to meet Dr. and Mrs. Stanton Coit was held at the Church on Saturday evening, October 15th, 1927, at which the following members and friends delivered short addresses: Professor J. W. Hinchley (who kindly took the Chair), Mr. R. O. Prowse, Mrs. Hinchley, Professor J. S. Mackenzie, Dr. G. P. Gooch, and Dr. Moskowitz (of New York). Dr. Coit, in responding, expressed his deep appreciation and thanks. On behalf of the subscribers to the Seventieth Birthday Fund, Dr. Coit had also presented to him on this occasion an artistic Mazer bowl, suitably inscribed, as well as two gramophone records reproducing a solo by Mr. Percy Manchester and two quartets by our choir."

11. *Retrospect.*

Naturally, not all the activities started by the Ethical Church could be maintained in perpetuity. But a solid residue of results remains—effective participation in the founding of the Union of Ethical Societies, of the Moral Instruction League, and of numerous Ethical Societies; founding of the Notting Hill Day Nursery; creation of the Friday Club; an immense amount of valuable social and educational work undertaken at different dates; institution of Fellowship Suppers; and, above all, the building up of a humanistic church organisation with Ethical Services and a setting worthy of the high intent of the Ethical Movement. In an unofficial, but none the less effective, way the Society, through its leader, has also trained a number of ethical teachers, three of whom are active in the American Ethical Movement and numerous others in other directions. Its leader's share in the work attempted or accomplished, will be obvious from the preceding pages. A brief article which he contributed recently to a periodical may be quoted in illustration of his fundamental views:—

"WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY 'GOD'?

"In theology the word God is the proper name of one individual person—like the word Cæsar or Napoleon; and that one individual person is the all-wise Creator of the world. Accordingly, except on one condition, we have no right to say, or even to think, that we believe in God unless we believe in a personal Creator. But there is one condition upon which those whose religion does not focus in the Creator may retain the word. The condition is that we always make it perfectly clear, both to ourselves and others, that we are not referring to the Almighty, but to something else—that our God, in short, is not quite the same as that of the historic creeds. If we make this point clear we deceive nobody; and if we deceive nobody, not even ourselves, we are at least straightforward—a virtue rare and great.

"What is more, the comparative study of religions has proved that the word God is not originally the name of any particular object or class of objects. When it is said that apples are food, 'apples' is the name of a particular class of objects, but 'food' is not. Likewise, to say that the Creator is God is to say that the Creator is our Spiritual Food, and to say that Christ is God is

to say that we must feed on Him. But I ask: Should we be shutting ourselves off from our spiritual food supply if we ceased to regard it as the personal Creator of man and nature?

"It is a significant sign of our times that men of high intellectual and moral distinction are beginning to apply the word God in a wider way than common usage has sanctioned, in a way that does not necessarily involve or reject belief in the Almighty. And they are doing this quite openly and above board. Some of these men are eminent in science, others in philosophy; some, again, in theology itself. For instance, Professor Kirsopp Lake, who is now at Harvard and was at Oxford as teacher of early Church History, holds that Beauty, Truth, and Goodness are God, for to the spiritual nature of man they are Food. And Dean Inge is for ever reiterating almost this same idea.

"The old teaching was that we must worship not truth, beauty and goodness, but their source, and that their source is a personal intelligence of infinite power. The new idea is that not their source, but these glories themselves, these absolute values, regardless of the source whence they flow, are worthy of absolute reverence and utter obedience, and are on that account to be worshipped and adored as God. This was Matthew Arnold's teaching: Wisdom and Goodness: they are God, for God of these His attributes is made.

"Dr. J. S. Haldane, in his recent Gifford lectures on 'The Sciences and Philosophy,' sets up 'the world of spiritual values' as God. His God is not the Creator, but the uncreated universe, which feeds man's spirit and is the Supreme Reality of experience.

"The great significance of this shifting of worship from the source of truth, beauty, and goodness to these shining realities themselves is that neither science nor critical philosophy, nor modern thought in any form, denies or even doubts the sanity of the distinction between true and false, beautiful and ugly, and good and bad; while scepticism has weakened the belief of many in the personal nature of the source. And now it is widely held that the whole notion of a source is due to a confusion of thought.

"The detaching of the word God from the Source and the reattaching of it to whatever things are true, beautiful, and good, is, I believe, the only way by which religion and science can be reconciled, and also the only way in which communal worship can be made consistent with individual liberty of thought.

"Furthermore, there are great religions on earth in which the word God does not point to a Personal Creator, but they all involve belief in a world of spiritual values. If the adherents of all religions could learn to transfer their heart's supreme allegiance from the supposed Sources to the world of values, it would make it possible for all religions to unite in spiritual cooperation. The old creeds said, with Browning:—

God! Thou art love! I build my faith on Thee.

The new creed says:—

Love! Thou art God! I build my faith on Thee!"

SOURCES.

The principal information for this Chapter is derived from the Annual Reports of the Ethical Church, the Minute Book recording its Annual and other Members' Meetings, the Committee's Minute Books (so far as available), and the other sources referred to in the course of the Chapter. Suggestions were also received from several members to whom the Chapter was submitted.

CHAPTER VI.—THE SOUTH LONDON ETHICAL SOCIETY.

THE South London Ethical Society was inaugurated on Sunday evening, 27th November 1892, at the humble Chepstow Hall, 1 High Street, Peckham, with a lecture by Dr. Stanton Coit (its President) on "Am I My Brother's Keeper?" The Society was thus established a few months after the West London Ethical Society. Its Object was stated to be "the development of good character and the promotion of right conduct on a purely human basis". This was also the Object of the East London Ethical Society which had been started three years earlier.

Some ten years later a Constitution was drawn up, containing the following Objects (which virtually agree with those of the West London Ethical Society of about the same date):—

"1. To assist in developing the Science of Ethics.

"2. Without denying or affirming a life after death, or reality beyond experience, to teach that we can (without injury to our moral life) make our moral ideas independent of these beliefs.

"3. To emphasise the moral factor in all personal, social, political, national, and international relations.

"4. By purely natural and human means to help men to love, know, and do the right.

"5. By membership in our Society to gain the strength and inspiration that come from moral fellowship."

The leaflet advertising the first meeting of the Society also sketched the Society's programme of work:—

"Some of the means which will be used to further these aims, will be Lectures and Informal Discussions on Ethical Subjects, and the sale of such books and pamphlets as will advance these principles. It is hoped that some practical work (such as the promotion of Ethical Sunday Schools, University Extension Lectures, etc.) may be undertaken when the Society is fully organised."

The subscription was fixed at One Shilling per annum.

In 1893 a Sunday School was opened.

In 1894, the Society moved to the lower room of the Surrey Masonic Hall.

At the end of the fourth year the Society took a leap forward to the large hall and was justified by the results, the membership rising from 80 to 150 and the income trebling. This step was decided on at a Special Members' Meeting when the following tentative scheme was drawn up: "(1) That Dr. Coit lecture on three evenings in each month, and preside on the fourth; (2) That the large Masonic Hall be engaged for the Meetings; (3) That a number of members band themselves together to undertake the necessary duties of stewards, choir singers, etc." (Report for 1895/96.) Dr. Coit signified his willingness to perform the part assigned to him if the members showed themselves enthusiastic.

In its Report for 1896/97, the Committee states that "the average number of persons present at the lectures has been more than double that of previous years. . . . In general, the attendances have ranged between

two and three hundred". The Committee adds: "That this happy result has been largely due to the exertions of Dr. Coit there can be little doubt. Besides lecturing throughout the Session without payment, he has spared no effort to induce new members to join; and his energy has inspired others."

The year following (1897/98) the marked progress of the previous year was sustained. Of 36 lectures delivered, 21 were given by Dr. Coit and 7 by Dr. Washington Sullivan.

At the close of 1898,

"Mr. F. J. Gould summed up the activities in which the Society expressed its sociable and democratic zeal—the Sunday School; the Junior Reading Circle, which helped to form a bridge between the children's class and the adult membership; the Ramblers' Club, which was so appropriately located in a district rendered famous by the Tabard Inn, whence Chaucer's pilgrims set out for Canterbury; the Open-air enterprise, which led members to go out, as in the Pentecostal days, to preach the Ethical gospel; the Reading Circle, in which readers viewed the literary and historical landscapes in pleasant companionship; the Discussion Meetings, which stood for freedom of thought; the Singing, which, equally with the Lectures, expressed the ethical purpose; the Bookstall work; the Library department; and the Visiting Committee, which was moved by the beautiful desire to bring home the sense of fellowship to sick and sorrowing members." (*The Ethical World,* 3rd December 1898.)

In the same year, the Society's Secretary from the commencement, Miss Florence A. Law, published the following sketch of the Society, which is here reproduced in full because it more especially acquaints us with the Society's "atmosphere".

"SOUTH LONDON ETHICAL SOCIETY.

"An acute observer has said that democratic sociability is the leading feature of the South London Ethical Society; and if one wished to sum up its characteristics in a phrase, perhaps one could not do so in better words than these. The bitterest enemy of the Society could hardly accuse its members of being unsociable and the spirit of democracy is very evident at its meetings. 'Each one to count for one, and no one for more than one', is the principle tacitly adopted in its administration.

"The next feature that strikes a visitor to the Society is that it is ambitious. For 180 members, none of whom are rich, and many poor, to keep up a large hall with a heavy rent, and to pay secretary and lecturers, however inadequately, certainly savours of audacity. But the members recollect that two years ago they did not number more than 80, and they have hope for the future.

"The Society owes much to its lecturers, chief among whom is Dr. Coit, who has occupied the platform during six months of the recent session. The audiences vary with the subject, the largest having been on the occasion of Dr. Coit's lecture on 'Julius Cæsar', and at his debate with Mr. W. E. Long on Spiritualism. . . .

"One method which is now being tried to bring new converts to the Society is the delivery of open-air lectures. This is an effort which must result in getting our views known to people whom we could not otherwise reach, and the results so far have been encouraging.

"The Discussion Society, which met on Sunday mornings during the winter months, brought forward several young speakers. The monthly

rambles keep the members in touch with one another, and give continuity to the work of the Society. They are a summer substitute for the social meetings which were held monthly after the lectures. We have also a Reading Class, which meets weekly. The Sunday School provides for about thirty children, nearly all belonging to members of the Society. Most of these will probably join the Society when too old for the School.

"A quality of the members of the South London Ethical Society, which has been cited sometimes as a virtue, sometimes as a failing, is their clannishness. Whatever their differences of opinion may be on points of policy, the members do generally pull together. To attack one is to offend all. This may be considered as a sign of narrowness, but it certainly has been a source of strength. It is as natural to love one's own society more dearly than the Movement generally as it is to love one's family better than one's neighbours. Sympathies widely diffused and shallow are liable to lead to small results.

"The financial question is, of course, a difficult one. Hiring the large Surrey Masonic Hall in Camberwell New Road, and increasing the advertisements, necessitated an increase in our expenditure last year from £60 to £180. This year a further rise of £70 has been required. And, unfortunately, this outlay is not equally divided among the members, many of whom are able to pay only a nominal subscription. But they feel that it is absolutely necessary that an attempt should be made to render the Society self-supporting, and this can only be done by paying for services which entail the expenditure of much time and labour. If the number of Ethical Societies is to be enlarged, the question of the payment of lecturers will have to be faced.

"The most hopeful sign in the Society is that its work is shared among many members. A society should be a living organism, and not a mechanical mixture of heterogeneous atoms. If the work is done by two or three members, and the vast majority come and go in a crowd, its influence will scarcely be felt among them. There are very few people who can give nothing but their purse; and if some means can be found to interest all, the Society will grow and wax in strength. Some members have heads for business, others have a genius for sociability; some can speak, some can sing; and if a man can do none of these things, let him use his surplus energy in giving out bills. His work will not be the least useful.

FLORENCE A. LAW."

(*The Ethical World*, 25th June 1898.)

The initial success at the large Surrey Masonic Hall was no momentary breaking through of the sun through dismal clouds. As the Committee's Annual Reports reiterate year after year, the work of the Society was carried on with unabated vigour and with most gratifying results. Indeed, so late as 1914/15, during the throes of the War, the Committee could report that "the Session under review has been the most successful in our history". In that eventful year, as many as 103 new members joined the Society, whilst only 12 resigned and 17 allowed their membership to lapse. In fact, the Committee's Annual Reports right through the period of the War are far from depressing to read.

In the first post-war year a great misfortune befell the Society. For twenty years it had held its Sunday evening meetings in the capacious and most conveniently situated Surrey Masonic Hall and drew year after year large audiences. In 1919, it received notice to quit and transferred its meeting place to the Oliver Goldsmith School, Peckham Road, S.E.

Still, during 1919/20, 22 new members joined the Society and the membership stood at 245. But the following year the membership had crept down to 201; the year succeeding this to 184; then to 160; then to 150; then, in 1924/25, a slight rise to 152; which has been maintained, the membership rising to 169 in 1927/28 and remaining at that figure two years later (1929/30). In this last Session the average attendance is reported as having been 62, as compared with 54 the preceding Session. Manifestly, the lack of a convenient meeting place has severely handicapped the Society.

The Order of Service is at present (1931) as follows:—1) Hymn. 2) Reading. 3) Announcements. 4) Hymn. 5) Address. 6) Hymn and Collection. The practice of allowing questions after the addresses has prevailed from time to time and under certain conditions.

The following is a sketch of the subsidiary activities of the Society:—

Sunday School.—Of the subsidiary activities, the Sunday School was naturally the most important one, since it endeavoured to provide for the children what the Sunday evening meetings provided for the adults. The Sunday School was opened in 1893 and continued uninterruptedly for twenty-five years until the Society was obliged to leave the Surrey Masonic Hall. Those who taught in the Sunday School performed no less a service to the ethical cause than those who preached from the Society's platform and deserve as fully the hearty thanks of the ethical community.

Open-Air Propaganda.—A kindred type of activity to that of the Sunday evening indoor meetings was open-air propaganda. This was pursued with much vigour in the early days of the Society, beginning with 1897 and continuing until 1909/10.

Discussion Class, Bible Class, Lending Library, Reading Circle, Lecture and other Courses, Inquirers' Meetings, were among the subsidiary intellectual activities, and, on the social side, Social Meetings, Dancing, Music Circle, Tennis Club, Rowing Club, Cycling Club, Rambling Club. There was also an Ethical Workers' Guild and a Members' Visiting Committee. The Report for 1929/30, mentions Social Meetings, Debating Circle, Ramblers' Club, and Book Club, among subsidiary activities.

The subjoined table offers a statistical survey of the Society's work. The rise, fluctuations, and fall in the figures tell a clear tale. No Annual Reports were available for the years for which no figures are furnished. The expenditure column does not, as a rule, include expenditure on subsidiary activities:—

Year.	Number of Members.	Number of Lectures.	Attendance.	Net expenditure. £ s. d.
1893	—	—	—	—
1894	—	—	—	—
1895/96	—	33	—	58 18 4
1896/97	80	36	2 to 300	169 5 6
1897/98	172	36	—	176 2 2
1898/99	—	34	—	186 5 0
1899/00	196	39	2 to 300	177 0 11

Year.	Number of Members.	Number of Lectures.	Attendance.	Net expenditure. £ s. d.
1900/01	205	37	—	186 13 0
1901/02	—	—	—	—
1902/03	168	37	—	130 11 10*
1903/04	202	39	150	139 15 7
1904/05	252	37	160	139 10 7
1905/06	281	38	180	143 0 8
1906/07	312	39	190	147 8 7
1907/08	320	39	176	153 6 11
1908/09	339	38	200	170 16 11
1909/10	336	38	—	169 10 2
1910/11	333	38	250	164 10 1
1911/12	319	39	250	174 4 9
1912/13	290	39	225	161 17 10
1913/14	—	—	—	—
1914/15	390	39	290	144 8 11
1915/16	—	—	—	—
1916/17	335	37	200	140 11 1
1917/18	326	37	200	137 17 0
1918/19	—	38	170	160 6 0
1919/20	245	38	125	168 0 7
1920/21	201	37	120	141 5 5
1921/22	184	37	100	127 5 1
1922/23	160	33	80	124 15 3
1923/24	150	36	80	114 2 1
1924/25	152	34	70	113 15 2
1925/26	—	—	—	—
1926/27	149	32	70	103 11 9
1927/28	169	32	62	99 0 6
1928/29	—	—	—	—
1929/30	169	33	62	100 8 5

SOURCES.

Miss Barbara E. Lyon kindly lent the Annual Reports of the South London Ethical Society utilised above, as well as the original leaflet convoking the first meeting of the Society and a copy of the Constitution. Miss Nellie Freeman was good enough to supply some further information. *The Ethical World* also proved a valuable source.

CHAPTER VII.—THE NORTH LONDON ETHICAL SOCIETY.
(Later, the St. Pancras Ethical Society.)

THE North London Ethical Society was founded in February 1895.

A leaflet of uncertain year announces that the public lecture meetings were held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock. On the back of this leaflet we read:—

"Our Objects.

"Our primary object is the moral advancement of our members.

* Secretary no longer paid (£40).

"A better moral life is not so much a gift which we would bring to others as a good which we would, with unremitting effort, strive after for ourselves.

"We desire to attract men and women holding all shades of opinion, but having in common a conviction that morality is of greater importance to mankind than theology and that good conduct is of more value than theological tenets.

"We desire to arouse an enthusiasm for right living which shall equal that shown in the past by religious devotees for their faith.

"We desire to cultivate and develop the characters of men and women so that their conduct shall be uninfluenced by the hope of reward or the fear of punishment, and thus, that under all circumstances, right actions shall flow spontaneously.

"We desire to separate morality from theology, and to place it upon a scientific basis; a design not only possible, but imperative in face of the fact that moral injunctions are losing the authority given by their supposed divine origin.

"We desire to keep the attention of men concentrated upon the conditions of our present existence with a view to reforming them. The mental energy now spent in conjectures concerning the hereafter will thus be pressed into the service of humanity.

"We desire to give more prominence to the Ethical aspect of Public Questions than has hitherto been the case. Under all circumstances the question to be answered should be—not 'Is it expedient?' but 'Is it right?'"

Some particulars concerning the early history of the North London Ethical Society will be found in *The Ethical World* for 2nd June 1898.

From a Report of the St. Pancras Ethical Society for the Session 1907/8, we gather that the North London Ethical Society changed its name and became the St. Pancras Ethical Society. From this Report I cull the following informative paragraph:—

"The Session that was brought to a close at Whitsuntide last was the thirteenth since the formation of the Society, and your Committee feel that they should congratulate the members on so long a record of activity in the neighbourhood. Of the existing London Ethical Societies the St. Pancras Ethical Society, formerly the North London Ethical Society, is the oldest with the exception of three; and though its record for the past Session does not, unfortunately, show any growth in membership, and shows some decrease in average attendance at the Sunday meetings—a matter that has engaged the very anxious consideration of the Committee—we feel that the meetings have well maintained the high level of merit that has been consistently shown, and that the cause for which the Society stands, the Religion of the Good Life freed from all dogmatic creed, has not suffered through loss of bold and consistent advocacy."

According to the same Report, the average attendance at the Sunday morning meetings (which were held at the Acland (L.C.C.) School, Fortess Road) had been 55 in the 1906/7 Session and 45 in the 1907/8 Session; that the number of subscribing members had been 71 and the number of nominal members nearly 150; that the Society had inherited two of the Clubs of the Leighton Hall Neighbourhood Guild (reported on in Chapter IIa.) and was conducting a Sunday School; and that it had been decided to transfer the Sunday meetings to Spencer Hall, 19

Dartmouth Park Hill, the time of meeting to be changed from Sunday mornings to Sunday evenings.

From a leaflet dated April 1910, we learn that the Society carried out its intention as to change of meeting place and hours of services. The meetings began at 7 p.m., with a half-hour of music, followed by a lecture, and this again by questions and discussion. This leaflet also contains other interesting information. The Object of the Society is stated to be " the development of good character and the promotion of right conduct on a purely human basis "—the identical Object which the East London Ethical Society had adopted in 1889 and the South London Ethical Society in 1892. The statement of Principles is also brief: " (1) We have no life apart from others. (2) Fellowship in the moral life is the only way of building up a strong and noble character." The Society's two junior Clubs continued to meet.

In 1911, the St. Pancras Ethical Society was dissolved.

Chapter VIII.—THE ETHICAL UNION.
(Until 1920, The Union of Ethical Societies.)

1. *The Founding of the Union.*

Already in 1892, one of the Aims of the amalgamated London and West London Ethical Societies was " the organisation of a union of the Ethical Societies of Great Britain, for the more effective carrying out of the objects common to them all." This Aim the West London Ethical Society retained until the projected Union had become a fact.

The Report of the Council of the Union for the year 1898/99, furnishes in an historical retrospect an account of the measures adopted to form a Union. The Report states on this point:—

" The Union was constituted upon the initiative of the East London Ethical Society, which invited all the Ethical Societies then existent in London to appoint delegates to discuss a plan for Federation. The invitation having been accepted by the North, South, West, and East London Societies, their delegates held their first meeting at Devonshire House Hotel on November 12th, 1895. Four meetings resulted in the submission to the Societies of a 'Scheme of a Constitution for an Ethical Federation'. The Societies, having given their general approval to this scheme, elected delegates in accordance with it, and entrusted to them the task of discussing and finally accepting or rejecting certain detailed amendments suggested by the respective Societies. The first meeting of the Council took place on April 30th, 1896."

The proposal to establish a Union was thus put forward in a definite form towards the close of 1895.

2. *The Union's Principles and Aims.*

In drawing up a Constitution for the Union, the question of formulating Principles and Aims was carefully considered at the outset. However, no new Principles were elaborated, but the three Aims of the West London Ethical Society, as they then stood, were accepted as the Union's

Aims, save that in the first Aim the following words were prefixed—"By purely natural and human means". The Special Objects agreed upon, embody the ideas which the Union's founders entertained concerning the activities to be undertaken by the Union. Here are the original aims and special objects of the Union, as set out in the Report for 1896/97:—

"The general aims of the Ethical Movement, as represented by this federation are:

"(1) By purely natural and human means to assist individual and social efforts after right living.

"(2) To free the current ideal of what is right from all that is merely traditional or self-contradictory, and thus to widen and perfect it.

"(3) To assist in constructing a theory or science of Right, which, starting with the reality and validity of moral distinctions, shall explain their mental and social origin, and connect them in a logical system of thought.

"The special objects of the federation are:

"(1) To bring into closer connection the federated Societies.

"(2) To provide for the special training of ethical teachers and lecturers.

"(3) To start, take over, and to control ethical classes for children, with or without the assistance of local committees.

"(4) To provide for the payment of teachers and lecturers.

"(5) To choose and dismiss teachers and lecturers, whether paid or voluntary.

"(6) To publish and spread suitable literature.

"(7) And to further such other objects as may commend themselves from time to time to the Union."

The Union's Annual Congress of 1901, adopted a new formulation of the fundamental views which the Union championed as well as less comprehensive objects. The revised general and special aims read as follows:—

"The general aims of the Union are:

"(a) By purely natural and human means to help men to love, know, and do the right.

"(b) To emphasise the moral factor in all personal, social, political, national and international relations.

"(c) To affirm that moral ideas and the moral life are independent of beliefs as to the ultimate nature of things and as to a life after death.

"(d) To assist in developing the science of ethics.

"The special aims are:

"(a) To bring the Societies in the Union, also their Committees and Officers, and the Associated Members, into closer fellowship.

"(b) To promote, and to assist in, the establishment of Ethical Societies, and to promote the incorporation of other Societies into the Union.

"(c) To organise Ethical lectures and classes for children and adults, and to assist, if requested, in such work as is already undertaken by existing Societies.

"(d) To maintain the McIntyre Ethical Library.

"(e) To publish and spread suitable literature.

"(f) And to further other objects which are in harmony with the General Aims."

By 1906 the Union's fundamental views were once more exhaustively revised. A General Object was introduced, followed by nine Principles. The latter aim at a more comprehensive expression of the primary basis

of the Union, explaining its attitude towards a number of questions of the day and proffering personal and social guidance. Here are the Principles of the Union and its General Object:—

"The General Object of the Union is:—

"To advocate the supreme importance of the knowledge, love and practice of the Right.

"The Principles of the Union are:—

"(a) In all the relations of life—personal, social, and political—the moral factor should be the supreme consideration.

"(b) The love of goodness and the love of one's fellows are the true motives for right conduct; and self-reliance and cooperation are the true sources of help.

"(c) Knowledge of the Right has been evolving through the experience of the human race: therefore the moral obligations generally accepted by the most civilised communities should be taken as the starting point in the advocacy of a progressive ideal of personal and social righteousness.

"(d) For each individual, after due consideration of the convictions of others, the final authority as to the right or wrong of any opinion or action should be his own conscientious and reasoned judgment.

"(e) The well-being of society requires such economic and other conditions as afford the largest scope for the moral development of all its members.

"(f) The scientific method should be applied in studying the facts of the moral life.

"(g) The moral life involves neither acceptance nor rejection of belief in any deity, personal or impersonal, or in a life after death.

"(h) The acceptance of any one ultimate criterion of right should not be made a condition of ethical fellowship.

"(i) Ethical Fellowships are the most powerful means of encouraging the knowledge and love of right principles of conduct, and of giving the strength of character necessary to realise them in action."

The special aims, or practical objects, remained unchanged.

After fourteen years, in 1920, a fresh formulation of the fundamental views of the Union was adopted. The General Object became a twofold General Aim and the Principles were reduced in number and became The Ethical Faith. Here is the new rendering:—

"General Aim:—

"To help one another to know, love, and do the right.

"To promote a Religion of Human Fellowship and Service.

"The Ethical Faith:—

"(1) The supreme aim of religion is the love of goodness and its fulfilment in the life of the world.

"(2) Knowledge of the right has been evolving through the experience of the human race, as the sense of kinship has widened, and as the individual has subordinated his personal interests and impulses to the good of the whole.

"(3) Religion increasingly reveals itself in the development of personal character, the promotion of the public good, and the cultivation of a finer sense of brotherhood between men and nations. These ends can be reached only through the organisation of the Moral forces of the world and a higher appreciation of spiritual values.

"(4) We are members one of another, and can progress only as all advance. Progress of the community therefore requires such social and economic readjustments as promote the physical, intellectual, and moral development of all.

"(5) The life of humanity is continuous. We are inheritors of all the past which lives on in us, as we shall live on in all that come after us; and, being thus creators of the future, we have in it immortality."

In 1928, on receiving a munificent legacy of £5,000, the Union was incorporated.* This necessitated the drawing up of a more succinct statement, "without prejudice to the Aims and Principles already in existence," which reads as follows:—

"The Objects of the Union are: To promote by all lawful means the study of ethical principles; to advocate a religion of human fellowship and service, based upon the principle that the supreme aim of religion is the love of goodness, and that moral ideas and the moral life are independent of beliefs as to the ultimate nature of things and a life after death; and, by purely human and natural means, to help men to love, know, and do the right in all relations of life."

These repeated re-formulations indicate both the Union's earnest desire of a satisfactory epitomising of the ethical faith and the difficulty of realising such an end. If we apply a practical test to this line of development, it appears that the elaboration of principles—above a modest and indispensable minimum—has little practical significance. The generality of the members, as a sheer matter of fact, however deplorable it may be, do not study these principles and when questioned by their friends as to their faith can only offer homely answers. The general public, on the other hand, declines almost altogether to examine these principles and is perplexed by them when it superficially does. Eventually, through repeated efforts, the right formula may be evolved, but it is more likely that only a sympathetic social atmosphere will make the viewpoint of the Ethical Movement comprehensible and commendable to the mass of mankind. This appears to be the case with Christianity. An objective reading of the New Testament bewilders the questioning student. Is he to offer doves as a sacrifice or not to offer any sacrifice at all? Is love of others or faith in Jesus the supreme mark of the Christian? Did Jesus mean that his disciples should or should not go among the Gentiles? Are we to be communists sharing all we have or may we be individualists or socialists? Are we to trust to daily effort or to daily prayer for our daily bread? Are we to go to Church to pray or are we to retire into our closet for this purpose? And so on almost interminably. If some Christians are ready with their reply as to what they believe in, it is, most likely, because they repeat popular watchwords. The social atmosphere or the preparedness of the age seems to be everything. Faith in Man, for instance, is, theoretically, probably as good a watchword as Faith in Christ, and to-morrow, indeed, the two watchwords may change places in the world's esteem.

What is suggested here is that, for practical purposes, the London

* "The incorporation of the Ethical Union," the Hon. Secretary writes, "has conferred democratic privileges on its subscribers, which they never before possessed. Before incorporation, Representatives appointed by the affiliated Societies had the sole right to vote at Congress. Now (in accordance with Board of Trade regulations) every Registered Subscriber has the right to initiate business for the Agenda of Congress, and the vote, in addition to the Representatives from the local Societies. This change has given Subscribers a personal interest in the Union, improved the attendance at Congress, and added to the quality of the discussions. Incidentally the list of subscribers materially increased."

Ethical Society method appears to be preferable—a brief, but comprehensive, statement which is reprinted in every Annual Report (and, better still, on all lecture announcements) and which can be freely altered without requiring every word to be scrupulously weighed. That is, two things appear to be essential—a simple literary form of statement of some two pages printed where it is most likely to be read, and this repeatedly, by all members and inquirers. If this were supplemented by a sixteen page pamphlet of the same nature—also open to revision, it would be an additional advantage. But these two statements would by no means preclude the drawing up of formal principles.

3. *Ethical Classes for Adults.*

The Union, however, was never content with only laying down the law regarding the faith cherished by the Movement. It desired to deepen, clarify, and justify this faith by encouraging systematic study. Thus as early as the first year, Dr. Stanton Coit conducted for six months fortnightly Ethics classes, taking consecutively for his subject Bishop Butler's famous *Sermons* and Immanuel Kant's *Metaphysics of Ethics.*

There was a lull apparently in this field, but the Report for 1900/1 states:—

"A Class for the study of the Bible from the point of view of its Ethical Teachings, has met at Surrey House fortnightly since the beginning of March. It has been conducted by Dr. Stanton Coit, and has been attended on an average by about 35 persons, some of whom have been thereby brought into touch with the Ethical Societies for the first time. The animated discussions which have taken place have testified that the class was ministering to a real need in the Ethical Movement."

In the following year (1901), the Bible Class not only continued meeting fortnightly to the end of March, but a School of Ethics was inaugurated, with the following impressive programme:—

Lecturer.	Subject.	No. of Lectures.
G. Spiller:	Psychology as the Science of Needs	20
W. Sanders:	The Political Re-organisation of the Masses	10
„	The Development of Justice in English Institutions...	10
J. McCabe:	Ethical Discipline in the Church of Rome	11
Miss Zona Vallance:	The Responsibilities of Women	10
J. R. MacDonald, L.C.C. [later, Prime Minister]:	Political, Social, and Economic Development of England in the Nineteenth Century...	8
Dr. J. Oakesmith:	The Religion and Ethics of the Stoics and Epicureans	6
H. Snell:	The Principles of Temperance Reform	5

"These lectures and classes were all free and open to the general public. They were followed each time by questions and discussion. In addition, free classes in German and French Conversation were conducted by Mrs. Stanton Coit and Mlle. Barboza (later, Mrs. Spiller) respectively. In all, about 420 persons made no fewer than 2,549 attendances."

In addition, Mr. Harrold Johnson conducted a successful Reading Circle, the theme being "The Life and Writings of Walt Whitman".

The programme of the School of Ethics for the session 1902/3 was no less crowded:—

Lecturer.	Subject.	No. of Lectures.
G. Spiller:	Elements of the Human Mind	20
W. Sanders:	Ideal Commonwealths	10
„	Modern European Democratic Movements	10
Harrold Johnson:	Poets of the Nineteenth Century...	8
„	Shakespeare's Women	10
J. McCabe:	Logic, as the Theory of Scientific Method	10
„	Applied Logic	7
Dr. J. Oakesmith:	First Century Paganism	12
Dr. Stanton Coit:	Systematic Ethics	5
„	Bible Class	4
„	Elocution	4
Miss Margaret McMillan:	Education through the Imagination ...	10

Furthermore, we read:—

"In addition to the above, a French and a German Reading Circle met weekly, conducted respectively by Mlle. Barboza and Mrs. Stanton Coit. Mlle. Barboza also held a class for elementary French. Each Section of the School of Ethics had the services of an Hon. Secretary, and from the records kept (including the Moral Instruction Circle from October to Easter) it has been calculated that 3,763 attendances were made, and that the collections and donations amounted to £27 5s. 4d. No charge was made in any of the Sections, the money contributed was entirely voluntary. Membership in the Union was not obligatory for attendance, the sections were thrown open to all persons who chose to attend. The distinctive feature of a discussion following each lecture was preserved throughout. Mention must also be made of a course of lectures on 'Religion', given by Dr. Stanton Coit in the summer of 1902, not included in the autumn or winter sessions, and of the Reading Circle, conducted by Mr. Spiller after Easter: the book selected was 'The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius'."

The third year's (1903/4) programme of the School of Ethics was as follows:—

Lecturer.	Subject.	No. of Lectures.
Dr. Stanton Coit:	Ethics in the School Room	8
„	Herbert Spencer's Sociology	8
Mr. G. E. O'Dell:	The Study of Character	10
„	The Problem of Crime	5
Mr. J. McCabe:	Critical Periods in Ecclesiastical History	10
Miss M. McMillan:	The Education of the Will	10
Mr. G. Spiller:	Man as Thinker	10
Mr. L. T. Hobhouse, M.A.:	Materials for the History of Ethics ...	10
Mr. H. Snell:	Present-day Social and Industrial Problems... ...	8
Mr. W. Sanders, L.C.C.:	The London Citizen	6
Dr. B. Hollander:	The Mental Organisation of Man	5
Mr. Arthur Kitson:	The Economics of Money	4

The paragraphs that follow this Syllabus are also pertinent to our subject, in that they evince the general interest exhibited in adult ethical education:—

"... The registers of attendance kept by the Secretaries of the different Sections, including the Moral Instruction Circle, show an aggregate of some 446 individuals who availed themselves of the lectures and classes, with a sum total of 2,936 attendances.

"These figures do not include two classes held by the School between Easter and Whitsuntide, also at 19, Buckingham Street. Miss FitzHerbert then gave a course of six demonstration lectures on 'Home Nursing', to which women only were invited, and Mr. Gustav Spiller conducted a Discussion Class on 'Liberty', John Stuart Mill's essay with that title being the text book of the Course.

"It is proposed that a new departure for the School of Ethics be made in the Sessions 1904/5, and that lectures and classes shall be given under the School at any local Ethical Society which will take the responsibility of making the necessary arrangements for a Course or Courses to be held, while a certain number of Courses will be maintained at the Centre."

For 1904/5, we must let the Report speak for itself:—

"A new departure in the annals of the School was made during the Sessions of 1904/5, for instead of the lectures and classes being confined to the Centre, Courses were also held at such local Societies as were willing to avail themselves of the lecturers' services. The following lectures were given at 19, Buckingham Street:—

Lecturer.	Subject.	No. of Lectures.
Mr. W. Sanders:	Social Tendencies in Nineteenth Century Literature	9
Mr. Gustav Spiller:	The Philosophy of Schopenhauer	8
Mr. G. E. O'Dell:	The Nature of Religion	8
Prof. Patrick Geddes:	Evolutionary Ethics	10
Rev. R. H. Greaves:	The Evolution of Christian Doctrine ...	10
Dr. Stanton Coit:	The Dynamics of Democracy	4
Mr. H. Snell:	Present-day Industrial and Social Problems ...	6

"Free classes in Esperanto, elementary and advanced, and a German Reading Circle, conducted by Mrs. Stanton Coit, met during both Sessions, while Mrs. Spiller held a French Class in the Spring.

"The following courses were given in connection with local Societies:—

"At the West London Ethical Society's Hall in Cornwall Road, Notting Hill:—

Lecturer.	Subject.	No. of Lectures.
Mr. W. Sanders:	Social Tendencies in Nineteenth Century Literature	9
Mr. G. E. O'Dell:	The Nature of Religion	7
Mr. F. W. Stoddard:	Physiology in Relation to Health	6
Miss Hodgson:	Home Nursing, with Practical Illustrations ...	7
Mr. W. Sanders:	Problems of Democracy	about 9
„	Economics and Politics	„ 8

"In connection with the Hampstead Ethical Institute:—

Dr. Stanton Coit:	A Policy for the Ethical Movement	5
Miss Maud FitzHerbert:	Home Nursing	6

"In connection with the South London Ethical Society:—

Mr. Harrold Johnson:	Bible Class	12
„	Emerson's Essays	13

"In connection with the Battersea Ethical Society:—

Miss Maud FitzHerbert:	Home Nursing	13

"In connection with the Forest Gate Ethical Church:—

Mr. G. E. O'Dell:	The Nature of Religion	7

"In connection with the St. Pancras Ethical Society:—

Mr. H. Snell:	Famous Cities: Their History and Evolution ...	6

"Owing, partly, to the exceptional difficulties in the way of ascertaining the attendance at the meetings over so large an area, the following figures must be understood as being approximate only. Total number of Lectures and Classes, 214; No. of Attendances, 2,800; No. of Students, 480."

The School of Ethics report for 1905/6 is not quite so encouraging, although great activity was displayed, no less than 110 lectures, etc., being delivered. We read:—

"The work of the School of Ethics has not proceeded at the rate the Council would have liked to report. Nevertheless, important and valuable work has been done. The lectures have been fairly well supported, and those attending them have been brought into closer touch with the fundamental principles of the Ethical Movement and with the principles and methods of modern science. The courses given at the Centre have included one by Dr. Coit on Aristotle's *Ethics*, and one by Mr. Spiller on 'The Twentieth Century View of the Moral Life'. Mr. O'Dell has taken a course on Salter's *Ethical Religion*. Another course on 'First Aid' was given by Dr. Kingsford, and, as the result of an arrangement with the University Extension Board, Professor Patrick Geddes gave a course on 'Contemporary Social Evolution'. The Council have co-operated with the Moral Instruction League in the work of the Moral Instruction Circle, and classes in singing and German have been held. Messrs. Sanders, Johnson, Spiller and O'Dell have also given courses of lectures in connection with the South London, Wood Green, West London, and the Battersea Ethical Societies. The total number of attendances at the work of the session in this department has been 1,609, and the total number of lectures, etc., 110."

Financial difficulties obliged the Union to restrict drastically its expenditure on premises, and one of the results was the closing of the School of Ethics in 1906/7. But the following year it was partially revived in connection with the Emerson Club, "on whose premises successful courses have been given on 'Plato', by Mr. [later, Dr.] Cecil Delisle Burns; on 'Spinoza's Philosophy', by Mr. H. J. Golding; on 'Positivism and the Ethical Movement', by Mr. Philip Thomas; and on 'Eugenics', by Dr. Coit". The Emerson Club, we may mention, was housed in the same building as the Union's offices and was founded by members of London Ethical Societies.

In 1910/11, there was a faint revival of the School of Ethics, which became more distinct in 1911/12, as the latter Report shows. During 1912/13, a special course of lectures on "The Economic Position of Women" was delivered, the lecturers including several noted suffragists, and a Study Circle in Comparative Religion was held under the leadership of Dr. Stanton Coit. In the year following, the Study Circle continued meeting, among the subjects discussed being "The Relation of Rationalism to the Ethical Movement", "Positivism", "Swedenborgianism", "Theosophy", and "Christian Science".

The war period was necessarily almost barren of educational efforts by the Union. But already during the Armistice month, November 1918, Mr. Joseph McCabe and Mr. Harry Snell delivered a course of public lectures on "The Jubilee of Evolution", "Religious Reaction after the War", and "A New Faith for a New Age". The meetings

were presided over by Dr. Leonard Huxley, the Hon. John Collier, and Sir George Greenwood respectively.

In 1921, we read of a much appreciated course of lectures by Mr. A. D. Howell Smith, B.A., on "The Evolution of the Idea of Christ", and in 1922 and 1923 also some special lectures were organised at the Union's headquarters. In 1925, a Study Circle was arranged to consider "The Relation of Finance to Human Welfare". The speakers and subjects were: Prof. F. Soddy, of Oxford, on "The Physical Criteria of Wealth to which a Monetary System must Conform or Fail"; Mr. Arthur Brenton, editor of the *New Age,* on "The Social Credit Scheme"; Mr. Arthur Kitson on "The Present Working of International Finance"; Major C. P. Isaac, author of *The Menace of Money Power,* on "Free Banking"; Prof. T. E. Gregory, of the School of Economics, on "The Financial System in Relation to the Problems of To-day"; and Mr. E. H. M. Lloyd on "The Gold Standard and the Control of Credit". "There was a very good attendance, averaging 56, the highest being 85 for the first lecture, when a number were turned away." In 1926, a second series of week-night lectures on the same theme was organised. The Study Circle was resumed in 1927 and continued in 1928 in the form of a Reading Circle.

During 1926, the first Week-end Ethical Summer School was held at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, in the vicinity of London. Lectures were given by Prof. Soddy on "The Need for and the Application of Financial Reform", Mr. F. J. Gould on "Ethics in the People's Schools", and Mr. Dimsdale Stocker on "The Problem of Duty and its Solution". The Week-End Summer School has continued to meet at High Leigh year by year, with similar programmes, and has attracted considerable numbers (70 participants in 1930).

In 1928, a Eugenics Study Circle was organised, at which addresses were given by Mrs. Hodson, Education Secretary to the Eugenics Society, on "The Origin of Man", "Mental Inheritance", and "The Programme of the Eugenics Society". This course proved so popular that a further series was arranged as follows: October 19—Mr. C. Hentschell on "Mendel's Law"; November 2—Miss Olive Lodge on "Natural Selection"; November 16—Mr. Eldon Moore on "The Eugenics Programme"; and November 30—Mr. Howell Smith on "Eugenics and the Outlook for Civilisation".

From January to March 1929, a Study Circle on "The Ethics of the Land Question" was conducted by Mr. W. R. Lester, M.A. During November of the same year Mr. F. Pollard, M.A., led a class on "The Moral Approach to International Relations".

Thus the Union has been almost unintermittently engaged in educational work for adults.

4. *Propagandist and Other Literature.*

The written word supplemented the spoken word in diverse ways. Right from the beginning, attempts were made to build up a substantial library with a view to encouraging serious reading. Fortunately, in the very first year, a lady, Miss Bidlake, generously presented a sum of £350

for the purpose of founding a McIntyre Ethical Library. In consequence, some 2,000 carefully selected volumes were acquired, to the great benefit of the Ethical Movement generally and the Union's classes in particular.

Among Union publications should be mentioned, first and foremost, *The Ethical Movement: Its Principles and Aims,* published in 1911, and written by Mr. (now Dr.) Horace J. Bridges, Dr. Stanton Coit, Mr. G. E. O'Dell, and Mr. Harry Snell (later, M.P., C.B.E., and peer). A first edition of 3,000 copies was soon exhausted, demonstrating the importance and popularity of the work.

Much earlier, in 1900, the Society of Ethical Propagandists, an independent body unofficially collaborating with the Union, had published a volume similar in intent, *Ethics and Religion,* consisting of a collection of reprinted lectures by ethical notabilities—Sir John Seeley, Dr. Felix Adler, W. M. Salter, Prof. Henry Sidgwick, Prof. G. von Gizycki, Dr. Bernard Bosanquet, Leslie Stephen, Dr. Stanton Coit, and Prof. J. H. Muirhead. The Union refers to this work in its 1899/1900 Report and also, in the succeeding year, to the publication by the same body of a volume of original essays, entitled *Ethical Democracy,* the writers being—Prof. D. G. Ritchie, G. H. Perris, J. R. MacDonald (since then twice Prime Minister), J. A. Hobson, Prof. J. H. Muirhead, Miss Zona Vallance, F. J. Gould, Miss Margaret McMillan, Prof. Robert Adamson, Prof. Christian Collin (Norway), and Dr. Stanton Coit.

A publication of capital importance, issued for the Union, was the *Ethical Hymn Book,* compiled by Dr. Stanton Coit and Mr. G. Spiller, which passed through several editions and was in use in most Ethical Societies. This also appeared later in a musical edition, prepared for the Council. The Union's Report for 1902/3 further mentions that a "new and enlarged edition of *Songs of Love and Duty* [compiled by Mr. G. Spiller] has been issued under the title of *Hymns of Love and Duty.* These hymns are intended for use in children's Ethical Classes and in Schools."

Again, the Union was instrumental in having reprinted Mr. William M. Salter's inspiring volume, *Ethical Religion,* of which many thousand copies were sold.

Lastly, in commemoration of its twenty-first anniversary in 1915/16, the Union published a volume of essays, under the title, *A Generation of Religious Progress,* the contributors to which were—Sir Harry H. Johnston, Alfred W. Martin (New York), William Archer, Margaret McMillan, Joseph McCabe, Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, Charles T. Gorham, S. K. Ratcliffe, and G. Spiller (editor).

The following pamphlets and leaflets were published by the Union in the course of its history:—

PAMPHLETS.

F. J. Gould, The Moral Instruction of Children in Classes.
Dr. Stanton Coit, The Ethical Movement Defined.
Harrold Johnson, The Religious Problem—a Solution.
Gustav Spiller, The Ethical Movement and the Miraculous.
Dr. Stanton Coit, The Spiritual Atmosphere at Ethical Meetings.

W. M. Salter, Why Live a Moral Life?
Harrold Johnson, The Church of the Past and the Church of the Future.
Joseph McCabe, The Supremacy of the Moral Ideal.
Zona Vallance, The Ethical Movement and the After-Life.
William Sanders, Ethical Citizenship.
Miss Margaret McMillan, The Mission of Children.
Miss Zona Vallance, Women and the Ethical Movement.
H. J. Bridges, The Enthusiasm of Humanity.
G. E. O'Dell, The Problem of the Disappointed Soul.
Dr. John Oakesmith, Beauty or Goodness, or Both?
G. Spiller, What Do Ethical Societies Stand For?
Harry Snell, The Church of Man.
Dr. Stanton Coit, Christian Science—Why Mrs. Eddy Succeeded.
H. Snell, Ethical Association.
H. Snell, Nationalism as a Religion.
H. Snell, The Two Germanies.
G. A. Smith, A Humanist Religion.
Prof. J. H. Muirhead, Moral Progress as Historical Fact and Practical Ideal.
H. Snell, The Spiritual Reconstruction of England.
H. Snell, Will Democracy Last?
Through Physical Well-Being to Moral Well-Being.

LEAFLETS.

Manifesto of the International Ethical Union.
F. A. Law, A Religion for Everybody.
Ethical Fellowship.
A Basis for Religious Union.
Faith in Man.
A Few Points about Ethical Societies.
Ethics: or, The Religion of Ethics.
Morality and the Supernatural.
What We Believe.
The Work of the Ethical Movement.
Is Religion Played Out?
William M. Salter, Can Morality Become a Religion?
A Plea for Calm Reflection on International Affairs.
Prof. Felix Adler, The Aims of Ethical Societies.
Manifesto on the European War.
Through Physical Well-Being to Moral Well-Being.
Manifesto of the Union of Ethical Societies concerning the Education Compromise.
The Education Question. An Appeal to the Electors by the Union of Ethical Societies.
Manifesto of the Women's Group of the Ethical Movement.
Dr. Felix Adler, The Ethical Movement after Fifty Years.

5. *Periodicals.*

The idea of issuing an "Ethical Journal" was already mooted during the first year of the Union's existence. By the following year *The Ethical World* (edited by Dr. Stanton Coit) had been launched and was the rallying point of the British Ethical Movement for many a year. For ten years the Union relied almost entirely on *The Ethical World* for linking

the Societies and their members. In 1908/9, however, we read of "an interesting experiment":—

"The Council issued in November and December *The Ethical Societies' Chronicle,* a little 4-page sheet which gave in full the lecture-lists of the Societies and contained short propaganda articles. The paper was intended for free distribution, the cost of printing being repaid by the charge for advertisements, and the Societies were entitled to a number of copies in proportion to the amount paid by them respectively for their lecture announcements. Representations having been made, however, by Mr. Watts that the paper was damaging the sale of *The Ethical World,* it was decided to suspend the *Chronicle* temporarily."

Again, the following paragraph appeared in the 1915/16 Report:—

"The Council had long felt the need of a periodical which would be under its own control, and in which it could secure loyal and adequate exposition of its principles and policy, and, after careful consideration, it was decided that the time had come to make an experiment in that direction. The first number of *The Ethical Movement* was therefore published in May last, and four additional numbers have since been issued. In the first number the Editorial Board expressly stated that the paper was 'not issued in opposition to *The Ethical World*'."

The Ethical World having meanwhile ceased publication, the Council of the Union decided in favour of the publication of a monthly instead of a quarterly periodical. (Six numbers of *The Ethical Movement* were published, the last in October 1916.) The Report for 1916/17 states on this point:—

"After anxious deliberation, the Council decided to stop the issue of its quarterly magazine, *The Ethical Movement.* The results of a public appeal for financial support, together with a guarantee of £25 from its own scanty funds, enabled the Council to proceed with its project, and the first number of *The Humanist* was issued in January last, under the joint editorship of Messrs. G. A. Smith and C. T. Gorham, with Mr. C. A. Watts as publisher. *The Humanist* is produced under the control of the Council with whom its editors are in close contact, and every effort is being made to make it a worthy representative of the Union's principles."

The Humanist continued to be published until March 1922, when, owing to inadequate financial support, it ceased publication. However, the following January (1923) *The Ethical Societies' Chronicle* was revived by the Union, as the following statement shows:—

"In accordance with the instructions given by the Congress of last year, the Council considered the possibility of producing a new paper, and, after full and careful inquiry, it decided to publish a four-page news sheet, which should deal almost exclusively with the internal affairs of the Movement, and endeavour to form a link between the members and their respective Societies, and between the Societies and the Union. Mr. Dimsdale Stocker kindly undertook the duties of editor, and Mrs. Seaton Tiedeman, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, took over the business side of the paper."

Since January 1923, *The Ethical Societies' Chronicle* has regularly appeared as a monthly four-page news-sheet under Mr. Dimsdale Stocker's able editorship.

Practically throughout its existence, the Union has been in this way in a position to count on the support of a periodical.

6. *Moral Education.*

From the very commencement the Union was deeply interested in the moral education of the young.

During the first year an important course of Lectures on the Moral Instruction of Children was delivered, as the result of a deep conviction that teachers should be efficiently trained before undertaking to give moral instruction lessons. Here is the full series of lectures: Madame Michaelis (Principal of the Froebel Educational Institute), Oct. 7, I. "Moral Training, indirect means, (a) In the family, (b) In the school". Oct. 21, II. "Moral Teaching: what methods to use". Dr. J. J. Findlay, M.A. (Principal of the Training College for Teachers in Secondary Schools at the College of Preceptors), Nov. 4, I. "The State and Moral Education". Nov. 18, II. "The State and Moral Education". Miss Alice Woods (Principal of the Maria Grey Training College), Dec. 2, "Special Childish Faults and Means of Correction". Mr. F. J. Gould, Dec. 16, "The Moral Instruction of Children in Classes". J. H. Muirhead, M.A., Jan. 13, "Ought we to follow Nature in Education?" Miss M. E. Crees (Hon. Sec. of the British Association for Child-Study), Jan. 27, "Nature Study in connection with Moral Training". Miss Alice Woods, Feb. 10, "Children's Amusements: Their Moral Effect". Mr. F. J. Gould, Feb. 24, "Illustrations of Moral Instruction Lessons". Francis Warner, M.D., March 10, "Children who need Special Care and Training". Dr. Stanton Coit, March 24, "Immanuel Kant on the Moral Training of Children".

The lectures were followed by discussion.

In accord with its moral instruction policy, the Union organised the Moral Instruction School Board Conference (reported on in Chapter IX), out of which developed the Moral Instruction League whose principal officers were for many years active members of the Ethical Movement. (The Hon. Secretaries down to 1913 were: Miss Zona Vallance (Dec. 1897-Jan. 1900), Mr. C. E. Hooper (Jan. 1900-Jan. 1901), Dr. Stanton Coit (Jan. 1901-April 1902), Mr. Harrold Johnson (April 1902-June 1913).

Moreover, for a number of years the Union was most energetic in furthering and establishing ethical classes for children. Yet the difficulties involved in finding teachers, convenient and permanent premises, and the like, and the sheer fact of so many Ethical Societies dissolving, have reduced their number to a vanishing point.

The 1897 Congress of the Union had definite ideas on moral instruction, which it expressed in the following six Resolutions quoted in the 1898/99 Report:—

(1) "That there is urgent need of introducing systematic moral instruction without theological colouring into the Board-schools in place of the present religious teaching."

(2) "That this moral instruction should be made the central, culminating, and converging point of the whole system of elementary education, giving

unity and organic connection to all the other lines of teaching, and to all the general discipline of the school life."

(3) "That public opinion must with all possible speed and persistence be educated to regard such a unifying principle as the only true basis of teaching in Board-schools, and its introduction as the only settlement of the controversy concerning the Compromise of 1871."

(4) "That in normal colleges and in classes outside such colleges elementary teachers must be taught how to inculcate human virtues and duties systematically and concretely, without appealing to supernatural sanctions, and that teachers' text-books setting forth the methods and subject-matter of direct moral instruction shall be placed at the disposal of all Board-school teachers."

(5) "That on no account should this great educational reform which we advocate be hazarded by an attempt to introduce it before public opinion sanctions it, or before teachers have been trained to give moral instruction efficiently."

(6) "That in view of the forthcoming School Board election in November, 1897, (a) leaflets, pamphlets, lectures, and public discussion, should be used as means to educate the public in the principles embodied in the foregoing resolutions; (b) suitable persons who will champion the cause of systematic moral instruction at the forthcoming election be invited to stand as candidates."

The Union's educational interest can also be inferred from the fact that the first pamphlet it published was Mr. F. J. Gould's *The Moral Instruction of Children in Classes.*

However, the Union's most important direct contribution to the cause of moral instruction was the institution of a Moral Instruction Circle. This Circle convinced numerous London teachers and parents that moral instruction could be interestingly and effectively given. At the same time it afforded an opportunity of discovering the best methods of teaching by providing for the discussion of the lessons given, after the children addressed had withdrawn. Here is the first published list of lessons to children, taken from the 1899/1900 Report:—

Mr. F. J. Gould: Important and Unimportant Differences between Individuals, December 13, 1899.
Mr. H. H. Quilter: The Basis of Property, January 31, 1900.
Mrs. Montefiore: Service, February 23, 1900.
Miss E. Peck: Habit, March 21, 1900.
Miss N. Freeman: The Dignity of Labour, April 2, 1900.
Mr. A. Pinhorne: Happiness, April 23, 1900.
Mr. H. H. Quilter: War, May 21, 1900.

Mr. H. H. Quilter, later one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, was the first organiser of the Circle. In 1899/1900, Miss Zona Vallance succeeded Mr. Quilter. In the Report for 1900/1, we read:—

"This Section of the Union's work has been very successful, the Circle having largely increased in numbers and in vigour during the present Session. One very satisfactory feature has been the percentage of teachers at the meetings. Rather more than one-fourth of the visitors has consisted of Board School or other teachers. Since the last Annual Report there have been eight criticism lessons given at Surrey House, on the dates as under:—

H. Spence (No title given), June 11, 1900.
W. Umlauff: War, July 16, 1900.
F. G. Gould: Industry, December 17, 1900.
Gustav Spiller: The Wages of Sin, January 14, 1901.
A. G. Brown: Humaneness, February 18, 1901.
Mrs. Umlauff: Flowers—as Examples, March 18, 1901.
Miss Eva Young: Justice, or a Lesson on an Old Fairy Tale, April 15, 1901.
H. H. Quilter: Use and Mis-Use, May 20, 1901.

"The new Session opened on December 17th with an attendance of 21. This number has been increasing, until at the last meeting 37 adults were present. No less than 92 different persons have attended this Session."

In the following year (1901/2), 14 lessons of the same type were again given:—

"In addition to these lessons, Conferences on the moral instruction suitable for infants and for children in Standards I. and II., were held under the leadership of Mr. H. H. Quilter."

During 1902/3, eighteen demonstration lessons were provided. We read:—

"Over 160 scholars from Ethical, Socialist, Jewish and Christian schools have been taught in the presence of 240 visitors. The average attendance of listeners has been 40. Many of the lessons have been on subjects taken from the Moral Instruction League's syllabus for elementary schools, and with a view to providing material for future reference, the notes of all lessons given during the present Session have been carefully preserved, with the kind consent of the teachers."

During 1903/4, a further eleven lessons were arranged. These were the last under the auspices of the Union, as "the Council of the Union acceded to the request of the Moral Instruction League that the Circle might be handed over to the League". After this date, no overt references occur to the moral education of the young, mainly, no doubt, because this section of the Union's activities was tacitly left to be carried out by the Moral Instruction League whose Committee included a number of the Union's experienced educational workers.

7. *The Societies.*

So far as the subject of Societies is concerned, the Union has passed through all the stages of boundless expectation to sober resignation.

In 1896, at the inception of the Union, it consisted of the North, South, East, and West London Ethical Societies. But outside the Union there were also the London, the South Place, the Battersea, the Portsmouth, the Belfast, and the Cambridge Ethical Societies.

The most general information concerning all British Ethical Societies will be best summarised in a table based on the Union's Annual Reports, giving name, time of foundation, time of joining and leaving the Union, and time of dissolution. Where Societies merely changed their name, this will be ignored. It is worthy of note that "there were in 1906 some 42 Ethical Societies in existence". (Dr. Stanton Coit, in his *National Idealism and a State Church,* London, 1907, p. 82.) The Union's Report for 1905/6 speaks of 26 Societies in the Union and some 14 ethical groups outside the Union.

STATISTICAL TABLE.

Name.	Founded.	Joined the Union.	Left the Union.	Dissolved.
South Place E.S.	1793	—	—	—
London E.S.	1886	—	—	1897
Cambridge E.S.	1888	—	—	—
East London E.S.	1889	1895	—	—
West London E.S.	1892	1895	1916	—
South London E.S.	1892	1895	—	—
North London E.S.	1895	1895	—	1911
Battersea E.S.	1897	1897	—	1909
Portsmouth E.S....	1897	—	—	—
Belfast E.S.	1897	1898	—	1913
Bristol E.S.	1897	—	—	—
Edinburgh E.S.	1897	—	—	—
Bradford E.S.	1898	—	—	—
Rochester and Chatham E.S.	1898	—	—	—
Croydon E. and Rel. Fellowship ...	1898	1907	—	1911
Galston E. Club...	1898	—	—	—
Leicester (Group)	1898	—	—	—
Croydon Labour Church	1898	—	—	—
Woking (Group)	1898	—	—	—
E. Religion Society	?	—	—	?
Glasgow E.S.	1900	1913	—	1917
Hampstead E. Institute	1900	1904	—	—
Birmingham Labour Church	1901	1902	1908	—
Bolton Labour Church...	1901	1902	—	1907
Hanley Labour Church	1901	1902	1908	—
West Bromwich Labour Church ...	1901	1902	—	—
Wimbledon E.S.	1902	1903	—	1907
Forest Gate E. Church...	1902	1903	—	1906
Hyde Labour Church	1902	1902	—	1906
Greenwich E.S.	1902	1902	—	1912
Merthyr Tydfil E.S.	1903	1905	1908	—
Cardiff E.S.	1903	1905	—	1906
Aberdare E.S.	1903	—	—	—
Chesterfield E. Fellowship	1903	1904	1908	—
Sheffield E.S.	1903	1905	—	1924
Nelson E.S.	1903	1904	—	1911
Liverpool E.S.	1903	1911	—	1924
Wood Green E.S.	1903	1905	—	—
Kingston Humanitarian S.	1903	1904	—	1926
N. Kensington E.S.	1904	1904	—	—
Forest Group	1903	1924	—	—
East Ham E. Fellowship	1904	1905	—	1907
Plumstead E.S.	1904	1905	1908	—
Fulham E.S.	1904	1906	—	—
Blackwood E.S.	1904	—	—	—
Auckland E.S. (N.Z.)	1904	—	—	—
Holloway E.S.	1905	1906	—	—
Oxford E.S.	1905	—	—	—
Manchester E.S.	1905	1907	—	1909
Plymouth E.S.	1905	—	—	—

STATISTICAL TABLE (*Continued*).

Name.	Founded.	Joined the Union.	Left the Union.	Dissolved.
Pontypridd E.S.	1906	—	—	—
Cheltenham E.S.	1906	1908	—	1912
Barnes E.S.	1906	—	—	—
Halifax E.S.	1907	—	—	—
Paignton E.S.	1907	—	—	—
Wolverton E.S.	1907	—	—	—
Hammersmith E.S.	1907	1913	—	—
(I.L.P. Group)	1908	—	—	—
Golders Green E.S.	1909	1909	—	1925
Nottingham E. Fellowship	1909	1913	—	—
Penarth E.S.	1909	—	—	—
Harringay E.S.	1909	1909	—	1914
Abertillery E.S.	1910	1910	—	1916
Norwich L. Ch. and E.S.	1910	1910	—	1912
Brentham E.S.	1911	1911	—	1912
Stoke-on-Trent E.S.	1912	1912	—	—
Falkirk E.S.	1913	1913	—	1914
Bedford E.S.	1913	—	—	—
Alfreton E.S.	1913	—	—	—
Central London E.S.	1915	1915	—	1923
Women's Group...	1915	1915	—	—
Young People's Group...	1923	1925	—	—
University College E. Union	1927	—	—	—
Wimbledon E.S.	1927	1930	—	—
Total	74	46		

Thus, according to the Annual Reports of the Union, altogether some 74 Ethical Societies have been started, to the Union's knowledge, in Great Britain, the earliest of a definite type being the London Ethical Society, founded in 1886. Of these 74 Societies, no less than 46 passed through the Union, the smallest number of federated Societies at any time being 4 (at the Union's inception) and the largest, 26 (in 1905/6). At present there are 10 Ethical centres in existence—the South Place Ethical Society, the Ethical Church, the South London Ethical Society, the Hampstead Ethical Institute, Wimbledon Ethical Society, the Women's Group, the Forest Group, the Young People's Group, the University College (London) Ethical Union, and the Manchester University Ethical Society. The more vigorous newcomers began and continued to multiply from 1901 to 1909. After that date, the number of groups diminished and during and, especially, after the War most of them succumbed to the adverse social conditions prevailing universally.

The fluctuations in the number of the Ethical centres affiliated to the Union approximately measure the Union's outward strength at any time —1896/97 (4), 1897/98 (5), 1898/99 (6), 1899/1900 (6), 1900/1 (6), 1901/2 (10), 1902/3 (14), 1903/4 (17), 1904/5 (25), 1905/6 (26), 1906/7 (24), 1907/8 (23), 1908/9 (17), 1909/10 (17), 1910/11 (17), 1911/12 (17), 1912/13 (13), 1913/14 (16), 1914/15 (15), 1915/16 (15). From these figures we gather that the decided upward movement began in 1901/2; continued

until 1903/4; stood for 4 years (1904/5 to 1907/8) at its highest, with an average of about 25 affiliated Societies; and then sharply fell to 17, at which level it remained more or less until after the War had broken out. But for the War, and particularly its aftermath, the fluctuations do not suggest that the Union is suffering from more than a temporary setback.

The factors involved in the entire series of fluctuations have no doubt their definite antecedents. One crucial cause operating about 1900, was certainly the favourable social atmosphere, especially among the working class élite. However, there were also auxiliary factors at work which were no less crucial. Dr. Stanton Coit, with his enthusiasm, ability, and titanic energy, was a host in himself; but not satisfied with this, he gathered around the Union, besides a number of voluntary part-time helpers, quite a noticeably big group of largely whole-time workers (Mr. Harrold Johnson, Mr. Joseph McCabe, Miss Margaret McMillan, Mr. G. E. O'Dell, Mr. William Sanders, Mr. Harry Snell, Mr. G. Spiller, and others) who proclaimed the ethical gospel here, there, and everywhere in the land. Without them, ethical groups would have found it difficult to start and even more difficult to continue. And these missionaries not only went where they were invited, but they circumambulated the country. Even so, it would have been embarrassing "to feed the flock," had not Dr. Stanton Coit also established *The Ethical World,* a weekly (and later monthly) which from 1898 to well into the War period supplied the regular spiritual food required by the numerous scattered Ethical groups and, in addition, acted as a recruiting agent for new Ethical Societies. It will be understood, therefore, that when the funds for supporting the company of travelling missionaries dwindled, the outlook ceased to be promising.

As we have seen, the Union was keenly conscious of the need of a propagandist periodical. However, the Union has been no less convinced that the problem of an adequate supply of speakers is a vital one, which must be solved if the Movement is to progress. The Reports repeatedly return to this question. Thus we read in the Report for 1904/5:—

"The Hon. Lecture Agent has corresponded with local secretaries when desired, to assist them in procuring lecturers for their Societies. There are sixteen lecturers' names on the Union's Register, besides a few others to whom occasional application is made. The services of the Union's Lecture Agent are free to all the federated Societies, and may always be sought when it is a question of opening new centres."

In 1905/6, we read:—

"Considering that the whole of its lecturing work has been done by volunteers, the Council regards the results as satisfactory. The Council looks forward to being able to have capable salaried lecturers stationed permanently in the provinces, especially in Wales and the North of England. Meanwhile the Council regrets that there has been a slackening in the amount of propaganda which it has been able to undertake in the provinces, and it is earnestly considering how the special needs of the provincial Societies can be met. One of the measures already adopted has been the collection of a small library of printed manuscript lectures that might be borrowed by local societies when

lecturers cannot otherwise be obtained. Steps are also being taken to assist in the training of lecturers who live in the country, who would be willing to submit their work to the experienced judgment of someone appointed by the Council for this purpose."

The Union was therefore fully alive to its responsibilities. The following year the Union felt that it was virtually futile to organise new centres unless a sufficient number of speakers could be made available:—

"The Council has not felt justified in responding to the many invitations it has received to start new societies in different parts of the country. Experience has taught it that unless these new ventures can be supplied with suitable and attractive lecturers during the first year of their existence they do not thrive, and may prove a hindrance rather than a help to the Movement as a whole. Unfortunately our accredited lecturers are not sufficient to meet the demand for their services, and they cannot be spared to any great extent from the platforms of the old-established Societies."

The Union returns, with increased emphasis, to the same charge in 1907/8:—

"Many applications for help in starting new Ethical Societies have been received from friends in different parts of the country, to which the Council have not been able to respond. Wherever societies spring up spontaneously, the Council is glad to offer what help it can, but it cannot at present recommend the creation of new Societies, especially in districts far removed from London, unless they are backed by capable and loyal workers who are able to secure an efficient and regular supply of suitable and attractive speakers. One of the greatest needs of the Movement is an increased staff of lecturers, and the Council expresses its gratification at the rapidly increasing number of speakers who are willing to render service on its platforms. The comparative ease with which lecturers on interesting subjects can be obtained, should not, however, obscure the fact that the number of speakers to whom the Ethical Movement is of the first and vital importance is far below our needs. The Council has taken steps to help those who desire to equip themselves for regular service in the Movement, and a well-attended class on 'Lecture Training' has been conducted by Mr. Snell, from which it is hoped much good may come."

These poignant references to speakers throw so much light on the vicissitudes of the British Ethical Movement that I quote another passage, this time from the 1910/11 Report:—

"Applications have been received for advice and assistance respecting the foundation of new Groups, both at home and abroad. The Colonies appear to offer a particularly promising field for the establishment of the Movement, and it is hoped that means may be found whereby the Union can arrange for one of its representative speakers to visit both Australia and New Zealand in the near future. The Council has given all the help possible in response to the enquiries that have reached it, but its powers of usefulness are restricted, owing to the limited number of speakers upon whom it can rely for help. Practically the whole of the available speakers reside in London, and scarcely any of them are able to undertake engagements in the provinces owing to the sacrifices of time that provincial journeys involve. The Council is endeavouring to meet the urgent demand for speakers trained to deal effectively with subjects of an Ethical character by providing special classes and lecture courses for members willing to equip themselves for service upon the

Ethical platform. The Chairman of the Council has been especially active in this connection; and the Council is indebted to him for the classes in Ethics and in Public Speaking that he has conducted at the Union's headquarters, and also in connection with the Harringay, Hackney, and Greenwich Societies. It is expected that, as a result, several new speakers will be available for service in the autumn. It is proposed to continue this work, in the hope that more speakers will take advantage of the training and practice offered."

The Report for 1912/13 lucidly sums up the obstacles in the way of a successful propaganda and closes on the same key-note of the need of an adequate provision of effective speakers:—

"Several reasons, in addition to those noted above, may be mentioned in explanation of this falling away of our strength. There is the undeniable fact that only comparatively few people enrol themselves on the lists of the societies with which they are in intellectual sympathy, and nearly every organised religious sect in England has to lament a diminution in the number of its active adherents. The many forces working for social and political reform also make a disproportionate demand upon the energies of that section of the public that accepts our views, for nearly all the members and sympathisers with the Ethical Movement are ardent social reformers, and many good causes make demands upon their time and resources. The agitation for the enfranchisement of women has had the effect of diverting much help and some financial assistance from our Movement. There is also the fact, perhaps the most weighty of them all, that the supply of trained and sufficiently attractive speakers is far short of the needs of the Movement, with the result that the public is likely to miss the definitely Ethical Movement point of view in the many-sided propaganda that is voiced from our platforms."

Here is another suggested means of reinforcing the work of the platform, taken from the Report for 1913/14:—

"With the idea of helping to promote unity of outlook in the presentation of the message of the Movement, the Council, in November, called together a preliminary meeting of the regular lecturers on our platforms, when Mr. H. Snell opened a discussion on 'How can the platform best strengthen and develop the Movement'. Sixteen lecturers attended, and it was unanimously agreed that frequent meetings of the same kind should be convened. The Council feels sure that an interchange of thought and suggestion among the lecturers will help to strengthen the work of the platform, and do much to promote a sense of comradeship and helpfulness among the speakers themselves."

And a last word from the post-War period:—

"The Council, looking to the time when the Movement will extend beyond its present bounds, is impressed by the need of training the propagandists and lecturers who will then be urgently needed. It asks the Committees of all Societies to keep a vigilant eye for such of their younger members as show aptitude for public speaking, and to put such in communication with the Secretary, in order that the necessary encouragement and guidance may be given. The Council appeals to all concerned to give the most earnest consideration to this matter." (Report for 1921.)

If the Union has not always commanded success, it has merited it by its persistent, varied, and far-sighted efforts.

8. *The Annual Congresses of the Union.*

The Annual Congresses are, broadly, the collective Annual General Meetings of the Societies federated in the Union.

A not inconsiderable portion of the Congress sessions has been occupied with the forging of an efficient and effective administrative machine. From time to time the Congresses have also instructed the Union's Executive to revise the Union's Principles and to submit the outcome of their deliberations in this field for the consideration of the Congresses, with what result we have seen in Section 2 of this Chapter. The question of both local and central organisation in the wider and fuller sense was raised at one of the Congresses. An Organisation Committee was appointed consisting of " the Secretaries of all the Societies, the officers of the Union, those appointed by Congress, and others co-opted ". This Committee issued for the Annual Congress of 31st May 1913 a printed *Report of the Committee on Organisation,* covering thirty pages.

The Congresses proved also highly useful in passing numerous resolutions supporting or censuring public action in one or another sphere, thus manifesting the keen interest of the Movement in the issues of the day. In this connection warm debates took place more particularly relative to the ethical value of the present economic system. On one occasion, at the Union's 1924 Annual Congress, the following circumstantial resolution was passed on the latter subject:

" Since the moral and educational life of the community, both in its individual and civic aspects, cannot be developed without a sound material basis, and as the distribution of purchasing power under our present system has failed, and is bound to fail, to provide such material basis, the supporters of the Ethical Movement should bring enthusiastic pressure to bear on all religious and political authorities in the direction of the establishment of a system which will so distribute purchasing power as to make possible an effective economic demand for adequate food, clothing, and shelter from every individual composing the community."

As a result, a four-page quarto leaflet was published, entitled *Through Physical Well-Being to Moral Well-Being,* An Appeal from the Ethical Union to the Adherents of all Forms of FAITH and Thought, of all Political Parties. Attached to the text was a long classified list of books recommended for study. In 1929, this was republished with an equally long addendum entitled *Fellowship and the Daily Bread* (A Supplementary Appeal from the Ethical Union, 1929).

Finally, the Annual Congresses have served the capital purpose of bringing the members of the federated Societies into close personal contact, affording in this way a stimulus to intensified local and central activity for the ensuing year.

9. *Finance and Officers.*

In a certain sense, the finances of the Union have been the determining factor in its progress. Goodwill there always has been in abundance, but the work accomplished has been almost invariably in

direct proportion to the funds available. The subjoined table of income and expenditure, like most tables of this kind, is not entirely self-explanatory. Thus in the very first year the income includes a gift of £300 for the establishment of an Ethical Library, an expenditure of £176 on this object, and consequently a heavy balance in hand. But taking the table as a whole, its meaning is clear, provided we remember that from about the middle of the War period the purchasing power of the £ had fallen considerably.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

	Balance brought forward.	Net receipts.	Net payments.	Balance.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1 April 1897	—	389 3 1	219 15 4	169 7 9
1 „ 1898	169 7 9	71 6 1	163 2 3	77 11 7
1 „ 1899	77 11 7	201 16 7	165 18 3	113 9 11
1 „ 1900	113 9 11	233 9 9	277 5 4	69 14 4
1901	69 14 4	176 4 7	156 6 5	89 12 6
1901/2	89 12 6	200 12 5	203 12 8	86 12 3
1902/3	91 19 11	389 6 9	395 14 6	85 12 2
1903/4	85 12 2	272 2 11½	280 5 3	77 9 10½
31 May 1905	77 9 10½	285 2 1½	285 2 3½	48 10 3
31 „ 1906	48 10 3	262 10 5	276 14 4	34 6 4
31 „ 1907	82 12 8	238 1 9	286 6 5	34 8 0
31 March 1908	34 8 0	396 7 7	312 18 4	117 17 3
31 „ 1909	117 17 3	322 1 10	299 10 11	139 18 2
31 „ 1910	139 18 2	212 7 10	252 15 2	99 10 0
31 „ 1911	99 10 10	223 6 5	257 3 1	65 14 2
31 „ 1912	65 14 2	239 7 2	239 17 1	65 4 3
31 „ 1913	—29 2 8	162 14 11	191 17 7	—
31 „ 1914	— 19 2	181 0 9	189 19 11	—
31 „ 1915	—21 4 5	169 3 11	190 8 4	—
31 „ 1916	—	167 19 4	155 4 3	12 15 1
31 „ 1917	—	212 1 8	205 12 10	6 8 10
31 „ 1918	— 15 9	186 8 6	187 4 3	—
31 „ 1919	—	283 13 5	226 7 2	57 6 3
31 Dec. 1919	—28 15 5	148 13 0	177 8 5	—
31 „ 1920[1]	—	337 11 7	263 9 10	74 1 9
31 „ 1921[2]	[3]—	414 5 9	248 2 3	166 3 6
31 „ 1922	—	332 5 2	308 15 3	23 9 11
31 „ 1923	—	175 2 6	109 11 2	65 11 4
31 „ 1924	— 8 13 2	161 16 0	170 9 2	—
31 „ 1925	—	225 5 5	185 18 7	39 6 10
31 „ 1926	—39 17 5	152 17 3	192 14 8	—
31 „ 1927	—	148 12 11	124 13 0	23 19 11
31 „ 1928	—	[4]385 1 1	[5]316 0 11	69 0 2
31 „ 1929	—	[6]371 13 0	305 19 1	65 13 11

[1]Including a legacy of £103. [2]Including a legacy of £284. [3]From this date, all surpluses are transferred to Balance Sheet. [4]Interest £295. [5]Incorporation and legal expenses. [6]Interest £264.

A study of the above figures suggests that the Union has achieved much on a meagre income.

The Balance Sheet for 1929, showed a surplus of over £6,000, including a recent legacy by the late Mr. Horace Seal of £5,000.

It is only fitting to record the names of the officers of the Union: *Presidents*: Mr. J. A. Hobson, M.A.; Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, M.A.; Prof. J. H. Muirhead, M.A., LL.D.; Prof. L. T. Hobhouse, D.Litt.; Prof. Graham Wallas, M.A.; Prof. Felix Adler, Ph.D.; Prof. Frederick Soddy, F.R.S.; Prof. Gilbert Murray, M.A., LL.D., D.Litt. *Secretaries*: Miss Zona Vallance (1895-1899), Miss Florence Winterbottom (1900-1905), Mr. Harry Snell (1906-1919), Mr. W. Siddle (1920-1921), Mr. H. Snell (Acting) (1922), Miss N. Freeman and Miss W. Evans (1923), and Miss N. Freeman (1924-). The *Chairmen* included Dr. Stanton Coit, Mr. William Sanders, Mr. G. A. Smith, Mr. G. E. O'Dell, Mrs. Miall-Smith, Mr. J. M. MacGregor, Miss N. Freeman, Miss Florence Winterbottom, Miss B. M. Mabbs, and Mr. Harry Snell.

10. *Subsidiary Activities.*

The Union's activities extended beyond the general compass we have so far outlined in this Chapter. Consistent with the energetic general policy it followed, the Union launched out in various directions. It arranged joint meetings of the Committees of the Federated Societies. It organised united services, discussions, socials, and also public propaganda meetings both in London and the provinces. Through it the Moral Instruction League came into existence as well as the Secular Education League which is still active, and it was indirectly instrumental in founding the Emerson Club. It published several Manifestos. It furthered the aims and work of the International Union of Ethical Societies and has co-operated with diverse reform bodies. Two war activities deserve special mention. One was the Soldiers' Friendship Committee of the Union, " appointed to keep in touch with and promote the comfort of members and friends serving in His Majesty's Forces ". A kindred activity was that described in the Report for 1917/18 under Prison Visits: " The Council was asked early in the year to arrange for visits to be paid to men who were in prison for conscientious objection to military service, and the Secretary [Mr. Harry Snell] has regularly visited Wandsworth Prison, and held suitable services in accordance with the prison regulations. The Prison Commissioners, at his request, also agreed to recognise *The Message of Man* as a devotional book, and this has been supplied to each of the men visited." In the Report for 1918/19 we further read that " the regular visits arranged by the Council to conscientious objectors in Wandsworth Prison have been continued throughout the year, addresses having been given to a maximum of 27 men ".

Two subsidiary activities may be singled out because of their exceptional merit. In 1903/4 experimental Mid-Day Religious Services were held. The Report states on the subject:—

" Beginning on October 15th, a series of week-day Ethical Services for city men and women in the middle of the day have been held at South Place Chapel, Finsbury, E.C., under the auspices of the Union of Ethical Societies.

This building, belonging to the South Place Ethical Society, is within a few minutes' distance from the Mansion House, the Guildhall, and the other centres of city life. The following addresses were delivered by Dr. Stanton Coit before Christmas on the general subject of 'The Religion that has come to stay':—

October 15.—The Dusk of the Gods.
„ 22.—Christ's First and Great Commandment.
„ 29.—God and Religious Experience.
November 5.—Our Guilt and the Forgiveness of Sin.
„ 12.—'O Grave, where is thy Victory?'
„ 19.—Christ's Place in Ethical Religion.
„ 26.—Am I my Brother's Keeper?
December 3.—Heredity and Social Progress.
„ 10.—Democracy and Religion.
„ 17.—Our Goal—The Millennium.

"The whole Service was well concluded within the 'dinner-hour' for which it was arranged. The services have been continued since Christmas. Mr. McCabe gave three addresses in January on 'The Failure of Dogmatic Religion', 'The Modern Cynic', and 'The Travail for the Superman', and then Dr. Coit resumed the conduct of the services. Although the Dinner-Hour Services have not been self-supporting, the Council considers them of great value and well worthy of increased support. The meetings are being continued to the end of June, and will begin again in October."

These Services were presumably not continued after June, to judge by the fact that there is no reference to them in the following year's Report.

The second was the organisation of a Conference of Modern Religious Thinkers at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, for 4th and 5th June 1920. We present here the programme:—

First Session: Friday, June 4th, at 3 p.m., "The Trend of Modern Religious Thought." Opening address by Prof. Gilbert Murray. Papers by The Rabbi Israel Mattuch (Liberal Jewish Synagogue) and Mr. C. Delisle Burns, M.A. The Problem for Discussion: "Does there exist a world-wide religious or ethical basis in the prevailing religions of East and West (Christianity, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, etc.) and do these religions provide a common inspiration for all mankind? If not, what are the dividing barriers, and are they an indispensable condition of the religious life? Do moral or religious impulses organised on a basis which is common to all men and all races, provide the means for realising a common religion?"

Second Session: Friday, June 4th, at 7.30 p.m., "The Need for a Common Basis for a Universal Religion: Personal and Social." Papers by Prof. J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A., D.Litt., The Rev. Walter Walsh, D.D., and Mr. H. Snell, L.C.C. The Problem for Discussion: "Do modern religious conceptions tend to emphasise theological bases and sanctions, or do they seek expression in the terms of science, philosophy and ethics? If the historic creeds are destined to lose their hold upon the world, what is to take their place? Are natural and human standards of life and conduct sufficient to guide, assure and assist both the individual and society?"

Third Session: Saturday, June 5th, at 3 p.m., "The Place of the Church

in Religion." Papers by Dr. L. P. Jacks, M.A., Editor of the *Hibbert Journal,* Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, The Rev. W. Manning, M.A., and Mr. Phillip H. Thomas, I.S.O. The Problem for Discussion: "If we recognise that the historic churches fail to maintain the church-going habit, and that the various humanist movements have not succeeded in their efforts to organise the ethical or religious life, is the explanation to be attributed to (a) defects in the churches and movements themselves; (b) the growth of new forms of mysticism; (c) changing social conditions; or (d) such counter-attractions as literature, drama, music, etc.?" Dr. Jacks will speak on "Ethical and Religious Teaching from the Learner's End."

Fourth Session: Saturday, June 5th, at 7.30 p.m., "The Relation of Religion to Social Life." Papers by The Rev. Basil Martin, M.A., Mr. F. J. Gould, and others. The Problem for Discussion: "How far should a new effort to organise for human service man's religious spirit and emotions, include or exclude the consideration of social problems, and the advocacy of remedial measures?"

The Conference proved so successful that a second one was held at the same place on 4th and 5th November 1921, with the following programme:—

First Session: "The Converging Tendencies of Modern Religious Thought and the Scientific Spirit." Papers by Sir Harry Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc., Dr. Bernard Hollander, M.D., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., and The Hon. and Rev. Canon Edward Lyttleton, D.D.

Second Session: "The Relation between Eastern and Western Religious Thought." Papers by M. Abdullah Yusuf Ali, M.A., L.L.LM., C.B.E., Dr. William McGovern, and Mr. H. S. Swinney, M.A.

Third Session: "The Search for Religious Unity." Papers by Mr. F. S. Marvin, M.A., Miss Charlotte Woods, and Dr. Stanton Coit.

Fourth Session: "The Expression of Religion in Daily Life." Papers by Mr. J. A. Hobson, M.A., and The Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, M.A.

And that, again, was followed by a third Conference, on 1st and 2nd June 1923, of which this was the syllabus:—

First Session: "The Place of Sacred Books in Religious Development." Papers by Prof. L. T. Hobhouse, D.Litt., and Prof. Maurice A. Canney, M.A. Opening speaker: Mr. Bernard Shaw.

Second Session: "Religion and the Natural Man." Papers by Mr. J. A. Hobson, M.A., The Rev. Walter Walsh, D.D., and The Rev. Basil Martin, M.A.

Third Session: "What is the Supreme Purpose of Religion?" Papers by Mr. Gerald K. Hibbert, M.A., B.D., The Venerable Archdeacon A. L. Lilley, and Dr. Felix Adler (Columbia University, U.S.A.).

Fourth Session: "The Religious Problem in Education." Papers by Mr. F. J. Gould, Mrs. Beatrice Ensor, and Dr. F. H. Hayward, M.A., D.Sc.

SOURCES.

Unless otherwise mentioned, the information is derived from the Union's Annual Reports. The Annual Congress Minutes have also been utilised. Other sources are indicated in the text of the Chapter. Cordial thanks are due to the Union for lending the material required for writing this history of the Union and to its officials for collaborating generally.

CHAPTER IX.—THE MORAL INSTRUCTION LEAGUE.

1. *The Founding of the League.*

THE Moral Instruction League sprang out of the Ethical Movement. In May 1896, the newly formed Union of Ethical Societies had passed beyond the stage of constitution making and preliminary arrangements and the following May, at its first Annual Congress, it decided on calling a Moral Instruction School Board Election Conference. Out of this Conference, the officers of which were active members of Ethical Societies, developed the Moral Instruction League at the close of 1897, the inaugural meeting being held on 7th December of that year.

2. *Work for London.*

The earlier activities of the League were determined by its history. Having its origin in an attempt to introduce systematic non-theological moral instruction into the elementary public schools of London, the League for some years concentrated more particularly on this object and only later started work on a national scale.

The League's first action was to send copies of the following Protest and Petition, accompanied by a circular letter from the Secretary and Mr. F. J. Gould's "Specimen Lesson on 'Courage'", to Secretaries of Clubs and Societies in London and to various persons likely to sympathise with its purpose:—

"A Protest and Petition to the School Board for London by Parents of Children attending London Board Schools.

"The statement having been frequently made at public meetings and circulated in the daily Press that all the parents of Board School children are satisfied with the religious teaching now given in the Board Schools of London, we, the undersigned, parents of such children, in order to prove to the Board the falsity of that statement, and to help towards the introduction of moral teaching which shall make no appeal to supernatural or superhuman motives, do hereby protest that in general such motives are not suitable to the understanding and character of children, and are particularly out of place when taught in State Schools, which are maintained at the cost of citizens of every creed and of no creed.

"And we hereby petition that facilities be granted to our children to receive, in place of the present Bible lessons, instruction in personal and civic duties from Board School teachers especially trained for the purpose, by which instruction the sense of responsibility, sympathy with all sentient beings, intellectual honesty, the spirit of liberty, courage, self-respect, and the other highest qualities of manhood would be systematically cultivated and strengthened."

Incidentally we may note that the Specimen Lesson above referred to, "together with the Plan of Moral Instruction, having been forwarded by its author to Lord Brassey, the Agent-General for Victoria, was by him transmitted to Mr. Peacock, the Minister of Education for that Colony, who has written a letter expressing an opinion that a scheme of lessons of this nature would be most beneficial for the children; and has directed the publication of selected extracts from the pamphlets sent to him in the monthly papers of his Department at Melbourne".

The place of the Bible in Schools received early consideration, as the following extract from the Report of 1898 indicates:—

"The question of the entire exclusion or the inclusion of the Bible as one of the sources of moral instruction in Board Schools having been raised by several provincial sympathisers and others, the Committee met on July 19th for special discussion of this point, and the following resolutions were carried:—

"That the Bible as a whole should not be placed in the children's hands as a reading book or text book of morals.

"That the League recommends that no book at present be placed in the hands of the children as the basis of moral instruction.

"That the Bible comes under the head of general literature, as a source of illustrations and maxims for moral lessons."

The Annual Report for 1899 records the steps taken in connection with the Petition and the results attained:—

"During the early part of the year the main work of the Executive was the effort to obtain Signatures to the Parents' Protest and Petition to the London School Board. . . . Active canvassing was however confined to a few members of Ethical Societies; but their reports showed that the supposition that parents are pleased with the present Bible teaching is quite unfounded in fact. . . . Our few canvassers obtained 513 signatures, representing 1,086 scholars; and, although efforts were not directed to any special schools, a hundred, seventy, and fifty-seven parents of children, respectively in the 'Buckingham Street', 'Fox' and 'Allen Street' Schools signed the sheets."

A deputation was then sent to the School Board. This consisted of Mrs. H. P. Cobb, Miss Vallance, Messrs. J. R. Macdonald, W. Sanders, G. A. Smith, and Dr. Stanton Coit as the spokesman, and was heard on June 23rd by the School Management Committee, of which Mr. Graham Wallas was Chairman. The deputation was thanked for their attendance and "for the clear presentation of their views", but the authorities saw "no reason to make any alteration".

Already at this early stage of the existence of the League, as we shall see, the Training Colleges were approached on the question of the training of teachers to give systematic moral instruction.

It is appropriate here to reproduce the list of pamphlets, etc., which could be obtained from the Secretary of the League at this date:—

The Plan of Moral Instruction.
The Manifesto of the Moral Instruction League.
The Right Solution of the Religious Controversy in Education.
Questions for School Board Candidates.
A Candid Word for Sympathisers.
How to Organise.
Press Propaganda.
The Moral Instruction of Children in Classes.
A Specimen Lesson.
Committee's Report, 1898.
The Constitution of the League.
Can Virtue be Taught?
Can Virtue be Always Taught?
Why Moral Instruction should be Systematic

In the Annual Report for 1900, which complains of the adverse influence on reform associations of the South African War that was then proceeding, we read:—

"It was thought well to follow up the Parents' Protest and Petition presented to the London School Board in 1899, by two new petitions—one from the parents, as before, the other from London ratepayers, as contributors to the cost of the Schools."

The invitation to sign the petitions met, however, with an indifferent response and the matter was dropped.

At the London School Board Election of 1900 the following Questions were sent to all candidates:—

"1. Will you favour the introduction of a system of non-theological moral instruction which shall take the place of the present religious teaching in Board Schools, and be incorporated in the Code of the Board of Education?

"Failing that—

"2. Are you prepared to support a motion at your Board that facilities be afforded for the moral instruction on non-theological lines of those children attending the Board Schools whose parents desire such moral instruction to be given; this to take place during the time devoted, in the case of other children, to religious teaching?"

Here we see that the League was not averse to compromise. The result was that of 37 replies received from candidates who were ultimately returned, 10 were in the affirmative (to the second question), 20 in the negative, and 7 doubtful.

The League was also active to some extent in the Provincial School Board Elections. It sent parcels of literature to Birmingham, Leicester, and Plymouth, "to assist candidates who have made non-theological Moral Instruction a part of their programme". "At Leicester, Mr. F. J. Gould, making secular Moral Instruction his chief 'plank', obtained a notable triumph, being second on the poll among the fifteen members returned, with 15,689 votes. At Plymouth, Mr. Arthur T. Grindley, who advocated 'Secular Education—the principles of Truth, Justice, and Moral Courage, to be taught', has been returned unopposed."

The policy of inducing parents to withdraw their children from the religious lesson was continued during 1901. We read on this point:—

"At the Buckingham Terrace Board School, Kensington, W., 45 girls, 32 boys, and 47 infants were withdrawn on March 26th, 1901. The teachers were not prepared for the withdrawal, and the building afforded no accommodation for the children withdrawn. They were compelled to stand in the corridors. At the Hargrave Park School, in April, 189 children, and 64 from the Waterloo Street School, Hammersmith, were withdrawn. Here also no adequate provision was made for the children of those who had thus taken advantage of the Conscience Clause. The petitions of the parents of these children were received by the London School Board, which passed the following resolution: 'To instruct the head teacher, after consulting with the Board Inspector, to provide any children who are so withdrawn with such secular training as may, having regard to the possibilities of school organisation, be most suitable to their education and training'. In July 116 children were withdrawn from the Great College Street School by their parents, and 45 from the Portobello Road School."

The Committee concluded that the success of their canvass had demonstrated beyond all further doubt that a large proportion of the parents of London sympathised with the objects of the League. This very success led the Committee to abandon their local efforts and to concentrate on approaching and converting the Central and Local Education Authorities. That policy became henceforth the major policy of the League.

3. *Propaganda among Local Education Authorities.*

During the first few years of its existence, as we have just learnt, the League was mainly preoccupied with an attempt to induce the Education Authority of London to introduce systematic non-theological moral instruction into the secular curriculum of its schools. However, already in 1900 the League, as we saw in the last Section, concerned itself with the Provincial School Board Elections.

The Report for 1902 records that chiefly through the instrumentality of Mr. F. J. Gould, a League supporter and worker, non-theological moral instruction had been introduced into the Schools of the Leicester School Board, of which he was then a member. Half-an-hour a week was provided for this instruction and the Board drew up and published a Syllabus of Moral Instruction, with illustrative material. Similar attempts to introduce moral instruction into Board Schools were made during the same year at Bristol, West Ham, Bradford, and Farsley, which, however, were not successful. But the following year the Bradford School Board joined Leicester in providing for moral instruction.

The League became now alive to future possibilities as regards Local Education Authorities. In the Report for 1903, for instance, we read that "there are not wanting many signs in numerous applications the Secretary is receiving for information from members of Education Committees that many will follow, ere long, in the wake of Leicester and Bradford". The League, accordingly, circularised its members, suggesting ways and means whereby the object of the League might be realised in this respect.

As the result of the Board Schools being transferred to the County and other Councils, we find the League (in 1904) interested in the London County Council Election. It sent out to candidates a series of alternative questions and received a number of informative replies. In this year, however, Education Committee propaganda began on an imposing scale. We read:—

"The most important work the Committee have undertaken during the year has been the circularising of members of Education Committees. Nearly 7,000 members of Education Committees in England and Wales had been circularised up to the end of the year. The Secretaries of 335 Education Committees have been personally written to. To each secretary and member were sent a circular letter and copies of *A Graduated Syllabus of Moral Instruction,* a specimen lesson, and other literature. . . .

"The following is a copy of the circular letter:—

"Dear Sir,—

"The Moral Instruction League desires to submit to your earnest con-

sideration the importance of making provision in all schools for the introduction of definite Moral Instruction.

"The formation of new Educational Authorities having the control of all grades of Education furnishes a favourable opportunity for urging the inclusion of systematic non-theological Moral Instruction in school curricula. We are therefore requested by the Executive Committee of the League to appeal to you as a member of the Education Authority for to assist in the furtherance of this object.

"We may point out that every Education Authority has power under the Board of Education's Code of Regulations for Day Schools to introduce such instruction, and that Birmingham, Bradford, and Leicester have already done this. We would ask if you can see your way to move, second, or support a resolution on your Education Committee having for its object the early introduction of regulations designed to secure this end into all the schools controlled by your Authority."

After some references to Colonies, to pronouncements of Inspectors, and to League literature, the letter concludes: "If any steps in the direction indicated above are taken by your Education Authority, we shall esteem it a favour to be advised thereof." The circular letter was signed by the Chairman, Dr. Stanton Coit, and the Secretary, Mr. Harrold Johnson.

The League now began to reap where it had sown:—

"We are now able to report (states the Report for 1904) that, in addition to Birmingham, Bradford, and Leicester, the following Education Authorities either already have provision, or have decided to make provision, in their schools for definite moral instruction:—Monmouthshire, Durham County, Notts County, Burton-on-Trent, Shipley, Barry, Colne, and Bexhill-on-Sea, eleven in all (all the schools of the Bexhill Education Authority are Church Schools). These include, as will be observed, three counties and three of our largest boroughs. . . . A number of Education Authorities also have appointed sub-committees which are considering the matter at the present time."

The League proceeded from strength to strength. Thus the Report for 1905 informs us that

"twenty-five Education Authorities, as compared with eleven last year, had at the close of the year provision, or had decided to make provision, for systematic Moral Instruction in their schools. . . . They include six County Education Authorities and some of our most important Borough Education Authorities. They control more than 3,000 schools, containing about one million children." "Systematic moral instruction is also given in the schools of several Authorities in connection with the Scripture lessons." "Provision for moral instruction of a more or less systematic kind is now made in the schools of over fifty Education Authorities. This result is almost entirely due to the propaganda of the League. Many Education Authorities have our *Syllabus* in use in their schools; many use our text books, although they do not set apart any particular time in the secular time-table for the instruction the *Syllabus* and text books provide. Further, many teachers, on their own initiative, introduce moral instruction, and often our *Syllabus* and text books, into the schools."

Thus, again, the League followed up an influential Memorial signed by both the Archbishops and other representative religious leaders in favour of teaching Christian morals, by issuing a Memorial in reply,

urging the introduction into the schools of the State of systematic moral instruction entirely separated from theology. This Memorial was sent to all the local Education Authorities in England and Wales, and to more than two thousand members of Education Committees, with, the Committee believed, very good results.

The Education Committee propaganda continued to be carried on with vigour and success:—

"At the close of 1904, 11 Local Education Authorities had provision in their schools for systematic Moral Instruction. At the close of 1905 the number of these was 24. At the close of 1906 their number is 34."

And we shall see that this number will be nearly trebled in a year or two. The League Committee seeks to explain the indifferent response of the Education Authorities to the Board of Education's lead by the following cogent consideration:—

"The reason why so few Education Committees have taken action has been mainly because they have been waiting to know the fate of the late Education Bill before making any changes in their curricula. The amount of time at their disposal for providing Moral Instruction in the ordinary curriculum is dependent to a large extent upon the amount of time to be devoted to the Scripture lessons. The ordinary curriculum is already overcrowded, and it is difficult to find a place for any new subject."

And the League's demand was modest. It was, for the time being, only for one Moral Instruction lesson a week.

But there is more to be said:—

"Some definite provision for Moral Instruction, of a more or less systematic kind, is made in connection with the Scripture lesson by . . . further fourteen local Education Committees. Syllabuses of Biblical and Moral Instruction, in more or less detail, with the moral side more or less systematically developed, have been issued by these Authorities. . . . The influence of the League is clearly discernible in several of the Syllabuses. . . . All of them, with the exception of those of [three], have been adopted since the Spring of 1904, when the League's Education Committee propaganda began, and are probably directly traceable to its influence." "Several other Authorities have taken some action in the direction urged by the League."

During 1907, because the moment was not judged opportune, the Education Committee propaganda was somewhat relaxed. However, during the year five Authorities, those of Devonshire, Buckinghamshire, Chester, Swansea, and Swindon made provision for systematic Moral Instruction. All but the last of these Authorities adopted the League's *Syllabus*. The thirty-nine Authorities which had made provision for systematic moral instruction in their schools, included ten counties, twenty-two boroughs, and seven urban districts. Fifteen other Authorities provided for more or less systematic moral instruction in connection with the Scripture lessons.

In 1908 the League published *Moral Instruction in Elementary Schools in England and Wales*. (A Return compiled from official Documents, by Harrold Johnson.) We cannot do better here than summarise it in the words of the Annual Report:—

"This Return is a record of achievement which, in the main, dates from

1902, and systematic action taken by the various Authorities is in nearly every case directly traceable to the work of the League. A few pioneers, however, there were before the League came into existence, Burton-on-Trent, Birmingham, and Huddersfield having provided for Moral Lessons as far back as 1878, 1883, and 1889 respectively. Up to 1902, when Mr. Balfour's Act created the present Local Authorities, little further progress was made. The stages of the journey are all marked in the Return.

"Of the information there presented, only the barest outline can here be given. Of the hundred or more Authorities as to which particulars are supplied, about sixty have provision in their schools for more or less systematic Moral Instruction either in the Religious Instruction time or in the 'secular' time, or in both. Of these some forty have a time set apart for the Moral Instruction, and about fifty have a more or less detailed syllabus in connection with it. Twenty Authorities have adopted the League's Syllabus, and among these are some of the most important, including five County Authorities, Bucks, Cheshire, Devonshire, and Surrey, and the West Riding of Yorkshire. The League's Syllabus is also widely in use in individual schools under many Authorities. It should be noted that two Authorities, Huddersfield and Abertillery, have provision for Moral Instruction, but no provision for Religious Instruction. Under a number of Authorities the Moral Instruction is given in both Provided and Non-Provided Schools. *It should be added that in spite of this very wide field of experiment in many parts of the country, no information is before your Committee of any existing difficulty in connection with the Moral Instruction.*" (Italics not in original.)

The Report for 1909 states that since the above Return was issued, four other local Education Authorities had taken some action in the direction of providing for more or less systematic civic and moral instruction. "But we shall probably learn that others also have taken action, at present unknown to us."

The Report for 1910 is ominously silent concerning Education Committee propaganda. The Report states:—

"Your Committee, though still actively concerned with questions of public policy, 'recognise more and more the importance and magnitude of their task as educationalists pure and simple'. It is in the fulfilment of this more restricted and less ostentatious task that the work of your Committee must this year be judged. The aspect of their work which concerns itself with political agitation and administrative machinery, though important, is nevertheless secondary. The problem is rather to find the sort of teaching and training the nature of the child and the conditions of modern life require, and to produce teachers skilled in the art of giving it. This is the work to which the League is now largely addressing itself."

The primary task of many years has now become "secondary." Yet, in reviewing in 1908 the whole work in connection with local Education Committee propaganda, the Committee had, as we saw, stated:—

"It should be added that, in spite of this very wide field of experiment in many parts of the country, no information is before your Committee of any existing difficulty in connection with the Moral Instruction."

4. *Public, Parliamentary, and Board of Education Propaganda.*

The initiation of the League's nation-wide propaganda had a dramatic cause—the success in 1901 of the League's schools canvass in London,

under Dr. Stanton Coit's direction. This very success led the League to abandon its local efforts and to concentrate on approaching and converting the Education Authorities generally and the country as a whole. The Committee reasoned in this way, laying thereby the corner stone of their future triumphs:—

"The educational authorities are not yet in practical sympathy with our object. The teachers are not yet trained to give systematic lessons in personal and social duties. There are no suitable books setting forth the matter and manner of moral instruction, to be put into the hands of teachers. No normal colleges give as yet the theory and practice of moral instruction. For these various reasons combined, it seemed wise to your Committee to suspend their canvass for a time, and turn their attention towards enlisting the interest of the leading thinkers and educators throughout the country. With this object in view, they have drafted and circulated the following Memorial:—
"To His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., Lord President of His Majesty's Privy Council and of the Board of Education, and to the Honourable Board. The HUMBLE MEMORIAL of the Undersigned showeth—

"1. That your Memorialists are deeply interested in Education, and believe that the formation of good character should be its chief aim.

"2. Your Memorialists therefore pray that regulations enforcing definite daily instruction in personal and in civic duties may be included in the Code of Regulations for Day Schools.

"3. Your Memorialists consider that the *ethical* element in the present Religious Instruction does not receive the systematic treatment which modern educational methods demand in all other subjects, and that the time devoted during that instruction to merely historical and literary expositions leaves too little opportunity for such concrete presentation of personal and civic duties as the child requires.

"4. Your Memorialists, knowing the extended curriculum of the schools, respectfully suggest that if no other time be found possible, this Moral Instruction should be substituted for some other secular study less important to the future of the child and the welfare of the nation."

In support of their Memorial, the Memorialists then quote a number of striking passages from the Departmental Report of the Rev. T. W. Sharpe, C.B., late Senior Chief Inspector of Schools, from the Report of W. P. Turnbull, Esq., His Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools for the North-Eastern Division, and from the Education Department's *Special Reports on Educational Subjects* referring to several Colonies. The Memorialists conclude:—

"8. Your Memorialists are of opinion that the definite inculcation of the fundamental principles of right conduct revered by all good men can be productive of nothing but lasting benefit to the child and permanent advantage to the country at large; they therefore appeal that effect may be given to this their humble petition."

From the subsequent Annual Report, for 1902, we learn that the Memorial was duly presented in April 1902 and that it was signed "by 199 representative persons, including 5 members of the House of Lords, 12 members of the House of Commons, 23 University Professors, and County Councillors, members of School Boards, etc."

We therefore see that the Annual Report for 1901 broadly outlined what became in fact the future policy of the League.

In 1902 the League was helped by "favouring political circumstances". During the Education Crisis the League published several leaflets which were widely circulated at public meetings on the Education Bill in London and elsewhere. The Committee also organised a public meeting at the Small Queen's Hall which was crowded, some 600 to 700 being present.

Again, in the Annual Report for 1903 we read:—

"Two successful public meetings in favour of the objects of the League have been held during the year, the former on February 4th, at Essex Hall, Strand, when Dr. Coit presided, and the Rev. John Hunter, D.D., of the King's Weigh House Church, one of the leaders of Nonconformity, gave an address on 'The Training of the Citizen'."

In the course of his address, Dr. Hunter said:—

"The supreme thing of all was character. Training in self-control, purity, obedience, justice, courage, honesty, were far more important in childhood than mere creeds and doctrines. The importance of ethical culture could not be over-estimated. It had always seemed to him that religion, in the form of systematic moral instruction, was the only form of religious instruction which ought to be taught in our public schools. He regretted, and had always regretted, that the Nonconformists in this country had accepted any compromise as to theological teaching in public schools. Even reading the Bible as a devotional exercise was such a violation. The only true solution of the problem was the leaving of theological and ecclesiastical teaching to the Home and the Church."

Both meetings were well attended and widely reported.

The press was effectively used for propaganda purposes, the Secretary receiving some 300 press-cuttings during 1903. Propaganda letters written by him and others appeared in over a score of papers and periodicals. Nor was this form of propaganda relaxed during the years of enterprise that followed.

The Committee was hopeful:—

"The secular solution", it stated in 1903, "seems the only one to which the contending theological parties must surely speedily bring us, and there are not wanting strong indications of the popular trend in this direction if leaders (as John Morley alone has done) would speak out. The nation is ripe for the secular solution, but it lacks leaders. The main objection to purely secular education would be overcome if parents were assured that this included systematic moral instruction. The clear cry for us during the coming year should be Secular and Moral Instruction."

An event of considerable importance was the timely appearance of an admirable Introduction to the Education Code for 1904, written by the Secretary to the Board of Education. We shall find that this was not the last time that the Board of Education responded sympatheticallly to the propaganda of the League. Here is this first pronouncement:—

"The purpose of the public elementary school is to form and strengthen the character, and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it. With this purpose in view, it will be the aim of the school to train the children

carefully in habits of observation and clear reasoning, to arouse in them a living interest in the ideals and achievements of mankind . . . and to develop in them such a taste for good reading and thoughtful study as will enable them to increase that knowledge in after years by their own efforts. . . . And, though their opportunities are but brief, the teachers can yet do much to lay the foundations of conduct. They can endeavour, by example and influence, aided by the sense of discipline which should pervade the school, to implant in the children habits of industry, self-control, and courageous perseverance in the face of difficulties; they can teach them to reverence what is noble, to be ready for self-sacrifice, and to strive their utmost after purity and truth; they can foster a strong respect for duty, and that consideration and respect for others which must be the foundation of unselfishness and the true basis of all good manners; while the corporate life of the school, especially in the playground, should develop the instinct for fairness and for loyalty to one another which is the germ of a wider sense of honour in later life. In all these endeavours the school should enlist, as far as possible, the interest and the cooperation of the parents and the home in a united effort to enable the children not merely to reach their full development as individuals, but also to become upright and useful members of the community in which they live, and worthy sons and daughters of the country to which they belong."

The 1904 Annual Report concludes optimistically, stating that " political circumstances still continue highly favourable for the propagation of the objects of the League ".

The replies that reached the League from Parliamentary candidates in the General Election of 1905, mark the drift of the current:—

" 149 replies were received. Of these, 12 were non-committal. Of the remaining 137 Candidates who replied, 117 expressed themselves definitely in favour of the introduction of systematic non-theological Moral Instruction into all State-supported schools. They further pledged themselves to use their influence, if elected, to secure the introduction into the Code of Regulations for Elementary Schools of such instruction as a compulsory subject."

The Report for 1905, referring to its last year's extracts from the Board of Education's Code, states:—

" A still more remarkable document issued from the Board of Education during the year, *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and others concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools.* The portion of this document which interests us most especially is the section entitled 'The Formation of Character'. Here the Board goes further than it does in the *Introduction* to the Code. In the Code it merely emphasises the importance of Moral Training. In the 'Suggestions' it *suggests* how this Moral Training is to be communicated. 'The good Moral Training which a school should give cannot be left to chance; on this side, no less than on the intellectual side, the purpose of the teacher must be clearly conceived and intelligently carried out'. . . . The writer of the weekly 'Educational Notes' in the columns of the *Times* says in the issue of that journal of November 2nd, referring to the particular passage we have quoted above: 'Approval of the Moral Instruction League's efforts towards systematic Moral Instruction in schools is implied, if not expressed'."

The Annual Report for 1906 begins on a triumphal note. The Committee say that " they enter upon the year 1907 with the knowledge that, so far as Public Elementary Schools are concerned, the Board of

Education endorses their whole programme. . . . The Committee, therefore, in entering upon another year, have the sense of a grave responsibility, and they earnestly trust that they may be enabled to meet this responsibility worthily."

The first intimation of a favourable change was contained in a speech by Mr. Augustine Birrell, the Education Minister, made in the House of Commons, on 28th May 1906. He then declared:—

"I do not wish to underrate the importance of teaching children the elements of morality; I attach considerable importance to such teaching, and if I remain much longer responsible for the Education Department I hope in the Code to give some encouragement to such instruction. For I am persuaded that, rationally conducted, it can be made a very live and a very real thing. I do not think for a moment that morality can only be taught on a theological basis. I am quite sure that it can be taught, with spirit and with force, apart from such a basis. I suppose the most stringent code in the whole world is the code of honour, which is obeyed with marvellous punctiliousness by people who call themselves men of the world, and yet the injunction of the code of honour, 'Thou shalt not cheat at cards', for example, cannot be said to be a Christian maxim. I do not think you will find it in Thomas à Kempis, or in Baxter's *Saint's Rest* or even in that favourite treatise of the eighteenth century, far too tinctured with Arminianism to please me, *The Whole Duty of Man*. It has its origin and source in quite a different atmosphere, and yet we know how strong is the social sanction underlying it. There are other sanctions besides the religious sanction: the social sanction is one of them, and the moral sanction is another."

Mr. Birrell remained true to his word. Early in July 1906 the *Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools* (1906) appeared, containing the following provision for Moral Instruction:—

"Moral Instruction should form an important part of every elementary school curriculum. Such instruction may either (i.) be incidental, occasional, and given as fitting opportunity arises in the ordinary routine of lessons, or (ii.) be given systematically and as a course of graduated instruction.

"The subject of this instruction, whether given by the methods indicated in (i.) or in (ii.) above, should be on such points as courage; truthfulness; cleanliness of mind, body, and speech; the love of fair play; gentleness to the weaker; humanity to animals; temperance, self-denial, love of one's country, and respect for beauty in nature and art.

"The teaching should be brought home to the children by reference to their actual surroundings in town or country, and should be illustrated as vividly as possible by stories, poems, quotations, proverbs, and examples drawn from history and biography.

"The object of such instruction being the formation of character and habits of life and thought, an appeal should be made to the feelings and the personalities of the children. Unless the natural moral responsiveness of the child is stirred, no moral instruction is likely to be fruitful."

The Prefatory Memorandum to the Code, Section 7 ("Moral Instruction"), further elucidated the Code:—

"In response to a widespread feeling that the purpose of an Elementary School, referred to in the fifth paragraph of the Introduction to the Code, needs greater and more systematic attention than has been given in some

schools, a new paragraph has been inserted on page 3 of the Code dealing with this subject. Two points require emphasis and careful attention.

"(i.) It is intended that the adoption of the incidental, or of the direct methods of Moral Instruction, should be left to the discretion of Local Authorities, who will bear in mind (a) the suitability, individual gifts, and preferred methods of the teacher, and (b) the circumstances of the school.

"But, as stated in the *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others concerned in the Work of Elementary Schools, 1905,* 'the good moral training which a school should give cannot be left to chance. On this side, no less than on the intellectual side, the purpose of the Teacher must be clearly conceived and intelligently carried out'. It is therefore desirable that where systematic teaching of this subject is practicable such teaching should be direct, systematic, and graduated. It is also important that it should be no humdrum repetition of ancient saws, but a forcible and spirited application of the Teacher's own moral knowledge and moral sense.

"(ii.) The scope of such lessons should be carefully defined in order to guard against doing or expressing anything in the least subversive of the authority of religion.

"If these two considerations are kept in view, it will not be disputed that the time-table for a Public Elementary School may properly provide for regular instruction in the principles of individual, social, and civic duty. Every Teacher would be better qualified to discharge his daily duties who had constantly in his mind the famous words of Bishop Butler:—'Our province is virtue and religion, life and manners, the science of improving the temper and making the heart better. He who should find out one rule to assist us in this work would deserve infinitely better of mankind than all the improvers of other knowledge put together.'"

The League's Annual Report continues:—

"The *Annual Report* of the Board of Education (1905/1906) refers to the provisions in the Code for Moral Instruction and Organised Games as 'two changes of vital importance', 'likely to bring a more humane atmosphere into the school and after-life of the children'. There are not wanting indications that the Board of Education is well pleased with having introduced the new subject into the Code, and that it has good hope of its ultimate fortunes. The following passage, under the heading, 'Moral Instruction', appears in the *Annual Report*:—'No part of the teaching can be of greater importance. . . . Such instruction can undoubtedly be made most illuminating, and often brings home to the child's mind the importance and the reality of the subjects which form the teacher's theme with startling freshness and vigour.'"

The League Committee had reason to be jubilant over these pronouncements, but even more to be astonished how coolly they were received by the Local Education Authorities. In ordinary circumstances the Board of Education's "should" would have been interpreted as a practical "shall" and the distinction made between "incidental" and "systematic" Moral Instruction would have had no serious consequences. Given the prevailing atmosphere, however, the League Committee records in 1907 that these seeming trifles were of outstanding importance in providing loopholes through which to escape responsi-

bilities. Indeed, the London Education Authority, in defiance of the plain intentions of the Code, decided that in its Schools only incidental moral teaching should be given, thus ruling out systematic moral instruction altogether, even such as was here and there already being provided.

The propaganda in connection with the Education Bills before the country was again, according to the Report for 1908, "a marked feature of the year". "No tangible result has yet been obtained," the Report continues, "but your Committee have good hope of achieving administratively during the coming year what they have so far failed to attain by statute." This hope the Committee repeats: "What has temporarily proved unattainable by statute may, in the course of the coming year, be achieved by administrative action." Of final success, the Committee entertained no doubt: "The harvest, in due time, is certain; for good seed, in the shape of irresistible ideas, have been sown, and cannot fail of a sure return."

The League's activity in connection with Mr. McKenna's Education Bill was not without a dramatic element. The League's original Amendment was as follows:—

"1. In every Public Elementary School systematic Moral Instruction shall be given on at least one day a week.

"2. Instruction given under this Section shall be given during the time ordinarily set apart for Religious Instruction (if any) given in the school, subject to the provisions of Section 14 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870.

"3. One of the conditions required to be fulfilled by every Public Elementary School in order to obtain a parliamentary grant shall be that efficient instruction of the kind prescribed by this Section is given in the school.

"4. Instruction given under this Section shall be subject to inspection by the Local Education Authority and the Board of Education, and shall not be deemed instruction in Religious Subjects or in Religious Knowledge within the meaning of Section 7 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870."

But the actual Amendment agreed on by the League's supporters in the House of Commons was the following addition to the definition of what an elementary school is:—

". . . and is a school in which the Board of Education is satisfied that moral instruction is efficiently given to each class according to a scheme submitted to and approved by His Majesty's Inspector."

Mr. F. D. Acland was to move the Amendment, but was promoted to the Government before he could undertake this. Mr. C. P. Trevelyan was then selected to take Mr. Acland's place, but he in turn was appointed to be Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education. Mr. (now Dr.) G. P. Gooch, M.P., a tried supporter of the League, was then placed in charge of the Amendment. But the withdrawal of the McKenna Bill ended the incident.

Later, the League's Amendment was still further reduced in length and read:—

". . . and is a school in which the Board of Education are satisfied that moral instruction is efficiently given to each class."

On 16th March 1909, a Moral Instruction debate took place in the House of Commons. Mr. G. P. Gooch moved and Sir William Collins, Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, seconded, the following motion: "That in the opinion of this House, provision should be made, in the Code, for Moral Instruction to be effectively given in every elementary school, and that the Regulations for the Training of Teachers should be so amended as to secure that they are adequately trained to give such instruction."

The Committee states in this connection:—

"The Minister of Education, in his reply, stated that 'of course he would offer no opposition' to the motion. He remarked that 'The Board of Education had always shown its sympathy with the Moral Education League and those who represented it in that House'. He also made two suggestions with which we heartily concur: (1) that the Training College should be at present even more our immediate concern than the school; and (2) that the teaching of the definitely civic virtues merited peculiar attention. Speaking of these latter he stated that 'nothing could be better than the careful presentation provided in these subjects which is suggested in the Syllabus of the Moral Education League'."

The result of the debate was perplexing indeed, if we base ourselves on the account in the League's *Quarterly* for 1st April 1909:—

"In one important respect the League Executive feel that the Honourable Members [in charge of the motion] acted with great wisdom and foresight. It may surprise some of our readers to learn that we have the strongest reasons for knowing that the motion, if it had been put to the vote, would in all probability have been carried by a good majority. Our representatives, however, abstained from pressing to a division, since it appeared probable, during the course of the Debate, that the Unionist vote would be cast preponderatingly against the motion. This, in their opinion and in ours, would have tended to establish a precedent for regarding as a *Party* question what must continue to be regarded as a *national* one." (Italics the Committee's.)

One is tempted to remark that if the Committee's interpretation was correct, this was magnificent, but not statesmanship. On the same ground, Governments should not press any measure to a division where the Opposition opposed, since most questions in Parliament are national ones. It would have been more reasonable to suppose that the Opposition, if defeated, would have been reconciled to the new *status quo*, as it commonly is. But, we should remember, perhaps there might not have been a majority in the division lobby or if the motion had been carried, to judge by precedent, the Minister or the Local Education Authorities might have interpreted the motion in a manner more or less satisfactory to the Opposition. The Committee's attitude is the less intelligible, as their *Quarterly* states: "What Unionist opposition there was arose in the main from baseless apprehensions and from lack of information on the subject."

On 11th May an influential deputation waited on Mr. Runciman, the Minister of Education. In the Report we read:—

"Having especial regard to the suggestions made by Mr. Runciman in

the course of the House of Commons' Debate, the following definite proposals were addressed to him:—

"I.—THE EDUCATION CODE.

"(a) That through the Education Code the Local Education Authorities should be encouraged to provide, wherever practicable, for direct, systematic and graduated Moral Instruction.

"(b) That the Code should at the same time urge teachers to take every suitable opportunity of imparting Moral Instruction through the other subjects of the curriculum.

"(c) That through the Code Local Education Authorities should be encouraged to pay more attention to the giving of Civic Instruction, especially with a view to the formation of character.

"II.—TRAINING COLLEGE REGULATIONS.

"That the Board of Education should require all Training Colleges to provide instruction in the methods of imparting direct, systematic and graduated Moral Instruction.

"III.—LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES.

"The Local Education Authorities would decide how much (if any) time should be given to systematic Moral Instruction in both Provided and Non-Provided Schools. In coming to any decision the Local Authorities would naturally consider the local situation and take duly into account the views of the teachers and the various religious bodies."

On the whole, save for the reference to Training Colleges, these proposals appear to have been less far-reaching than the actual proposals of the Code. It almost seems that if the definite proposals of the League had been adopted by the Board of Education, systematic moral instruction might have been *removed* from the curricula of many Education Authorities as the result of the protests of "the various religious bodies."

The Minister held out small hopes, but "concluded by saying that the most fruitful field for the work of the League was among the Local Education Authorities, and the League would be well advised to look in that direction".

In regard to the 1909 Parliamentary Election "the League contented itself on this occasion with inviting its members and friends to address, whether in open meeting or by post, the following question to Parliamentary candidates: 'Are you in favour of adding Moral and Civic Instruction to the subjects at present taught in State schools? If returned, would you be prepared to support a measure in this direction?'" A number of favourable replies from candidates of both parties were received.

The year 1910, which, as we saw in the last Section, marked the inauguration of a radically new policy is, perhaps because of this, silent as regards Parliamentary and national work. 1911 also omits this subject. In 1912, there is an intimation that there might be a resumption of propaganda. The Report states that the "Committee are eager to take steps to improve the position of Moral Instruction in the Code, and to secure that adequate attention is paid to it in the Training Colleges. There is now some prospect that the League may have the opportunity it has long been seeking. For as we go to press comes the welcome and

encouraging news, through a speech of Viscount Haldane, that we may expect later a great Educational scheme for England and Wales."

In this connection the League's Annual Meeting, according to the *Quarterly* of 1st April 1913, passed the following resolution unanimously:—

"That appropriate steps be immediately taken by the Executive of the League to press on the Government that in the Educational scheme it has foreshadowed (a) provision be made for two character and conduct lessons weekly for every child attending an elementary or secondary school under the control of the Board of Education, such lessons to be regarded as an integral part of the ordinary curriculum, and to be given, if more convenient, during the time ordinarily set apart for religious instruction; (b) in Training Colleges instruction in the methods of imparting moral and civic teaching be accordingly made compulsory; and (c) the education to be given, and the organisation of the educational system generally, be such that they shall definitely tend to inspire the young with a lofty ideal of what they owe to themselves, their fellows, and their country."

This resolution, with the necessary verbal modifications, was presented to Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, on 22nd April 1913 by a League deputation headed by Mr. G. P. Gooch. The Parliamentary Secretary's suggestive reply, as reported in the *Quarterly* of 1st July 1913, may be given here in full:—

"Mr. Trevelyan said that moral education was a matter in which he personally had been very much interested for some time, and he had been brought into contact with it by his position on the Board of Education. He did not think it was in any sense dealing in platitudes to say that what the Board had been really considering most was widening the scope of education. They had been devoting a great deal of their efforts to this side of the work, but he did not think the deputation fully realised some of the difficulties with which they were faced. There was a widespread idea, which really was entirely false, that the Board of Education could force its view on local authorities of schools. Of course, it could when it was a matter of the square feet which a child required. But they had long ago come to the conclusion that the way to get real life and vitality into those schools was to give them a considerable amount of freedom. Reading, writing, and arithmetic, said Mr. Trevelyan, were not compulsory subjects, but they would find they were advised in the Code—so was moral instruction. Mr. Trevelyan remarked on the difficulty of examining in moral instruction. You could not possibly send examiners, who could come back and say, 'That school is moral' or 'that school is immoral'. You could not test results in the same way as you could reading, writing, and arithmetic. It really was not true that in the last few years they had done less for moral instruction than they had for intellectual instruction. It was true that, as to certain ideals of virtue and citizenship, there was a large measure of agreement; but not as to the methods of teaching. The Denominationalists would object to any compulsory method, and would regard the League's mode of teaching as Undenominational instruction. Moral instruction might be inefficiently given, and experiments in various ways of teaching were desirable. They were bound to have respect for the views of those who thought the indirect method preferable. An attempt to enforce compulsion would be met by an opposing mass of public opinion, and many teachers would object. Mr. Trevelyan invited the League to suggest, short of compulsion, points

by which the Code could be strengthened in their direction, and Mr. Pease [the Minister of Education] would sympathetically consider them. As to the training colleges, the Regulations prescribed the study of moral training in various forms, as, for example, under the head of Principles of Teaching. Having quoted several clauses of the Regulations, Mr. Trevelyan remarked that they embodied a fulfilment, as far as was possible, of Mr. Runciman's promise in 1909. The League's best plan was to press local authorities to continue making definite experiments, for which the Board left them a free hand. The Board, while not compelling, would second such attempts. That was the real advance."

At least one point calls for correction. Mr. Trevelyan must have been surely speaking hastily, when he said: "You could not possibly send examiners who could come back and say, 'That school is moral' or 'That school is immoral'. For nothing could be more easy than to discover whether a school had a high or a low moral tone and how far this was influenced by the type of ethical teaching given.

The Committee write:—

"In response to Mr. Trevelyan's offer, we have devoted considerable time and attention to the consideration of the section of the present Code that deals with Moral Instruction, and we have now completed the drafting of a revised and strengthened form which, if adopted, as we hope it will be, by the Board, will do much to clear the intention that lies behind this section, and to help in pressing the subject on the attention of the local authorities. We have also arranged for the drafting of suggested alterations in the Training College Regulations."

5. *Training College Propaganda.*

One of the six points in the Moral Instruction Charter drawn up by the Union of Ethical Societies in 1897, as a basis for the Moral Instruction School Board Election propaganda, stated "that in normal colleges and in classes outside of such colleges elementary teachers must be taught how to inculcate human virtues and duties systematically and concretely, without appealing to supernatural sanctions." Indeed, it declared "that on no account should this great educational reform which we advocate be hazarded by an attempt to introduce it before public opinion sanctioned it, or before teachers had been trained to give moral instruction efficiently". And the Union endeavoured to live up to its recommendation. In the very first year of its existence it organised a Course of Ten Lectures on the Moral Instruction of Children, the lecturers including three principals of Training Colleges and a number of other able educationists. Soon afterwards the Union organised demonstration lessons with the double object of demonstrating the feasibility of such lessons and of discovering the best methods of moral instruction. (For particulars, see Chapter VIII.)

The Union had therefore set a good example to the League. And the League appreciated the example. Speaking of the Union's Moral Instruction Circle, the League's Report for 1901 states that "it is with the sincerest gratification that we are able to report the ever-increasing interest shown by parents and teachers in the fortnightly specimen lessons given before the classes of children by the Circle".

The first sign of Training College propaganda by the League, appears in 1899, when letters were sent to the Colleges regarding the Training of teachers to give systematic moral instruction. It elicited a few suggestive replies.

The problem of the training of teachers once more engaged the attention of the League in 1903. We read:—

"The most serious difficulty that has to be faced in the matter of introducing moral instruction into schools is the present unpreparedness of teachers to impart adequately such instruction. In this direction, too, your Committee have done what it was in their power to do. The Secretary has written a special letter (enclosing literature) to the Principals of all the Training Colleges for Elementary Teachers (with the exception of three Roman Catholic Training Colleges), fifty-eight in all, asking them to institute Normal Classes in which teachers should be trained in the best methods of imparting Moral Instruction. . . . Nearly all the Training Colleges are denominational ones. We need National Training Colleges before we can expect much attention to be paid to moral instruction in such Colleges."

In 1905, again, the principals and masters and mistresses of method of all residential and day training colleges were approached, "urging them to make provision in the colleges for normal classes and specimen moral lessons by means of which the students would be informed of the best methods of imparting systematic Moral Instruction". The practical result of the Committee's effort was that three of the Colleges invited the League to send a teacher to give a specimen moral lesson before their students.

Four years pass once more and now we have an indirect allusion. That is, the resolution moved in the House of Commons by Dr. Gooch, which was quoted in the preceding Section, stipulates, among other things, "that the Regulations for the Training of Teachers should be so amended as to secure that they are adequately trained to give such instruction". In this connection the Minister, in reply, made the suggestion "that the Training College should be at present even more [the League's] immediate concern than the school", with which the Committee did "heartily concur".

As we know, the Debate was followed up by a Deputation to the Minister of Education, Mr. Runciman. Among the definite proposals addressed to him was one which stated "that the Board of Education should require all Training Colleges to provide instruction in the methods of imparting direct, systematic and graduated Moral Instruction".

The 1908 Annual Meeting of the League, held on 6th February 1909, passed unanimously an important resolution on the subject. This read: "That this Annual Meeting of Members, being deeply convinced of the need of a more effective preparation of teachers for the work of Moral Education, authorises the Executive to establish a special fund to enable suitable persons appointed by the Executive to visit the Training Colleges of England and Wales, to confer with Principals and tutors, and to further the objects of the League generally in the Training Colleges." And the Committee at once took appropriate steps to press this part of

the League's activities, more particularly by arranging to utilise Mr. Gould's services. The Report is full of promise on the matter, for the main activities in which Mr. Gould was to be engaged for the League also included " to take steps towards establishing in London a centre for the training of teachers ". Unfortunately, presumably owing to lack of funds, this excellent scheme failed to materialise.

In 1913, in response to a statement by Mr. Trevelyan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, the League Committee, as we noted in the last Section, arranged for the drafting of suggested alterations in the Training College Regulations. This work was competently performed. We read in the Report for 1914:—

" At our request, Miss Raw considered the Board of Education Regulations for the training of teachers in consultation with other members connected with Training College work, with a view to possible alterations. Mrs. Mackenzie and Miss Raw were then good enough to collaborate in drawing up a set of suggestions, which were accepted by us after consideration by a Sub-Committee. We then submitted these to a number of Training College Principals and asked their opinion. In the great majority of cases the replies were entirely favourable; and we have therefore sent them to the Board of Education."

Probably these suggestions, too, fell victims to the exigencies of the war period.

Finally, the Report for 1914 contained the following gratifying paragraph:—

" As a first step towards a system of training teachers for the work of civic and moral education, we arranged for a course of Lectures on Citizenship to be given by Mr. Farquharson at the London School of Economics in the autumn. Free tickets to teachers who applied for them were issued from our office, and twenty teachers took advantage of the course."

6. *Demonstration Lessons.*

The basis of the League propaganda was a double one—demonstration lessons proving the feasibility of giving moral lessons and its *Syllabus* (and the volumes connected therewith) illustrating the nature of these lessons. Lessons alone would have led to no concrete results and syllabuses, etc., by themselves, would have left it doubtful whether moral instruction could be effectively imparted.

The Union's Moral Instruction Circle was meant to reassure parents and teachers with regard to the worthwhileness of moral lessons. The Circle was designed to prove that moral lessons could be spirited, interesting, and effective, contrary to current preconceptions. In 1905, the League's Moral Instruction Circle held fortnightly meetings from October to the end of the year. Specimen moral lessons alternated with Conferences on matters of importance bearing on moral education. " The meetings were well attended." In the following year we read that " Specimen Moral Lessons to classes of children of various ages, followed by criticism of the teacher's method, have been given, before large audiences, under the auspices of the League twice a month from January to May." We also read that " Mr. Gould has given two lessons before

the students in training at the Chichester and Hereford Training Colleges". In fact, the fruitful era of travelling demonstrators had arrived.

The Report for 1908 contains the significant statement that "probably no other propaganda of the League has done so much to further the cause". And the Committee continues: "If funds were at your Committee's disposal, such lessons would be arranged for all over the country, and would probably further the highest interests of the League as nothing else could do." The same year there was a further development. We read: "During a considerable portion of the year the League has been privileged to utilise for these purposes large drawing-rooms in London. . . . On several occasions the audience has numbered over a hundred, and has included persons of distinction."

The Report for 1909 affords exhilarating reading in this respect. Here there is only room to report one incident:—

"Perhaps the most remarkable audience of all was that which heard Mr. Gould in the Royal Chapel of the Savoy, on which occasion there were present members of the staffs of five Training Colleges, the Chairman and Secretaries respectively of three County Education Authorities, representatives" of a number of leading organisations, "and some of our foremost educationists."

In view of Mr. Gould's triumphs, it was natural that the Committee took the important step of appointing him Lecturer and Demonstrator for the League. We read:—

"In order to devote himself to the service of the League, Mr. Gould is resigning the important work in which, on the Town Council and in other directions, he has been occupied for many years past in Leicester, and will reside in London. The main activities in which he will be engaged for the League will be:—

"(1) To give Specimen Moral Lessons and Addresses before educational bodies and other representative audiences in all parts of the country.

"(2) To prepare, under the League's auspices, further manuals of Moral Instruction, pamphlets, etc.

"(3) To take steps towards establishing in London a centre for the training of teachers.

"(4) To visit schools and experimental centres, conferences, etc., and report on any educational activities of special interest.

"(5) To take steps to secure a greater interest on the part of parents in the question of the Moral Training of children in the home."

The first year's report (1910) of Mr. Gould's new sphere of work was highly encouraging:—

"The lessons", we learn, "were given before the staffs and students of twelve Training Colleges (Church of England, Wesleyan, Undenominational, University and Day Training Colleges); before Educational Societies such as the Child Study Society, the National Union of Teachers, and various Teachers' Associations; before Literary Societies; before bodies of Sunday School Teachers; at a Royal Chapel and under the auspices of the Rationalist Press Association; under the auspices of the National Home Reading Union; before a group of Indians; at a University Settlement; before a Trades Council, a Clarion Fellowship and a Co-operative Women's Guild; before H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and suite; and in a number of drawing-rooms generously offered by lady friends of the League."

1911 repeats 1910. We gather that "on one occasion there was an audience of some 600 teachers from elementary schools". But Mr. Gould's services were also requisitioned in the United States. His first tour lasted, including travel, two and a half months. "It was conducted under the auspices of the American Ethical Union. . . . Mr. Gould delivered, in all, forty-six Demonstration Moral Lessons." The organiser of the tour, Mrs. Garlin Spencer, stated that Mr. Gould's "method is more effective, I believe, than anything that has yet been done in this country (U.S.A.)".

The year 1912 Mr. Gould spent in the home field, under similar circumstances as before and with the same gratifying result. We read that "on one occasion the Local Education Authority (West Bromwich) closed its schools, and the Town Hall was filled with 400 teachers." On 20th December Mr. Gould sailed for Bombay, in order to give Demonstration Moral Lessons and Lectures throughout the Bombay Presidency under the auspices of the Bombay Government.

The Report for 1913 informs us that

"from January 14th to February 22nd, Mr. Gould was in India, travelling to all the chief towns in the Bombay district, demonstrating and lecturing, and being everywhere received with cordiality and kindness by all with whom he came in contact—English officials, natives and missionaries. . . . At the end of his tour he submitted to the Government an able report, advocating the immediate introduction of a minimum amount of moral instruction in all schools under Government control, the provision of proper facilities for training teachers to give such instruction, and other important cognate reforms."

During the spring and summer of this year Mr. Gould was active in England. But on 25th September he departed, once more, to the United States. "By the end of 1913, he had visited twelve cities, had addressed or demonstrated at 125 meetings, had met a large number of the leading educationists, had written letters and given interviews to the press," and so on.

In order not to interrupt entirely the tradition of demonstration work, the League appointed Miss H. M. Raw, "whose experience in educational work generally, and especially in connection with Training Colleges, marked her out as very suitable for the post". The work done by Miss Raw was exceedingly helpful to the League, especially in relation to Training Colleges.

Mr. Gould's tour in the United States lasted some seven months. During that period he had given 292 lessons and addresses, visited thirty-two cities, and met nearly 30,000 people. On his return, he resumed his demonstration activities.

As may be readily anticipated, the outbreak of the War seriously reacted on the activities and especially on the finances of the League. Accordingly, the League had regretfully to terminate Mr. Gould's appointment as Demonstrator as from 30th April 1915, a loss difficult to express in words. He had acted in this capacity since March 1910. Fortunately, almost immediately a "Gould Committee for Promoting

Moral Instruction" was formed and he was enabled to continue his good work.

7. *The Publications of the League.*

As stated in the last Section, the success of the League was determined as much by its publications as by its demonstration lessons.

Already by 1899, as we have seen, an appreciable amount of literature had been published by the League. And as early as 1901, the most efficacious weapon of the League was being forged, in the shape of its *Syllabus* "of ethical lessons for the infant department and seven standards of Board Schools". A Sub-Committee was busy at this task, with Mr. H. H. Quilter (later, Government Inspector of Schools) as Hon. Secretary. It is significant that a number of teachers served on this Sub-Committee. By the year following, the *Syllabus* was ready and copies thereof were sent to 1,000 head teachers in elementary schools in London and to the principals of all training colleges, "with a request to circulate them among their staffs". Henceforward the *Syllabus* remained the key publication of the League, undergoing several revisions in the course of the years. Numerous Education Authorities adopted it as a whole or in part in connection with their moral instruction schemes and the educational world was most favourably impressed by it. It was even translated into several tongues. Scores of thousands of copies of the *Syllabus* were distributed by the League alone.

The Syllabus Sub-Committee was certainly far-seeing. No sooner had it completed the *Syllabus* than it "engaged in collecting illustrative materials for every detail of the *Syllabus*". Eventually, this issued in the statesman-like project of a comprehensive series of teachers' manuals, one for each Standard. In 1904, a beginning was made with this series, but the great enterprise was not consummated before 1913. The following were the volumes published:—

Standard VII.—A. J. Waldegrave, "Lessons in Citizenship."
" VI.—J. H. Wicksteed, "Conduct and Character."
" IV.—W. H. Baldwin and W. Robson, "Lessons on Character Building."
" V.—A. J. Waldegrave, "A Teacher's Handbook of Moral Lessons."
" I & II.—Alice M. Chesterton, "The Pansy Patch."
" III.— " " "The Magic Garden."
" Infant's Section.—Alice M. Chesterton, "The Garden of Childhood."

James Reid, M.A., "A Manual of Moral Instruction." (Covers all the Sections of the League's Syllabus according to the Concentric Plan.)

To this may be added as virtually part of this series:—

F. J. Gould, Moral Instruction: Its Theory and Practice, 1913.

The value of this literature for the realisation of the objects of the League was manifestly only second to the *Syllabus* itself. Teachers found general guidance in the League's *Syllabus* and illustrative material in the League's manuals. Naturally, besides publishing similar books in addition, the League recommended other useful works on the subject, chief

among them Mr. F. J. Gould's numerous and widely appreciated volumes of the same order. As the League Report for 1910, speaking of the League's published and recommended works, states: "In these volumes there is an abundance of the aptest illustrative material from the widest variety of sources, which should prove of real assistance to teachers and parents."

After more than two years' labour, the League published in 1907 its first *Graduated Syllabus of Moral and Civic Instruction for Secondary Schools*. It was sent to all masters of secondary schools in the United Kingdom and to all governors of governing bodies of such schools so far as known, along with a circular letter and other publications of the League. In 1912, this *Syllabus* was entirely recast and published in 1913.

The League's *Moral Instruction in Elementary Schools in England and Wales,* compiled by its Secretary, Mr. Harrold Johnson, has been already alluded to in Section 3. To which we should add *The Moral Instruction League Quarterly* which appeared regularly from 1905 to 1914 inclusive.

Thus the League, more particularly with its Specimen Lessons, its basic Syllabus, and its teachers' manuals, made a profound impression on the educational world.

8. *Can Virtue be Taught?*

It is important to envisage theory and practice separately. The League's protagonists and its publications might have suggested success in the practical field without achieving it. Moreover, the Demonstration Lessons might have proved that exceptional demonstrators operating under exceptional circumstances could impress the children they casually taught. For this reason it is vital to observe that during the years of extensive trials by Education Authorities and others no appreciable volume of complaint made itself heard, and that in 1908 the League's Committee could state in connection with its *Return,* if we may repeat once more the quotation, "that, in spite of this very wide field of experiment in many parts of the country, no information is before your Committee of any existing difficulty in connection with the Moral Instruction". Considering that for many moral instruction was a hated intruder, the results could not have been more satisfactory.

To furnish some concrete illustrations. The Report for 1906 contains the following series of testimonies to the value of moral instruction:—

"*Leicester.*—The Senior Inspector of the Leicester Education Committee writes:—

"'The subject (Moral Instruction) is one much liked by the pupils. This is so much the case that in some instances the subject has been set down for Friday afternoons, the slackest time for attendance during the week, in order to keep up the attendance.

"It is generally liked by the teachers, as it gives a break in the usual school routine, and is indirectly a valuable auxiliary to the maintenance of school discipline by affording a *point d'appui* for inculcating good morals and manners founded on reasoned-out bases of conduct instead of autocratic dicta of the class teacher.

"Both direct and indirect methods have been adopted in Leicester with success; but the direct method is absolutely necessary if it were only to give a foundation for the indirect.'

"*Bexhill-on-Sea.*—A member of the League writes:—

"'I recently made a tour of the schools (the five non-provided schools of Bexhill-on-Sea), and in each case inquired especially how the moral instruction was getting on. I asked the head teachers if they personally liked it as a subject, if the children took to it, and whether, if they as teachers were free, they would include it in the time-table. To all the above queries I had a unanimous and decided Yes.'

"All the teachers referred to are members of the Church of England.

"Testimonies received from teachers have been too numerous to make more than brief citations from a few of them possible here. . . .

"A Devonshire teacher writes:—

"'The lessons proved an easy method of winning the interest and co-operation of a class of boys famous in the neighbourhood for their roughness and total lack of discipline. . . . One afternoon I announced that, as a reward for good work, I would treat them to some stories in the morning. When morning came, the first good result was seen. Nearly every boy was in his place by nine—a rare occurrence. Throughout the lesson the interest never flagged, and at the end the boys clamoured for more. The results that could be noticed after a few months of Moral Instruction may be thus summarised:—

"1. A marvellous improvement in the general behaviour and a more cheerful and ready obedience.

"2. Playground 'squabbles' less frequent; selfishness and jealousy less to the fore.

"3. A marked improvement in punctuality—boys who had never been known to be early were never found missing from their places at nine.

"4. A keener sense of personal duty and responsibility in each boy, and of his importance in setting an example to others.

"5. A greater appreciation of wholesome literature.'

"A London teacher writes:—

"'For six or seven years I have regularly given a moral lesson one morning in the week to the upper standards of one of the largest schools under the London County Council. . . . The lessons were always anticipated with pleasure by the girls, and always secured an early attendance. . . . Moral teaching should constitute a bright break in the ordinary school routine. It can only become wearisome in the hands of an unskilful exponent, and only ineffective when regarded as an irksome duty. . . . Should any one dread the innovation as an addition to an already overcrowded programme, I would beg him to make the trial.'

"A Bristol teacher writes:—

"'For more than four years past the writer has given a weekly lesson to a 'mixed' class of about forty pupils whose ages vary from thirteen to fifteen years. . . . That the children are interested in the lessons has been many times forcibly brought home to me. The scholars were once asked on the eve of a holiday what lesson they would like, and the majority voted for a moral lesson. . . . The teaching is wholly for good in its effects on the children. This is unmistakably indicated by the improvement in the 'tone' of the class: some outstanding deed of courtesy is often noted as a result. . . . Some of my most treasured possessions are letters written to me by past pupils, and more than one makes mention of the helpfulness of the lesson.'

"A Derby teacher writes:—

"'With my own class I take systematic moral lessons forty minutes per week, and they are the most popular lessons of the curriculum. . . . I know that the lessons make a very real difference to these young people. Both boys and girls become more thoughtful and more self-reliant. . . . I have used no punishments for months, because I try to make the spirit of the moral lessons permeate all the lessons.'"

And the Report for 1912, states: "On many occasions the remark has been made by persons who have heard Mr. Gould's Demonstration Moral Lessons—'But what about the average teacher?' We are now able to answer that Mr. Gould heard twenty Moral Lessons in Yorkshire elementary schools, given by twenty 'average' teachers, and that he was able to report that he had not heard a single lesson which he could not commend."

Apparently, virtue can be taught and the teaching can be made attractive to children.

9. *Effect on Public Opinion.*

The work of the League exercised a remarkable effect on public opinion.

As early as 1901, a Memorial to the Board of Education, as we saw, was signed by 199 representative persons, including 5 Peers, 12 Commoners, 23 University Professors, and County Councillors, Members of School Boards, and others. This proved that the aspirations of the League made a wide appeal.

The beneficent reaction of the League on those interested in religious teaching also began early. Thus we read in the Report for 1903 that "the Sunday School Association, Essex Hall, has published a booklet, *Bible Passages to Illustrate Moral Lessons,* price 3d., prepared for use with Mr. F. J. Gould's *Children's Book of Moral Lessons* (First Series)". The same year the Archbishop of Canterbury deemed it advisable to attack the League's *Syllabus.* Two years later, the religious authorities of the country were thoroughly aroused and alarmed, as the following passage indicates:—

"There appeared in *The Times* of January 21st, 1905, a memorial, issued with the signatures of leading representatives of the Established Church (including both the Archbishops and eight Bishops), the National Free Church Council, the Wesleyan Methodists, the Baptists, and the Salvation Army, and of many of the nobility and leading men in education, politics, science, etc., urging the need of efficient moral training in the schools of the State 'on a Christian basis, and inspired by Christian motives', and further urging the retention of fitly-graded Bible teaching in the Schools."

The League's propaganda did not abate, and as a result we find the Committee of the League again stressing in 1907 the indirect influence the League exercised:—

"Two other movements of great significance in the interests of the moral education of the young, for which also the League's propaganda is largely, either directly or indirectly, responsible, should be indicated here: (1) A strong effort, which has originated during the year, for the ethicising in a systematic

and graded way of the present religious instruction in schools, and (2) the initiating of many reforms in the work of Sunday schools of various bodies in directions calculated to make these institutions far more fruitful in the future for ethical ends."

The Committee also reports several striking utterances in the Press. First, from a leader in the *Church Times* of 9th February 1907:—

"It does not follow that there is no place for moral training and moral instruction, apart from the formal catechetics of religion. Such training and instruction exist, and are found effective. . . . Moral instruction is needed in the education of children; even in the most Christian education there is a moral element that can be studied in abstraction from its Christianity. When this fact is seized, it becomes evident that, in a particular case, the moral instruction imparted under the auspices of the Church may be far less effective than similar instruction given elsewhere under other conditions. . . . There is good moral instruction and bad moral instruction, alike in connection with Christian doctrine and apart."

The Earl of Meath wrote in *The Times* of 27th April 1907:—

"It is of first importance that daily systematic training in the virtues that tend to the creation of good citizens should enjoy a prominent place in the curriculum of all schools, and that no outward aids to the development of moral character founded on good citizenship should be absent from such centres of instruction."

And Dr. Nansen, then Norwegian Minister in London, is quoted to the following effect from the *Morning Post* of 27th June 1907:—

"It was for the State to demand that, whatever the religious views of the citizens might be, every one should, if possible, be given good and sound ethical ideas fitted to make him a useful and skilful member of the community. It was certainly not his opinion that man should live without faith. But the ethical view should be based upon the scientific outlook on things."

The most significant symptom, however, of the indirect influence exercised by the League was Prof. Sadler's Inquiry (to be referred to later) which was undoubtedly provoked by the successful activities of the League.

In brief, the League was winning all along the line, converting both Central and Local Education Authorities as well as the general public and tending to produce a revolution in the religious syllabuses of the schools.

10. *Effect on Other Countries.*

As we learnt, already in 1898 the gratifying intimation reached the League that the Minister of Education for Victoria had "directed the publication of selected extracts from the pamphlets sent to him", in connection with the League. This represented the first of a multitude of League successes abroad.

Mr. Gould's two unofficial visits to the United States and his official visit to the Bombay Presidency, already reported on, show the League's intensive influence abroad. However, right throughout its missionary stage, the League had a remarkable indirect influence on the world at large. There is no room here for full details. But as an illustration, we may quote from the Report for 1908:—

"*Brazil.*—A translation into Portuguese of the League's Syllabus for elementary schools has been printed and published during the year for use in its schools by the State of Minas, in Brazil.

"*Germany.*—The German Moral Instruction League, now some three years old, continues to make steady progress. It has more than a thousand members, many of whom are from the ranks of the teachers. . . .

"*India.*—. . . In March, the Minister of Education of the Baroda State wrote requesting copies of the League's *Graduated Syllabus of Moral and Civic Instruction for Elementary Schools* for circulation among the schools of the State. The Minister at the same time ordered all the books issued for and recommended by the League.

"More significant action, however, was taken in November by another native State, that of Mysore. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja has introduced Moral and Religious Instruction into the Government schools, the first thirty minutes of each school-day being devoted to it. On three of the days a moral discourse 'common to pupils of all persuasions' is to be given, 'based on a text taken from some religious, moral, historical, or literary book'. . . . All the text-books of the League have been 'approved for adoption' in the schools on the recommendation of the Inspector-General. . . .

"*Japan.*—All the League's publications have been ordered for a pedagogical seminary in connection with the University of Tokio.

. . . . .

"*Poland.*—A translation into Polish of the first series of Mr. F. J. Gould's *The Children's Book of Moral Lessons* has appeared in Warsaw."

The League's *Syllabus* and its teachers' manuals carried the League's fame abroad. It was also the League which inspired the formation of the strongly supported German Moral Instruction League.

11. *Facts and Figures.*

The Annual Report for 1911 commences with the subjoined useful bird's-eye view of the history of the League (whereto the figures are added for 1912):—

"The following table of statistics of the number of subscribers, and of the amount received in subscriptions and donations, each year of the fourteen years of the League's existence, will show the continuous and steady progress which has been maintained since 1901. Your Committee do not set forward these figures as an adequate criterion of actual accomplishment, but merely as some indication of headway being made. The real facts of the League's history are rather such as these: The introduction of Moral Instruction into the Day School Code for England and Wales (1906); the definite action in the League's direction taken by over 100 Local Education Authorities in England and Wales; the International Inquiry into the Moral Instruction and Training in Schools (1907), and the First International Moral Education Congress (1908), both the outcome of the League's propaganda; the Debate on Moral Instruction in the House of Commons (1909); the formation of similar Moral Education Leagues in Germany (1905), France (1911), and India (1911); the League's numerous publications, including its *Syllabuses* and eight Books of Moral Lessons; and the activities of its Demonstrator, who has delivered Demonstrations before the most varied audiences in many districts in England and Wales (including Demonstrations at twenty-five Training Colleges), in Scotland, in Ireland, and in the leading cities of the United States of America.

"The merely statistical facts are as follows:—

Subscribers: 1898, 187; 1899, 122; 1900, 106; 1901, 110; 1902, 186; 1903, 210; 1904, 255; 1905, 334; 1906, 417; 1907, 567; 1908, 581; 1909, 640; 1910, 697; 1911, 733; 1912, 757.

Subscriptions and Donations: 1898, £82 12s. 1d.; 1899, £109 5s. 0d.; 1900, £74 16s. 6d.; 1901, £57 11s. 0d.; 1902, £114 14s. 10d.; 1903, £144 11s. 11d.; 1904, £195 14s. 3d.; 1905, £296 0s. 4d.; 1906, £467 16s. 9d.; 1907, £537 1s. 9d.; 1908, £592 1s. 0d.; 1909, £655 9s. 7d.; 1910, £725 13s. 8d.; 1911, £770 15s. 11d.; 1912, £811 15s. 0d.

"It is satisfactory to note that this steady increase of support has been maintained at a time when the 'religious difficulty' in education is not actually before the country, and as a result of purely educational work apart from political conflicts of the hour. . . .

"A glance at the actual membership also shows how widely comprehensive is the League's basis, for among the members are found Catholics, Anglicans, Nonconformists, Jews, Unitarians, Ethicists, Rationalists, Positivists, Hindus, Mahommedans, Parsees, Buddhists; Conservatives, Liberals, and Socialists; University professors; Members of Parliament; representatives of the leading professions—clergymen, teachers, lawyers, doctors, writers, artists, journalists, the army and the navy; and social reformers."

12. *The Passing of the League.*

But for the powerful impetus imparted to the League by its past, the League's definite and rapid decline would have begun in 1909, when the Local Education Authorities propaganda ceased as the result of a radical change in policy. Fortunately, the past was not easy to shake off. The *Syllabus* and the manuals were there or on the way. Mr. Gould's demonstration lessons, meaningless on the new policy, kept the country interested. The Parliamentary propaganda could not be dropped altogether. And something had to be done anyhow. Moreover, the prestige of the League was an immense asset. So the League was carried, largely by its momentum, to the war period.

We shall provide here as complete an account of the last lap as the extremely meagre records available for this later period permit.

The *Quarterly* was apparently discontinued after 1914.

In 1914, there appeared to have been possibilities of a renewal of active work in the direction of moral instruction propaganda, for at the May meeting of the Committee Mr. G. Spiller proposed and it was carried *nem. con.* "that detailed plans be drawn up to re-start the propaganda in favour of systematic Moral Instruction among local Education Authorities and Teachers". But the stars in their courses were fighting against the success of the League at this juncture.

Just before the War, there was a proposal to offer a prize of £25 to elementary school teachers for an essay on "The Reform of Moral and Civic Education"; but lack of funds rendered its execution impossible for the moment. However, in *The Ethical World* of February 1915 we read that the Moral Education League offers "a prize of £20, and several prizes of smaller amounts, for the best essays on the following subject: 'The Reform of Civic and Moral Education of the Present Day. Difficul-

ties, and Suggestions for meeting them '." Finally, in September 1917, *The Humanist* announced the prize winners.

One of the subjects mentioned in the " future plans " to be referred to in Section 13, that of History Teaching in its Ethical Aspect, was proceeded with. In January 1914 a Conference on the subject was arranged with a number of members of the Historical Association, the present writer opening the discussion for the League. Later, the Historical Association published a pamphlet on the theme by Miss A. M. Baylay, a copy of which was sent by the League to all its members.

Another idea was also realised by the publication of a pamphlet entitled *Sex Teaching* which " aroused a great deal of interest among those who received it." (*Note to all Members and Friends,* 31st March 1915.)

The Moral Instruction League, as we shall see, became the Moral Education League. In its turn, the Moral Education League became the Civic and Moral Education League by a decision of the League's Annual Meeting on 13th March 1916. We gather this from a note in the May issue of that year of *The Ethical World.* The note further states :—

" There is no intention of altering the ideas which have hitherto guided the work of the Society, but it had become clear in the course of time that the word ' moral ' was frequently misunderstood, many people thinking that it referred to sex matters alone, and others taking it to mean something mechanical and cut-and-dried. By the addition of the word ' civic ' it is believed that attention will be drawn to the real purpose of the League—its desire to promote a high social morality by every educational means."

With regard to the term " moral ", the writer of the note must have forgotten the tremendous public success achieved by the *Moral* Instruction League and its remarkable influence even on those thinkers who believed in making the religious teaching all-sufficing. There was at that period no question at all of confusing moral teaching with sex teaching or regarding moral instruction as something cut-and-dried.

To conclude. After 1914, the League appears to have usefully and vigorously concentrated on the teaching of civics in its ordinarily accepted sense. It was therefore consistent and in the order of things that in 1919 the Civic and Moral Education League should have become the Civic Education League. Under this title the new League, with the aid of a number of able collaborators, including more particularly Miss E. M. White who had effectively specialised in the subject, continued its civic teaching propaganda. In June 1920, the new League's office was transferred to Le Play House, the headquarters of the Sociological Society and in 1924, its members became formally members of Le Play House where a Civics Teaching Department was instituted, with Miss E. M. White as Hon. Adviser.

13. *The Object and the Policy of the League.*

According to the Constitution of the Moral Instruction League, as adopted at the first Annual General Meeting on 26th January 1898, the Object of the League was " to substitute systematic non-theological moral

instruction for the present religious teaching in all State schools, and to make character the chief aim of school life ".

The Object had, as we see, several facets. It demanded not only the introduction of systematic non-theological moral instruction, but declared that this instruction should supersede the religious teaching. Furthermore, it is well to remember that right from its advent the League affirmed that the formation of good character should be the chief aim of school life and that the League therefore did not restrict itself to introducing moral *instruction*.

However, in 1902, the Object of the League was simplified by the removal of the negative aspect previously stressed equally with the positive side. Thenceforth the League concerned itself solely with the secular curriculum, only incidentally touching on the religious lesson. The Object now read: "To introduce systematic non-theological Moral Instruction into all schools, and to make the formation of character the chief aim of school life." The Committee in all probability rightly gauged the situation when they stated that they believed that the rapid extension of the work and scope of the League was partly due to this modification in its Constitution.

In order to follow step by step the changes in the Object of the League, we shall refer here to the holding in 1906-1907 of the International Inquiry into Moral Instruction and Training in Schools and the publication of the Report of the Inquiry in 1908. The Inquiry, which was undoubtedly an outcome of the League's propaganda, was organised, with the aid of a Committee, by Prof. (later, Sir) Michael E. Sadler, who was specially fitted for this task, seeing that he had been Director of Special Reports at the Board of Education. From the *Moral Instruction League Quarterly* of 1st October 1908, we learn that "special investigators were appointed for various countries" (including the Secretary of the League and the present writer), "questionnaires were widely issued, oral evidence was taken from selected witnesses, and the members of the Advisory Council itself were specially requisitioned for such information as they could give". As a result, *Moral Instruction and Training in Schools* (Report of an International Inquiry, 2 vols., London, 1908) was published.

With the publication of the two volumes, the labours of the Inquiry Executive were considered to be at an end and it dissolved. The work itself took its place as a moral education classic. The Inquiry had, however, a fatal repercussion on the League. It produced a change of attitude on the part of the League's energetic and devoted Secretary, Mr. Harrold Johnson. From that date onward, Mr. Johnson (who had been the League's Secretary since April 1902) ceased to be the wholehearted advocate of systematic non-theological moral instruction and felt drawn nearer to those who regarded a theological basis for moral instruction as indispensable. The League's Secretary had a right to his own opinions as much after as before the Inquiry, but the League was bound to suffer. Quite probably, *if* Mr. Johnson had not undergone a process of conversion and had continued to captain the Moral Instruction Campaign, the League would have won through, and this might even have taken place if he had resigned in 1909. But the fates would have it otherwise and

the League's future was irredeemably compromised. Some years later the inevitable happened. In the *Quarterly* for 1st July 1913 we read: "It is greatly to be regretted that certain developments in his [Mr. Harrold Johnson's] religious views have impelled him to terminate his work for the League." By that date the fire and fervour of the pioneering reformer had departed from the League, a vague and impotent idealism taking its place.

To return. In 1909 the Moral *Instruction* League became the Moral Education League. Observers were officially prepared for some change in the Constitution by a paragraph in the preceding Annual Report, which read:—

"The world-wide interest awakened in the cause for which your League has stood for eleven years past, and the far larger meaning and scope now generally associated with the great educational reform it has ventured to take in hand, have caused your Committee to give serious thought during the year to the advisability at this juncture of introducing certain modifications in the Constitution which would enable it to undertake the more responsible functions incumbent upon it. Proposals are in consequence before your Annual Meeting which can at least claim to have had the weightiest consideration of your Committee, and to have their unanimous approval."

The changed Object and the new Basis were:—

"*Object.*—The object of the League is to urge the introduction of systematic Moral and Civic Instruction into all schools, and to make the formation of character the chief aim in education.

"*Basis.*—The League works on a non-theological basis—*i.e.*, it regards questions of supernatural sanctions and relationships as outside its scope, and concerns itself solely with the issues of character and conduct in their psychological and sociological aspects."

The Object of 26th January 1898 had been:—

"The object of the Society is to substitute systematic non-theological moral instruction for the present religious teaching in all State Schools, and to make character the chief aim of school life."

But the Object, as we know, had been made purely positive in 1902 and read:—

"To introduce systematic non-theological Moral Instruction into all schools, and to make the formation of character the chief aim of school life."

The 1909 changes in the Object were not of a comprehensive character. But there is, to all appearance, one fundamental change in that the word "non-theological" has been suppressed. This would be crucial, except that the Basis re-introduces the word, although, of course, not so pointedly, since the Object alone is usually quoted.

The principal change was in the title. "Moral *Instruction* League" implied a League that had a definite and challenging task. "Moral *Education* League" took the definiteness and challenge out of the title and apparently out of the League. The new Constitution, as a matter of fact, left the positive double object of the League precisely where it had stood. Accordingly, the advantage of the change could have been only trifling and the disadvantage of an unfamiliar and unchallenging title,

just when the battle was growing hottest and victory seemed in sight, immense. It would have been different if the change had been made *after* a complete triumph. Certainly, under the sign "Moral Instruction League", the League had leapt from success to success, whilst under its new title it at best lived on its past successes. Most singular, too, it is that the problems of general moral education—discipline, the ethicising of school subjects, etc.—received, on the whole, no closer attention after than before the change of title.

In 1910, the Committee speaks of its new policy in the following terms:—

"As was officially pointed out at the last Annual Meeting of members, your Committee, though still actively concerned with questions of public policy, 'recognise more and more the importance and magnitude of their task as educationists pure and simple.' It is in the fulfilment of this more restricted and less ostentatious task that the work of your Committee must this year be judged. The aspect of their work which concerns itself with political agitation and administrative machinery, though important, is nevertheless of secondary significance. The problem is rather to find the sort of teaching and training the nature of the child and the conditions of modern life require, and to produce teachers skilled in the art of giving it. This is the work to which the League is now largely addressing itself. Your Committee are aware too that work of a purely educational kind, since it does not lend itself so readily to the summary of the daily chronicler, must depend more and more for its support on the few who have insight and foresight enough to look beyond the day to the slow garnering of the years."

Yet the Annual Report itself registers precisely the same and no other kind of activities as previous years, and the immediately following years convey, broadly speaking, exactly the same impression save that systematic non-theological Moral Instruction is treated as a step-child.

The main object for which the League was founded is not even mentioned in the Appeal it issued in its Report for 1913, whilst the only reference to general education in that Report is under the heading "Future Plans". These plans, however, were suggestive and promising because they were definite. The Report states on this subject that "at present the Educational Questions Sub-Committee has under consideration the question of History Teaching in its Ethical Aspect, of Sex Instruction, and of Home Education in its moral bearings".

We need only add that as the years rolled by, the original cardinal object receded more and more into the background until, as we have seen, it disappeared altogether, and with it the League.

14. *Retrospect.*

The League started in 1897 as the successor of the Moral Instruction School Board Election Conference organised by the Union of Ethical Societies. Until 1901, it largely concentrated on London, with signal success as regards the parents of school children, but with no success whatever so far as the London Education Authority was in question. Grasping the inwardness of the situation, the League decided on a broadly national policy of propaganda. Already, however, it was

elaborating its *Syllabus* and was conscious of the need of publishing illustrative material.

The second stage, that of phenomenal success, was ushered in with the change in its Object, imparting to it a purely positive form; with the publication of its historic *Syllabus;* with its new national policy; and with Mr. Harrold Johnson as Secretary. Practically unresisted, feared rather than opposed, the League marched from victory to victory, until approximately the close of 1908—for about seven years.

The League then changed its name and launched out on a new policy, that of substituting interest in moral *education* for interest in moral *instruction*. Still, as we saw, the older policy was only gradually dropped, whilst the new policy never passed beyond the initial tentative stage. A few valuable lectures were delivered and a few valuable articles appeared in the League's *Quarterly,* each an independent pronouncement. Only after several years, "future plans" were formulated and, as regards history teaching and sex teaching, carried just beyond the first stage.

The Moral Education League became subsequently the Civic and Moral Education League and, finally, the Civic Education League, soon after which it ceased to exist.

The Moral Instruction League not only sprang out of the Ethical Movement, but represented one of its outstanding interests. Long before its formation, the American Ethical Societies had laid great stress on systematic moral instruction on a non-theological basis. It was, therefore, natural that Dr. Stanton Coit should have urged from the first the importance and the practicability of such teaching and that the Union of Ethical Societies, under his leadership, should have so largely concentrated on pressing the introduction of that teaching in the country's elementary schools. Hence this Chapter.

SOURCES.

The Annual Reports of the League from 1897 to 1914, together with *The Moral Instruction League Quarterly* (under various names) from April 1905 to October 1914, kindly placed at my disposal, with much other material, by Miss E. M. White, provide the bulk of the information utilised in this history of the Moral Instruction League. The rest is derived from sources mentioned in the text. The British Museum Library contains some additional material relating to the post-1914 period and catalogued under Moral Education League and Civic Education League. For the whole period, consult also *The Ethical World* (under its various names) and, for the later period, *The Humanist.*

CHAPTER X.—THE HAMPSTEAD ETHICAL INSTITUTE.

1. *Formation of the Institute.*

THE first Annual Report furnishes the following account of the formation of the Hampstead Ethical Institute:—

"Early in 1900 efforts were made to form the Institute, and those residents of the district who desired to see provided, at times of leisure, more opportunities for bringing reason, knowledge, and sympathy to bear upon life,

apart from all that is merely theological or traditional, especially the holding of services on Sundays in which reading, congregational singing, and discourses on religion, literature, art and science, should form part, were, through announcements in the Press, invited to the meeting at which the formation of the Institute was agreed upon. The Inaugural Meeting was held at the residence of Mr. Mark H. Judge, 4 Kingdon Road, West Hampstead, when the Institute was definitely formed. . . ."

The members of the first Committee were: Mark H. Judge, A.R.I.B.A. (Chairman), James F. Muirhead, M.A., George Dolman, Max Firnberg, J. B. Hodge, Horace B. Lakeman, Miss A. A. Larner, Miss G. F. Larner, H. O. Newsome, H. Westbury Preston, John Smurthwaite, Miss E. Simpson, Peter Tait, Mrs. Wright, and Miss Sybil Judge (Hon. Secretary).

The Inaugural Service was held on Sunday, 29th April 1900, at the West Hampstead Town Hall, "at which place the Services were continued on Sunday mornings till the end of May. In June the Services were removed to the large hall of the Hampstead Conservatoire, Swiss Cottage." At the latter place, the Sunday Services continued to be held for many years, until 1916. The first change was to migrate to the Conservatoire's small hall, after which, with the opening of the 1928 lecture season, the Services were transferred to the Studio Theatre, 59, Finchley Road, N.W. For a long time, however, the Institute Committee seriously entertained the idea of acquiring or building a home of its own.

2. *Aims and Objects.*

At the Inaugural Business Meeting mentioned above, a Constitution was adopted, the first two paragraphs of which stated the basis of the Institute, which, as we see, was decidedly comprehensive in character:—

"1.—The Hampstead Ethical Institute is a Society in which the bond of union is the recognition of character and conduct as of primary importance, and of opinion and belief as secondary.

"2.—The objects of the Institute are: (1) To promote and maintain Services on Sundays and other days, in which reading, congregational singing, and discourses on religion, literature, art and science, including sociology, shall form part, with the view of bringing reason, knowledge and sympathy to bear upon life; of freeing ideas of what is right from all that is merely traditional; and of enforcing moral obligations by demonstrating that the well-being of mankind is dependent on them. (2) To promote and maintain lectures and classes for the teaching of children and adults, and to urge all sections of the community to make greater use of the libraries, museums, galleries and other institutions supported by public funds. (3) To co-operate with other organisations having similar objects, and to issue publications."

It was soon felt that a briefer and more pointed statement was desirable. Accordingly, on 29th March 1903, the following Object was adopted, the first part of which coincides with the Object of the New York Ethical Society:—

"The object of this Society is: To increase among men the knowledge, the love, and the practice of the right. Its bond of union is the belief that this object may be attained without the aid of any theological sanction."

This Object has since regularly appeared at the head of the Institute's printed Annual Reports and of its monthly lists of services.

The Society also expressed its views in Declarations regularly read at its Sunday meetings. One of these was conceived as follows:—

"AN ETHICAL DECLARATION.

WE BELIEVE in the power of united human effort to transform this earth into a world where love, justice, health, and happiness dwell.

WE BELIEVE that moral fellowship is life, and absence of it death.

WE BELIEVE in a creed of deed which scorns vain thoughts and empty hours and rejoices in translating love and wisdom into action.

WE BELIEVE in respecting men, women and children of every race and in reverently studying the whole animate and the whole inanimate world, the past and the present, to the end that we may mould the future of mankind into the likeness of the civic ideal.

WE BELIEVE in applying a moral standard to the family, to our profession, to social intercourse, to the city and to the State.

WE BELIEVE in granting women equal rights with men.

WE BELIEVE in championing the cause of the poor and the oppressed, and in removing every privilege not based on individual ability and not required by the welfare of the community.

WE BELIEVE in international arbitration and federation, and we look upon war as unholy and destined to be abolished. As regards everything we believe in putting the questions: Is it good? Is it true? Is it beautiful? Will it serve the Commonwealth?

WE BELIEVE that moral considerations should determine the limits, up to which natural propensities should be exercised and beyond which impulses and appetites may not be gratified.

WE BELIEVE in a democracy, healthy, intelligent, temperate, courageous, and pledged to reform and perfect the State.

WE BELIEVE in finding our reward in the good we do.

WE BELIEVE in progress, and in not clinging to ancient institutions and ideas unless they can justify themselves before the bar of reason and at the tribunal of conscience.

WE BELIEVE in thoroughly educating all the young, and in continuing our own mental training throughout our lives.

WE BELIEVE in light, in recreation, in exercise, in leisure, in cleanliness, in fresh air for all.

WE BELIEVE in a life of simplicity and of usefulness.

WE BELIEVE in taking up the good man's burden, and purging ourselves and the State of all corrupting influences.

WE BELIEVE in actively resisting injustice.

WE BELIEVE in all that is good, pure and holy; and we earnestly invite those who believe with us, to come and join our ranks and help us to fight the good fight."

3. *Sunday Meetings.*

Sunday morning meetings have been regularly held during the whole period of the Institute's existence. At these, discourses of the same character as at other Ethical Societies and of a decidedly high average

quality, were delivered. There were also the usual seasonal and other breaks: three months, later four months, in the summer and the commonly recognised holy-days. However, for many years a certain number of summer meetings have been held, mostly at members' residences.

The panel of lecturers was large and included all well-known Ethical Movement speakers. But the members felt keenly the desirability of more concentrated series of lectures. Thus, at first, individual speakers occasionally occupied the Institute's platform for all the Sundays in a given month. In 1901, an attempt was made to secure Professor W. H. Hudson as Minister of the Institute. Professor Hudson consented to be nominated, but, on further reflection, decided that he could not spare the time which he felt a minister ought to devote to the work.

The Order of the Services was at the beginning as follows: "At 11.15 a.m. an organ voluntary; opening hymn, followed by a reading; musical interlude, followed by a second reading; announcements, and second hymn during which a collection was made; the discourse, followed by a closing hymn and an organ voluntary." The hymn book used has been Miss E. Josephine Troup's *Hymns of Modern Thought.*

At the commencement of 1906, the Order of Services was: "1) Hymn, 2) Declaration, 3) Musical Interval, 4) Reading, 5) Collection and Music, 6) Lecture, 7) Hymn, 8) Closing Words." From time to time minor changes have been naturally made in the Order of Service and at present the following practice prevails: 1) Hymn, 2) Opening Words, 3) Two Minutes' Music, 4) Announcements, 5) Reading, 6) Musical Interlude, 7) Discourse, 8) Collection, 9) Hymn, 10) Closing Words. For some years, too, on suitable occasions, questions on the lectures have been allowed at the close of the Services.

Taken as a whole, the attendance up to the end of the War fluctuated comparatively little, dropping sometimes as low as 30, sometimes running up to nearly 150, and not infrequently reaching about 100 during the most flourishing period. Since the War, however, the attendances have been decidedly lower and have only rarely exceeded 50 during the last few years. (In this connection attention may be drawn to a remarkable and most useful practice of the Institute, namely that of utilising a special entry book with the following printed headings: Date, Subject, Lecturer, Number Attending, Amount of Collection, Weather, and Remarks. The weather column suggests that the weather exercises by no means as potent an influence as might be supposed.)

The Book Table was assiduously cared for as being of vital importance for interesting the minds of the members and of visitors in the inspiring literature of the Movement.

4. *Finance.*

During the first year of its existence, the Institute counted just about 100 subscribers and donors. The following year the number reached about 120, a figure which approximately reflects the paying membership for many years. A little prior to the War, the number of contributors fell somewhat below 100. And now it is considerably less (under 60).

The problem of raising the funds required by the Institute preoccupied the minds of the Committee from year to year and almost all the year round. In the circumstances, it is cheering to find that for many a year the Institute's workers never ceased to be optimistic in regard to the future of the Institute nor allowed other problems to be overshadowed or brushed aside by financial considerations. The income was around £160 the first year and remained about £200 for the next ten years or so. It may be helpful to analyse the expenditure for the last pre-war year (1913), omitting minor items. Rent of hall and caretaker accounted for £59 10s.; fees to lecturers, for £81 18s.; pianist, for £14 15s.; and printing, postage, and advertisements, for about £20; or, roughly, for £176 out of a total expenditure of £186.

5. *Sunday School.*

A Sunday School, highly successful at certain stages of its existence, was conducted for some years, but untoward circumstances brought it to an early end. In 1904, there were 42 children's names on the register, with an average attendance of 25 during the last three months of the year. In 1909, the School was, with great reluctance, discontinued. The work of Mrs. Gilliland Husband in this connection was one of the most vital things in the history of the Society and had an important influence on its membership and character.

6. *Other Activities.*

In harmony with its original aims, the Institute's purview extended beyond the Sunday meetings and the connected sessional and social reunions.

The establishment of the Debating Society dates back to 1903. Throughout its long existence (to 1925) it appears to have been an undoubted success, offering opportunities for members as well as for others to discuss important questions of every kind. The following list (for 1914) indicates the type of subject and the class of speakers:—

January 13.—"Smokes for Women", Mr. E. Hunt.
„ 31.—"The Psychology of Dreams", Mrs. Eder.
February 17.—"Land-laws of Israel and Mr. Lloyd George", Mr. H. Snell.
March 7.—"Progress and Reaction in Australasia", Mr. McCabe.
„ 23.—"The Taylor System of Workshop Management", Mr. McGregor.
April 21.—"That Life is Unjust", Mr. Dimsdale Stocker.
May 9.—"Social Change in America", Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe.
„ 26.—"The Origins and Progress of the English Drama", Mr. Manley.
June 9.—"Should Women, Married or Unmarried, be Economically Independent?" Dr. Alice Vickery.
October 11.—"Ideals True and False", Mrs. S. A. Hobson.
„ 24.—"The Meaning of Tragedy, as illustrated by 'Macbeth'", Rev. Mr. Gow.
November 10.—"Psychology of War", Mr. V. Fisher.
„ 28.—"Is it Ethical to be Patriotic?" Mr. Dimsdale Stocker.
December 15.—"That Socialism is the only True Individualism", Mr. Hunter Watts.

During the last few years the Debating Society has been partially replaced by monthly week-day discussions of an appropriate lecture delivered on some previous Sunday morning.

In 1908, a Needle Work Guild, still in existence, was organised. It has proved a signal success, many hundred garments being made and then distributed among charitable institutions.

In the same year a Pleasant Evening Guild for Council school children was started. The practical work was performed entirely by ex-members of the Sunday School of the Institute. The Guild met once a week and spent a few hours in reading, sewing, playing games, etc. The Guild appears to have ceased in 1910.

In 1909, the Institute appointed an official representative to the Hampstead Social Welfare Society. Several members of the Institute took up social work under one of the many divisions through which the Society achieves its varied purposes. The Institute is still actively co-operating with this Society and also with Societies having a similar object.

In 1912, the Institute joined the Rationalist Peace Society and arranged that a delegate from the Institute should serve on the Committee of the Society. Until the latter was dissolved a few years back, the Institute co-operated therewith. Actuated by the same concern for international peace, it joined the League of Nations Union after the War.

Towards the end of 1903, the Institute decided to be affiliated to the Union of Ethical Societies, to which body it still sends delegates.

The Society's *Hon. Secretaries* were: 1900-1901—Miss Sybil Judge; 1902-1907—Miss Josephine Gowa; 1908 (part)—Mr. C. Thieme; 1908-1909—Miss J. Gowa; 1910-1917—Mr. C. H. Johns; 1918-1919—Miss J. Gowa; 1920- —Mr. E. H. Elkan. Its *Hon. Treasurers* were: 1900-1902—Mr. J. F. Muirhead; 1903-1918—Dr. A. H. Thompson; 1919-1925—Mrs. O. Bacharach; 1926-1928—Mrs. A. Elkan; 1929- —Mr. T. Sidney Dawn.

6. *Retrospect.*

In perusing the Minutes of the Institute, one is profoundly impressed with the magnificent loyalty and the indefatigable services rendered by so many of its members. Without prejudice to various others, I would single out (the late) Mr. Mark H. Judge, Miss Gowa (who, after 30 years, is still a "key" worker), Mr. H. Westbury Preston, Dr. A. H. Thompson, (the late) Mr. C. H. Johns, Mr. H. J. Barnard, Mr. E. H. Elkan, and the present President of the Institute, Mr. R. Dimsdale Stocker, who did, or are still doing, yeoman's work for their beloved ethical centre.

SOURCES.

Practically all the information furnished above is derived from the Hampstead Ethical Institute's Minute Books, Annual Reports, etc., which were very kindly placed at my disposal by its Committee. I have also to thank the Hon. Secretary, Mr. E. H. Elkan, for perusing the above account and making sundry suggestions.

CHAPTER XI.—ETHICAL NATURE-SERVICES IN EPPING FOREST.*

ENGLISH minds are wont to link moral ideas with natural events, a kinship with nature and brotherhood with man being actualities in their natural and human faith.

South Place Religious Society moved under the influence of evolutionary teaching, through a Universalist cult to a cosmic philosophy with emphasis on the service of man, while Salter in *Ethical Religion* wrote: "The most perfect religion, to my mind, would be a blending of the religion of morality and the religion of nature into an ideal unity." The aim of the ethical nature-services in Epping Forest was to give expression to the naturalistic aspect of Ethical religion.

At an indoor congress of the Union of Ethical Societies members were invited to join the Forest Gate Ethical Church in a service in the open air. Sunday, July 5th, 1903, a brilliant summer day, saw parties of Ethical folk arriving at Loughton. Morning ramblers, picnicing on their way, met an afternoon group at tea at Oak Hill Farm, Theydon Bois. After a fraternal meal, 170 sat amid bracken in a glade nearby, joined in Ethical hymns and listened to Dr. Coit who pictured Ethical religion as one of the open air, devoid of mystery and reserve, as free to all as the sunlight.

Welcoming other societies, the convener told why they met in so unusual a spot. East London members loved their forest, for ages the haunt of men free in spirit and an inspiration to social reformers of their own time.

In that glade, near the ancient British Way, they held, maybe, the first religious meeting since Saxon priests sacrificed to Woden in Wanstead groves. Yet how different the scene. For them no weird spirits lurked in the thickets, no victims writhed in terror, no superstitious fears gloomed their minds. Friends to both men and beasts, confident of the essential beneficence of nature and humanity, they were co-partners in the woodland life sharing its healthful influence.

The forest that evening, beautiful with sunlit foliage, was by their act enriched with the sweetness and light of ethical communion, its delicate green aisles, aiding their natural and human faith, being no less consecrate than cathedrals fashioned in stone.

The woodland thrilled with joyous singing:—

> "In flowing fields with bees and birds
> The heart may leap and join their hymn;
> Worship is not confined to words
> In gloomy cells or cloisters dim."

Ethical nature-services with woodland rambles and fraternal meals have continued fortnightly from spring to autumn with monthly forest reunions in the winter, for nearly thirty years.

The services had opening and closing thoughts, an ethical lesson from

* This account has been kindly contributed by Dr. Victor J. Batteson who was not only the founder and able organiser of the Forest group, but its guide, philosopher, and friend for the first twenty years of its existence. The Services continue to be highly appreciated.

The Message of Man, a poem or prose reading on a nature subject and an address on moral evidences in nature, cosmic idealism, natural history or forest lore, interwoven with solos and congregational singing, a booklet of *Nature Hymns and Anthems** being printed for use at the meetings.

Such meetings developed thoughts on living in accord with nature and this characteristic was expressed in the programme booklet with nature quotations devoted year by year to: Wordsworth, Jefferies, Harrold Johnson, Matthew Arnold, Emerson, Stevenson, Kingsley, Shakespeare, Spenser, William Morris, Chaucer, Dante, and Shelley.

Breadth of outlook was also maintained by inviting societies in sympathy to come to meetings specially arranged for their members, the leaders of these societies usually giving the address. Representative groups came nearly every year from the Union of Ethical Societies, London Positivist Society, Rationalist Press Association, Ethics of Nature Society, and Sunday Shakespeare Society.

Recitals of Shakespearean sylvan and pastoral scenes, helped by glee-singers from the Forest Gate Shakespeare Society, were given on summer afternoons, the Ethical services then being held in the evenings.

Similar services in the woods were held by the Children's Ethical Circle of Forest Gate joined by the East Ham Sunday Ethical School.

The motto "Let all come" ("Ut veniant omnes") asked everyone, of whatever way of thinking, to join the forest meetings, anyone having a love of nature and ready to work with his fellows in following the right and doing good being welcomed as a Forest member.

Forest members acted as escorts to visitors and as stewards at the Union meetings.

Held under the Forest Gate Ethical Church and later the Emerson Brotherhood of Stratford and led by their Warden [Dr. Victor J. Batteson], the work was carried on directly and flexibly like the life of the woods. At a wood mote in December duties were shared for the coming year by a body of brethren, called "Verderers", each adept in his sphere, acting in the spirit of Emerson as freemen without rules and wearing the colours as green and white rosettes.

By their help during the first twenty years 215 services and 39 sylvan plays were given.

Verderers who gave yeoman service in the earlier period were: W. Stock, A. T. Barnard, T. A. McConnell, C. H. Ward, W. G. Gillings, F. G. Gould, A. S. Toms, Lilian Hammond, T. O. Blagg, B. Warwick, W. Wickham, Jennie Palmer, Alice Palmer, Louisa E. Batteson, H. D. Braun, J. Cook, W. Gregory, W. Atkins, R. C. Mabbs, E. A. Webb, W. J. Barnsdale, Mary Tresham.

Addresses were given repeatedly by: Stanton Coit, Philip Thomas, A. T. Barnard, V. J. Batteson, Aylmer Maude, H. S. Swinny, H. J. B. Golding, W. Hogg, A. S. Toms, H. Snell, H. Johnson, T. O. Blagg,

* [Issued in 1908. The 31 poems were taken in greater part from *The Ethical Hymn Book*. The booklet was preceded in 1904 by *Ethical Hymns* ("A Selection from the Ethical Hymn Book, reprinted for the Forest Gate Ethical Church for use at the Services in Epping Forest"), consisting of a selection of 16 hymns. Artistic cards with mottos were also issued annually.]

G. E. O'Dell, G. A. Smith, H. J. Bridges, F. J. Gould, G. Spiller, M. M. Deshumbert, F. G. Gould, G. Howard, R. D. Stocker, W. Varian, J. J. Murphy, H. Ross, Ebenezer Howard.

Rambles covered a different area each meeting, most of the forest being visited every summer as well as outlying woodlands once part of the same forest at Ongar, Hainault, and Broxbourne.

On these saunterings naturalists showed the ways of plants and animals in their homes, natural objects being looked at for their own message, without bias of good or ill. Such first-hand acquaintance with living beings brought understanding and sympathy and a widening outlook on life. More definite knowledge came in conducted tours to the Natural History Museum.

The wonders of the natural world in night time were seen during moon and starlight tramps when night was spent in the forest, with a rest before dawn and breakfast after sunrise by a bivouac fire.

Ethical camping parties met for many years in the forest, tents being pitched for week-ends and long family holidays, fuel and some food being gleaned from the thickets and water from spring or rill.

The Children's Circle at Forest Gate formed their own camping club, making tent and kit in winter evenings and being hosts at many joyous family gatherings in Hainault Forest.

Co-operative week-end holidays were held at the new Garden City at Letchworth for four years with Ethical services addressed by the founder of the city, Ebenezer Howard, an old adherent of the South Place Society.

The connection with the Emerson Ethical Brotherhood ceased in 1923 when the Forest group became a constituent society in the Ethical Union.

Country air, sylvan beauty and thoughtful discourse awakened imagination and many realised in these meetings they were akin to the multitude of living forms which made up the forest. Moving frequently amid such an infinity of living beings, pulsing perpetually around them, some felt as brethren in a universal life, co-partners in a cosmos of moral activity, and that it was good for city dwellers to come to the forest and share their experience.

SOURCES.

Dr. Batteson has courteously placed at my disposal the Programmes down to 1915, the two hymn books, and the motto cards; but I have seen no reason for modifying his text or adding thereto.

CHAPTER XII.—THE BRIGHTON AND WORTHING ETHICAL SOCIETIES.

(An interview with Mr. R. Dimsdale Stocker on 12th June 1930.)

MR. SPILLER: When did you first come in contact with the Ethical Movement and how did it strike you then?

Mr. Stocker: I heard Dr. Washington Sullivan at Steinway (now Grotian) Hall and was enthralled by his presentation. I was probably

the more impressed having been brought up in an orthodox manner (my mother's side of the family being High Church and Quaker and my father Swedenborgian). I never cared for Anglican services and was not able to go to Church much owing to ill-health. Till my teens I was fairly orthodox. I must have heard Dr. Coit at the Kensington Town Hall about 1898 or 1899 and also I think I had heard him at the Empress Rooms and at the Mall Hall where I had spoken for him. I then determined to work for the Movement. About 1903 I left London and settled in Brighton. I gathered around me a few friends. I tried to explain to these friends what I wanted to do to build up an Ethical Society and induced about ten people to join. The Society was actually founded on 30th April 1905 and the first place we met in was in a private house in Compton Avenue, Brighton. We did not meet at first every Sunday. I should like to say that prior to starting the Society, George Jacob Holyoake, sympathetic and locally influential, sent us members. We met at Compton Avenue for a few Sundays. Then we took a small room at the Brighton School of Music at the Athenæum Hall in North Street. We met there in the mornings for two years.

What was the name of your Society?

The Brighton and Hove Ethical Society. We gradually formed a Committee. The attendances were not very good; but the finances were satisfactory. We then felt we ought to hold evening meetings and changed the time of meeting accordingly. Our numbers went up, but our finances left something to be desired. We were there altogether about four years. We then moved to the Express Company's place near the Clock Tower, where we did fairly well for three years. We moved then to the Old Ship Assembly Rooms, where we had to pay a higher rental. As our finances became very unsatisfactory, we went into the Arts Club in West Street, where we generally had between 20 and 30 people, although at the Old Ship we had had 60 to 70. Sometimes, however, the attendance fell as low as 9 or 10. This was temporary. We moved then to a private place. A Dance Academy gave us the use of a passable room close to the Clock Tower, where we remained for probably eighteen months or two years, until finally we went to the Oddfellows' Hall, which we occupied from 1912 until I left in 1918. Dr. Coit, Mr. (now Dr.) Bridges, and Mr. Philip Thomas, from London, kindly lectured for us there. Sympathy was not wanting, but we had the feeling we ought to be doing more. It was uphill work. We kept together a good deal by meeting. We had outings in the summer and knew one another well. Our Sunday public meetings were held all the year round, except for two Sundays in August. For our finances we depended on our collections and on donations, as we never had regular subscriptions. We had an excellent Secretary, Miss Palmer, whose father had been at South Place. We had scarcely any activities besides the Sunday meetings.

Did you have a Service?

Yes; but not an elaborate one. We had a hymn, a reading, a hymn, and an address, and, if I remember rightly, a few closing words. For a time we had a meditation; but people did not understand the necessity for devotion and silence and so we eventually gave it up. We used the

Ethical Society's Hymn Book. As to a choir, we tried to find two or three musical people who would help us, but the music was one of our greatest difficulties. The address was followed by a discussion.

Did the Society have any formulated Objects?

Yes; our Objects, which we published on our Service cards, were the following:

"1.—To assist in developing the Moral Ideas.

"2.—To proclaim the religion of duty, as embodied in the Ethical Ideal.

"3.—To teach that Ethical principles exist independently of speculative beliefs or supernaturalistic theories.

"4.—To emphasise the moral factor in all human relations, whether personal, social, political, national, or international.

"5.—To exhort men by natural and human means to know, love, and live the right.

"6.—To derive through membership mutual inspiration and support, and to promote moral fellowship."

Did you publish Annual Reports? leaflets or pamphlets? or articles in the press?

Reports of our lectures often appeared in the *Sussex Daily News,* in the *Brighton Herald,* and in Worthing papers. We did not publish any leaflets or pamphlets, but in some cases the substance of my addresses was incorporated in my books. Very much did not appear in the press in connection with the Society; but I used to take an interest in the religious life of Brighton. There was very good feeling between the Unitarian minister and myself. Also, the local congregationalist minister, the Rev. Rhondda Williams, in a book he wrote, devoted several pages to the Ethical Movement.

Was the community influenced by the Society?

We were not without influence. The trades union people, for instance, used to say they got inspiration from us in their work.

Can you tell me something of the Worthing Ethical Society?

The Worthing Society started in this manner. One of our members, Miss Swift, used to come over from Worthing each Sunday. She wanted an Ethical Society at Worthing. After preliminaries, we held our first meeting in Liverpool Terrace and soon (1912 or 1913) the Society began to hold its meetings on Sundays. I used to speak for this Society and so did Dr. Coit. Miss Swift then left the district, and although the Society was promising for awhile, the difficulty of carrying on was too great and it was dissolved.

What were the principal impediments in your work at Brighton?

Our real difficulty was the want of continuity. People would drop in and be interested, but you could not depend upon them, for sometimes they would come and sometimes they would not. However, we attracted a number of thoughtful people, including several town councillors.

Did visitors to Brighton attend your meetings?

One of our problems was how to inform visitors of our existence. We tried little experiments such as advertising our meetings on sandwich-

boards. The hotels would not encourage us. Occasionally we held outdoor meetings, followed by discussion, but speakers did not care for it.

You returned to London in 1918?

Yes; directly I came to London I was asked to work for the Hampstead Ethical Institute. Whilst in Brighton I had kept in touch with London and had often spoken at Hampstead and once or twice at South Place. I identified myself more particularly with the Hampstead Society. I became its President and have lectured there once a month for nine months in the year. I speak regularly now at South London and frequently at the Ethical Church. I am on the Council of the Ethical Union, mainly in connection with the *Ethical Societies' Chronicle* which I edit for the Union.

How long have you been its editor?

Since 1924. It is the longest consecutive paper the Union has been responsible for.

Have you published any books on ethical subjects?

Yes, *Social Idealism, The God which is Man,* and *The Time Spirit.* My last book on *Poetry* shows how the poetry of the last century has expressed the growing human spirit. I also published a book during the War, *From Warfare to Welfare.*

What are your hopes for the Movement?

My great hope is that all religions will come to recognise the essentially ethical spirit underlying them and that the Ethical Movement will focus universal interest in this fundamental ethical aspect.

Chapter XIII.—THE HOLLOWAY ETHICAL SOCIETY.

A single leaflet furnishes the following information.

The Holloway Ethical Society met on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock at Grovedale Hall, Grovedale Road, Upper Holloway, N.

The lectures were followed by discussion.

The Object of the Society was " By purely human and natural means to develop good character and to serve humanity ", and membership was open to all who sympathised with the Object and subscribed not less than 1s. per annum.

The leaflet contains also the following statement:—

" The Ethical Movement is trying to establish a religion of the life we know, a religion of devotion to the Right. We start from the inevitable distinction between good and evil. We hold it a duty to seek after Truth regardless of authority. The Ethical Movement stands for Morality without Theology and elevates Goodness to the supreme place in the world."

From the Annual Reports of the Union of Ethical Societies it appears that the Holloway Ethical Society was formed in 1905 and joined the Union in 1906.

Chapter XIV.—THE HAMMERSMITH ETHICAL SOCIETY.

The following is from a letter (dated 12th November 1930) received from Miss M. Wilson, who had been Hon. Secretary of the above Society, and to whom I am greatly obliged for the information given:—

". . . The date of the opening meeting of the Society would be the first Sunday in October 1907. As to the date when we dissolved, we may be said to have come to an end by degrees, as towards the last we met very seldom and at members' houses. Our last meeting must have been, I find, before the War ended—in 1917 probably.

"We had three different meeting places. At first we met in a Council School Hall and in two different buildings after that. In the last building we met first in the large hall, then the smaller hall, and finally we met at members' houses for a time. The meetings were not described as a service. We used the *Ethical Hymn Book* and the lecture was preceded by a reading and generally followed by a solo, then a hymn, then discussion. . . .

"I should say the membership averaged 30. It is difficult to say, as members did not always trouble to resign when they had lost interest. After 1914 it became increasingly difficult to get people to attend. The War was the one and only topic and there were those who had lost heart in any idea of progress. . . . The number at public meetings varied from—on one occasion—nearly 300 to about a dozen at the end."

Three of the Lecture leaflets, kindly placed at my disposal by Miss Wilson, contained the following statement as to the purpose of the Society:—

"The Society studies the science of human conduct.

"We live at a time when institutions and creeds are being shaken to their foundations. The Hammersmith Ethical Society believes that we can arrive at the best decision as to our course of conduct in life, by a mutual exchange of our life experiences.

"If you are a reformer, here is a place where you may make your ideas known.

"If you uphold current ideas, come and defend them."

And, again, on a Lecture Card we read:—

"The Society aims at the stimulation of public interest in questions of Social welfare by means of lectures, meetings, etc., believing that, by discussion and mutual intercourse between those interested in these matters, the enthusiasm for progress and the desire to labour for the social good are encouraged.

"No test of creed or political party is imposed for admission to membership—rather does the Society invite the co-operation of members of all denominations—hoping thus to ensure a broad outlook upon present-day problems on the part of its members."

Chapter XV.—TWO ETHICAL UNION GROUPS.

a) *The Women's Group of the Ethical Union.*

The Women's Group of the Ethical Union was founded in 1915.

The Object in the earlier years of the Group's existence appears to have been "To investigate and develop all that tends to the Right Con-

duct of Life," and its Motto, taken from Marcus Aurelius, "Of everything that presents itself unto thee, to consider what the true nature of it is and to unfold it".

On 11th December 1926, a new Constitution was drawn up, with the following triple Object:—

"a) To further the Aims and Principles of the Ethical Union.—b) To investigate and develop all that tends to the Right Conduct of Life.—c) To form a Social Centre for the discussion of Ethical Problems from the Women's point of view."

Membership in the Group is open to all women who are in sympathy with the above objects.

The nature and the vitality of the group may be inferred from its Annual Reports. Accordingly, here is the substance of the Annual Report covering the period 1st October 1930 to 30th September 1931, a Report which strikes an inspiriting note:—

"The Committee is pleased to report that a happy and successful year has been passed in the period under review. In spite of losses by removal, the Roll stands at 47, and the average attendance at the meetings has increased to thirty; the financial position is sound.

"The Group is indebted to the following speakers for kindly giving their services: Dr. Estelle Cole, 'Psychology and the Child'; Miss Reeve, 'The Nationality of Married Women'; Miss B. Mabbs, 'How to Handle the Adolescent'; Miss Stella Browne, 'Birth Control'; Mrs. Olive Aldridge, 'The Right of Married Women to engage in Paid Work'; Mrs. Fenelle, 'The Homeless Women of London'; Mrs. MacGregor Ross, 'The Colour Bar in London'.

"*The Social Side.*—The Annual Meeting in December was followed by an Indian Tea at the Taj Mahal Restaurant, in which 40 members and friends participated. In January a pleasant Social was enjoyed in the Union's new premises at 12 Palmer Street, at which the kindly hospitality of Miss Soutar was much appreciated. A Chinese Dinner was arranged for February 14th.

"*Two Rambles* were organised by the Group as follows: April 11th, A visit was made to the Cecil House in Wharfedale Road, in which over 30 took part. June 13th, A delightful trip by bus to see the headquarters of the United Dairies Company, where after tracing the milk from the railway siding to the clean and sterilised sealed bottle, the company regaled the party with a delightful tea. July 11th, A Social and Entertainment at Lancaster Gate kindly arranged by Mrs. Tourney was much appreciated by a considerable number of members who were able to take advantage of the occasion.

"*Congress Note.*—The Motion sent by our Group for the Agenda of the Annual Congress [of the Ethical Union] respecting the Nationality of Married Women, was carried *nem. con.*, after an opposition speech by one man only. . . ."

The Women's Group also collaborates in diverse social reform movements.

b) *The Young People's Group of the Ethical Union.*

The Young People's Group of the Ethical Union was founded on 15th November 1923, when about thirty young people were present. After about two years of experimenting, the Group invited Mr. H. Snell to be

its President and Miss N. Freeman its Vice-President, in order to benefit by their mature counsel. This was a happy decision, and the Group has ever since published cheerful Annual Reports. "Youthful ardour and aged wisdom" formed an irresistible combination. Miss Freeman, most especially, has regularly attended the Group meetings and has given of her best without obtruding herself. The Group meets at the Offices of the Ethical Union.

On 12th December 1925, a Constitution was adopted which comprised the following three Objects:—

"(1) To provide Young People with opportunities for the discussion of religious, political, educational, professional, moral, personal, and social problems.

"(2) To use the experience of each for the good of all, and to develop in its members a high standard of capacity and character.

"(3) To provide social intercourse and healthy recreation for members and friends of the Group."

About seven years later, on 23rd September 1932, these Objects were amended as shown here:—

"(a) To discuss religious, political, economic, moral and social problems from an Ethical standpoint and to encourage co-operation, where possible, with other organisations working for the good of humanity.

"(b) To cultivate an appreciation for all that is good in Nature and the Arts, and through fellowship in the Group to gain mutual strength and inspiration."

The Annual Report covering the period 1st October 1930 to 30th September 1931, is so typical of the several Annual Reports preceding it and affords such a comprehensive view of the Group's life, that all but its concluding portion is here cited:—

"This season has proved interesting and successful, and our financial position remains sound. The season opened with a delightful little Social Gathering, at which many members and friends were present, and at which six new members were enrolled. The average attendance at our meetings was 24, and our membership at the end of September was 27.

"For the great variety of interesting and enjoyable subjects discussed we are most grateful to the following speakers: Mr. Veryard, Personal Impressions of Indian Life; Mr. Katz, B.Sc., 'The Quest of Certainty'; Mr. Minnion, 'Beethoven'; Mr. Spiller, 'The Nature of Human Nature'; Mr. Harvey-James, 'The American Transcendentalists'; Miss R. Bush, 'The Conquest of Happiness'; Mr. F. Humphries, 'The Meaning and Value of Pictures'.

"A new departure has been the formation of a *Poetry Reading Circle*. A small group of members met once a month to read poems of their own choosing and to discuss these and poetry in general. This proved a success, and the Circle met regularly from November to March. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Stocker for his kindly services in the initial formation of this Circle.

"*The Book Club* continues in a sound financial condition, and is much used and appreciated. Several new volumes have been added by purchase, and some presented by Mr. R. A. Price and Miss White.

"*Social Activities*.—(a) Many of our members, through the courtesy of the Women's Group, attended and thoroughly enjoyed an Indian Tea on Decem-

ber 13th 1930 and a Chinese Dinner on February 14th 1931. (b) Two Rambles were arranged by members of the Group during the season, and at these some members of other Groups also attended: One, from Cuffley to Cheshunt was arranged by Miss Bush. The other, from Ashstead to Headley was conducted by Miss Barker. Fine weather prevailed on each occasion, in spite of the number of wet week-ends.

"*Annual Congress.*—The Group was represented at this, and a motion tabled by the Young People was carried without discussion. One member reported the proceedings for *The Ethical Societies' Chronicle,* and others officiated as stewards.

"Members of the Group did excellent and effective work in the same capacity at the Horace Seal Memorial Lectures in October 1930 and May 1931, given by Professor Laski and Professor Wallas respectively.

"The Group is indebted to the Ethical Union for defraying the cost of printing our programmes.

"Altogether the members may congratulate themselves on a very happy and successful season; and should, by this success, be stimulated to further efforts and new activities on behalf of the Group."

(*Written after September 1932.*)

Chapter XVI.—TWO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' ETHICAL GROUPS.

a) *The University College [London] Ethical Union.*

From a leaflet issued in 1929, we learn that "the Society was founded in 1927 in order that students of all faculties might meet together to discuss the living issues of the day in an impartial, critical and constructive spirit".

The leaflet, written by the President of the Society, Mr. Alexander F. Dawn, who was also one of its founders, continues:—

"While recognising that mankind has in the past gained invaluable experiences now embodied in customs and traditions, it also realises that inextricably mixed up with these there still exist outworn beliefs, doctrines and prejudices of a bygone age that confuse and offend against the enlightened conscience of our time.

"Any attempt to solve the problems of the day, complicated as these are by the impact of scientific discoveries and inventions, can only be effected by a re-orientation in every department of life: social, political, economic and religious—a re-orientation that shall have its basis in a deeper insight into the needs and aspirations of mankind and that shall be humanistic through and through.

"In inviting students to attend our meetings the Committee wishes me to point out that the only principle that commits our members is that which appears overleaf. It is the fundamental presupposition of all ethics.

"The ultimate authority to which we appeal is the enlightened and instructed conscience of each individual, his love of right and desire for truth in every sphere of life."

The principle referred to reads:—

"The Good Life has supreme claim upon man as a social and rational being, and its claim rests in and is justified by its own intrinsic worth."

The fuller statement of the Society's Aim and Basis, as set out in its Constitution, deserves, however, to be quoted:—

"The University College Ethical Union is a fellowship of students who desire to understand Ethical principles and to lead a life in accord therewith. It recognises that the Good Life has supreme claim upon man as a social and rational being, and that its claim rests in and is justified by its own intrinsic worth."

From the above it will be seen that whilst the meetings of the Union (usually held fortnightly, on Tuesday afternoons, from October to March) are open to all students, the members subscribe to a principle which breathes the spirit of the Ethical Movement.

The type of subjects discussed may be gathered from the leaflets announcing the lectures—*e.g.*, "The World Crisis in Morals and Religion To-day", "The Modern State and the Problems it Raises", "The Importance of Clear Ideas", "Bernard Shaw's 'Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism'", "That Revealed Religion is not a Barrier to Moral Progress", "The Criminal and Responsibility", "The Idea of Progress".

b) *The Manchester University Ethical Society.*

The Manchester University Ethical Society was founded May 1930. Its object is "to provide an 'open forum' for the fearless consideration of modern problems relating to ethics, sociology, education, political theory, economics, science and art". The Society, which has 1,200 full members, "is entirely non-propagandist". It meets usually at the University and at the College of Technology at varying dates and hours. There is no Service of any kind and discussion is an essential feature of the Society's activities. Attendance at the meetings differs greatly, the highest attendance recorded having been about 700 and the lowest about 50. University members pay 1s. 6d. subscription, non-University members 2s. The Society's activities are graded to appeal to all types above and including those of moderate educational attainments. No social or other meetings are held in addition to the regular meetings; but groups meet for the study of special problems—*e.g.*, (in 1933/34), The Film, Broadcasting, Mental Hygiene and the Student, Modern Social and Economic Theories and Systems, Fascism and Dictatorship, etc., etc.

The subjects dealt with at the regular meetings may be illustrated from the Society's Programme for Michaelmas term: 1933/34: "The Philosophy of Fascism", "The Film", "Is Democracy a Failure?", "Let's Talk about the Theatre", "Roman Catholic and Clinical Methods of Birth Control", "Science must Lead", "Can British Rule in Africa be Justified?", "Leadership and the Philosopher", "Private Property and the Social System", "Theory and Practice in Materialism", and "The Meaning of Modern Nationalism".

The high esteem in which the Society is held may be gathered from the fact that its President is Prof. J. L. Stocks, M.A., D.S.O., and its Vice-Presidents The Vice-Chancellor, Sir Ernest Simon, Prof. S. Alexander, O.M., etc., Prof. T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., and Prof. J. F.

Duff. The Chairman is Mr. G. S. Whitby, B.A., who kindly supplied the information (including printed documents) utilised here.

It may also be mentioned that several bodies in Manchester have become affiliated with the Society, such as the Manchester Branch of the British Institute of Philosophy, University Members of the College of Technology, and the University Science Federation.

Some of the Society's leaders hope to see similar work started at other Universities. They also feel that participation in such organisations would develop many of the ethical qualities necessary for the well-being of mankind, such as a love of truth, uncompromising mental honesty, a passion for justice, and painstaking carefulness in the stating of opinions.

We have here a special type of Ethical Society, widely differing from those described in the preceding pages, but having a usefulness of its own.

(*Written, autumn* 1933.)

CHAPTER XVII.—MANIFESTOS.

(a) A PUBLIC APPEAL FOR FUNDS

by

THE ETHICAL LECTURERS' FUND COMMITTEE,

consisting of

Leslie Stephen, Chairman and Hon. Treasurer
A Vernon Harcourt
G. F. Stout
Henry Sidgwick
J. H. Muirhead
Stanton Coit

This appeal for funds arises from a conviction on our part that a great national good might be done by a thorough teaching and preaching of moral principles among the people, and by the founding of Ethical Societies for that purpose throughout the country.

It would be a primary aim of such Societies to contribute to the diffusion of a stronger spirit of justice and a keener sense of responsibilities—political, social, and domestic—incumbent upon every member of the community.

The teaching and the preaching of the vital relations of morality to the whole of life, and the founding of societies for this end, can be entrusted only to men and women of more than average ability, of thorough education, and of well-tried character. If such teachers and preachers can be secured, it will in most cases be natural and desirable that all their time and energy should be absorbed in this work. They must, therefore, be paid like other teachers. We now appeal to the public for funds, from which we could assign small but adequate salaries to such applicants as, in our judgment, were fitted for the work.

As to the intellectual equipment of candidates, we should require as a minimum of education a university honours degree (or its equivalent), but consider it desirable that they should also have pursued a three years' course of post-graduate study (or its equivalent); as it seems to us important that the educational standard of Ethical lecturers should be kept as high as possible, not only to draw the men of best intellect and command the respect of the public to whom we appeal for financial support, but also because of

the peculiar nature of the task to be assigned to them. In either case it would be desirable that such candidates for the first three years be counted as probationers, and not as permanently appointed lecturers.

Besides those who had attained the standard which we have mentioned, however, we should consider the application of persons who showed the requisite ability, but whose education had not yet reached the minimum standard. Such applicants, if approved, would be required to pursue their studies further, and would receive from us a scholarship rather than a lectureship.

Besides having attained a standard of intellectual equipment, it would be necessary for applicants to give evidence also of moral fitness and of a general practical capacity for the work.

Candidates would not be required to profess any belief or disbelief in any theological or philosophical creed. They would equally undertake that their ethical teaching should not be based upon an acceptance or rejection of any such creed by their hearers. No candidate will be required to profess himself a socialist or an individualist, but he would be understood to accept the principle that all social improvement is essentially dependent upon the development of a higher moral standard of character.

Candidates would be expected to agree to the General Aims of the Union of Ethical Societies which are stated in its Constitution as follows:—

"I. By purely natural and human means to assist individual and social efforts after right living.

"II. To free the current ideal of what is right from all that is merely traditional or self-contradictory, and thus to widen and perfect it.

"III. To assist in constructing a theory or science of Right, which, starting with the reality and validity of moral distinctions, shall explain their mental and social origin, and connect them in a logical system of thought."

We hope that readers who approve the enterprise we here undertake will not delay in responding to our appeal. Not only is there an unconscious need for Ethical teaching and Ethical Societies, but there is also a large and growing demand. Societies existing in various parts of the country, under various names, complain that they cannot find lecturers who will present the ethical aspects of social and individual life, and of literature, science, politics, and religion. If it be said that these Societies should themselves provide the means of payment for their own lecturers, we agree, but desire to point out that few of them are in a position to command the undivided services of such lecturers, and that, although we hope that much will be done by combination, there will still be need of a central fund such as is suggested above, and the guarantee which a grant from it will give to the public of the suitability of lecturers.

We request contributors, if possible, to make their subscription annual, as our desire would be, in most cases, to assign salaries for terms of several years.

Leslie Stephen	Henry Sidgwick
A. Vernon Harcourt	J. H. Muirhead
G. F. Stout	Stanton Coit

(Reproduced from *The Ethical World*, 6th May 1899.)

(b) THE SOCIETY OF ETHICAL PROPAGANDISTS.

Ethical Societies are founded upon a conviction that the good life is desirable for its own sake, and rests upon no supernatural sanction. The organic nature of human society implies that a good individual life can only

be attained in a good society. It is, therefore, more essential to the purpose of an Ethical Society to conduct an active propagation of its principles, and to work for every improvement in social conditions, than it is for any of the orthodox Churches which base their conception of a good life upon the direct relations of an individual to a supernatural power. Is ethical isolation spiritual suicide?

The obligation of members of Ethical Societies to seek after the material and spiritual conditions necessary for the realisation of their own aim is a first inducement to a propagandist policy.

There are also distinct and growing duties towards others. Intellectual criticism and a profound moral dissatisfaction with dogmatic religions are causing more and more persons to drop away from the Churches, and these tend to lapse into spiritual indifference because they find no free communion to which they may attach themselves.

It is our duty to help such persons, wherever possible, to enter an organised fellowship where the demand of liberty of thought may be fully satisfied, while the sustenance which the Churches claim to furnish to the normal nature may be given more adequately and in a purer form.

The most potent forces of modern discontent are everywhere directed against defective social and economic institutions. This discontent is distinctively ethical in its main sources: it proceeds, on the one hand, from an ever clearer recognition of the failure of existing economic and political conditions to secure for all classes of society alike reasonable opportunities for a full human life; it demands, on the other hand, definite and radical reforms of laws and other social institutions which in theory and in operation are revolting to an educated sense of justice. Everywhere in politics and industry, in the institutions of family and neighbourhood, and in civic, national and international relations, movements of the gravest import are visible, seeking large reforms, and claiming to promote human happiness. Alike in origin, in mode of operation, and in results, these movements are charged with moral forces, which ought to form the objects of clear rational judgment, in order that they may be consciously ordered and directed towards the attainment of a sane ideal of social structure and human character.

Feeling the strongest sympathy with the demands for a just and human ordering of industrial life upon a basis of wholesome, regular, and justly-remunerated labour, with adequate leisure, and equal opportunities for the satisfaction of all good human wants, which are gathered together under the general title of the Labour Movement, we particularly desire to secure a full conscious recognition among "labour men" of the moral implications of their economic revolt. The supreme importance of evoking in the workers this realisation of the moral meaning of the Labour Movement, and to secure a conscious reference to the most enlightened standards of right conduct as the wisest and most profitable test of policy and method, awakes an earnest desire to spread the principles of the Ethical Society among those who, from their numbers and their power, will be the most responsible makers of the new social order. We realise a corresponding duty to the wealthier classes who, in their capacity as employers and consumers, exercise so potent an influence over the work and life of society. The intermittent ethics of ordinary life, presenting a complete antagonism between the theory of one day in the week and the practice of the other six, is one of the most dangerous and derationalising factors of modern life. To abate the present moral waste of the business struggle for existence, and to place industry, as far as possible, upon a genuinely social and cooperative basis, in which the ordinary pursuit of a

livelihood shall no longer undermine the principles of moral conduct, is a field of ethical activity which needs many workers.

Since history and psychology alike impose the necessity of gradual development in all effective reforms, the education of all, but especially of the young, demands our particular attention. The development of our national educational system has reached a peculiarly critical stage, involving the gravest danger either of neglect of all effective moral teaching, or of the inculcation of positively injurious moral teaching under the title of religious instruction. We conceive it to be our duty to give every assistance in our power to the work of the Moral Instruction League in its endeavours to arouse the public mind to a realisation of the facts and the needs of the case.

The fuller self-consciousness of civilised nations can give a new character to old-established habits, and involves new dangers, as well as new possibilities of progress. Two portentous illustrations of this fact present themselves in our national life. One is the pervasive spread of gambling in every size and shape among almost all sections of our population, invading every field of business and sport, an insidious agent in the corruption of life everywhere. The other is a recrudescence of militarism, engaged at once in blocking the avenues of true spiritual solidarity among nations, and in diverting the public activities of modern societies from the pursuit of qualitative to that of quantitative greatness. Since the whole of conscious life falls under conduct, it will be evident that every path of science, art, literature and social life is thickly strewn with moral issues which grow into the organic character of society. On no class of practical questions of the day is a "Gallio" policy legitimate for members of Ethical Societies.

Animated by such motives, and desirous to effect these and kindred objects, the undernamed members of Ethical Societies have formed themselves into an organisation, of which the title describes its purpose.

Its general objects are, first, to spread the principles of the Ethical Movement, as indicated in the Zurich Manifesto (1896) of the International Ethical Union, and in the statement of General Aims of the Union of Ethical Societies; and, secondly, to assist in founding and developing local Societies, and federating them with the Union of Ethical Societies.

The special methods of propagandist work to be adopted are: (a) lecturing and teaching; (b) production and publication of ethical literature; (c) work of organisation.

Since efficient performance of such work implies not only a certain intellectual aptitude and a knowledge of Ethical principles and literature, but some special training in teaching and in platform work, it is proposed that full membership of the Society be confined to men and women possessing such qualifications, and prepared to devote some substantial part of their time and energy to the propagandist work.

According to the constitution of the Society, anyone desirous of seeking membership must be introduced by one member of the Society, seconded by three others, and be accepted by a unanimous vote of those present at a meeting of the Society.

Other persons interested in the objects and work of the Society, and willing to give occasional assistance in some department of the work, or to contribute financial support, may be elected Associates of the Society.

We desire to add that there is no intention on the part of the Society to assign an undue proportion of energies to London. It is a national propaganda which we propose, with the special object of establishing centres of Ethical teaching in all the considerable towns of the country.

We purpose shortly to publish a more particular statement of the work, giving the names of lecturers, and of subjects upon which they are prepared to speak; and we earnestly invite those interested in the scheme, and desirous to become members or associates, to communicate with the Hon. Secretary of the Society, Mr. William Sanders, 4 Kassala Street, Battersea, S.W.

The Hon. Treasurer is Dr. S. S. F. Fletcher, Leighton Hall, N.W. A yearly report of the work of the Society, with a financial statement, will be issued.

Stanton Coit	J. R. Macdonald
C. Collin	R. W. D. Nankivell
S. S. F. Fletcher	G. H. Perris
F. W. Foerster	H. H. Quilter
F. J. Gould	W. Sanders
J. A. Hobson	E. H. Stewart Walde

(Reproduced from *The Ethical World*, 25th June 1898. See also *E. W.*, 28th May and 4th June 1898 and 18th November 1899.)

Chapter XVIII.—THREE ETHICAL LEADERS.*

1. Dr. Stanton Coit,

Founder and Chief Exponent of the British Ethical Movement.

(a) "MY FIRST ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE ETHICAL MOVEMENT.

"I first heard of the Society for Ethical Culture of New York City in the year 1880. I was teaching in English Literature at Amherst College, Massachusetts, having graduated there the year before. In conversation with a student who had come from New York City, some remark of mine caused him to say: "But your views are exactly those of the Ethical Culture Society. You ought to hear Felix Adler 'the radical.'" This student kindly procured

* It is the happy fate of nearly every movement which is devoted to the furtherance of a compelling idea, to attract to its service a small group of earnest people who devote themselves enthusiastically to its needs. The Ethical Movement has been rich in these selfless and capable personalities. A few of their names are mentioned, and their work recorded, in the pages of this History, but the Movement is scarcely less indebted to the hundreds of loyal silent workers, whose names are not recorded, but who nevertheless helped to bear the daily pressure of its work.

Among the better known earlier workers in the Ethical Movement were Miss Josephine Troup and Miss Zona Vallance, both cut off in their prime. Miss Troup was very active in diverse directions. More particularly she was concerned with composing tunes for ethical hymns and developing the musical side of the Movement. She will be best remembered by her *Hymns of Modern Thought*, which is still in use among two of the London Ethical Societies. The name of Miss Vallance recurs repeatedly in this History—as Secretary to the Ethical Union and to the Moral Instruction League, and in other capacities. She contributed frequently to the columns of *The Ethical World*, wrote leaflets and pamphlets, lectured, and assisted in numerous other ways, and stressed more especially justice to women in the social and political sphere. Her memory is preserved in a tablet at the Ethical Church, Bayswater. Two other leading workers, who died only recently after many years of devoted service, were Miss Florence Winterbottom and Miss Lily Boileau. Miss Winterbottom concentrated on secretarial and organising work and never spared herself in this respect. Miss Boileau's activities were too varied to record here. In her, the Ethical Union found one of its most intelligent, loyal and sympathetic collaborators. Lastly, should be mentioned Miss Nellie Freeman, who for some years now has given her whole time and her inexhaustible energy to the Ethical Union and to the Societies and Groups affiliated with it, was for a lengthy period the Secretary of the South London Ethical Society, and has been one of the Union's key-workers for over a generation.

for me a number of Professor Adler's pamphlets, which I read not only with sympathy, but with enthusiasm. As a result, I went to New York in a few weeks, and met the founder of the Ethical Society, having written offering my services as a teacher and lecturer.

"The preparedness of my own mind for the work of this new movement, which had only started in 1876, was due to the influence of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Eight years before, when I was but fifteen, some one had urged me to read Emerson. Going into a bookshop, the first volume of his which my eye fell upon was entitled *The Conduct of Life*. Opening to the first essay, I read words which from that day to this have not declined in their power over me, for I have not yet sounded the depth of the wisdom of their insight. The essay is entitled 'Fate', and after reading a few lines I stopped, transfixed by this sentence: 'To me the question of the times resolved itself into a practical question of the conduct of life. How shall I live?' I have ever since thought no happier circumstance could occur in the life of a youth of fifteen than that this question should be thrust by some high and pure personality like that of Ralph Waldo Emerson into the centre of attention. It is a question which not only challenges reason, but wakes up the will and cleanses the heart. That practical question of the conduct of life was not only the problem of the transient hour. It is the deepest interrogation of all time.

"I bought the book, and read and re-read it, until it seemed to me as if I had no thought or will of my own separate from it or uninspired by it. And from that volume I passed to the others. When I went to college at the age of seventeen my conversation must have fairly reeked with Emerson. I remember being chaffed by my intimate friends, who persisted, no matter how trivial the subject of conversation, in turning to me and, with mock solemnity, asking me to tell them what Emerson had to say about it.

"It was therefore not unnatural that when I heard for the first time of the Ethical Movement I seemed but to be receiving a message of the existence of a greater estate waiting for me to claim it. In a few months I gave up my post at Amherst College, and went to New York City. There for a year or more I conducted the moral instruction classes of the children of members of the Ethical Society, at the same time meeting with Professor Adler, Mr. Salter, Mr. Sheldon, and Mr. Weston in regular discussions as to the aims and principles of our Movement, and also attending courses of lectures on political science and constitutional history at Columbia University.

"The great event of each week, however, for me was to listen, each Sunday morning, as one of an audience of some 2,000 persons, to the stirring but closely analytical addresses of Professor Adler. But the more he unfolded the principles of the conduct of life, the more I became aware of my own unfitness, philosophically and in general intellectual equipment, for the office and function of ethical preacher. I accordingly, with the advice of wise friends, decided to study for my degree of Doctor of Philosophy at a German university. In 1882 I went to Berlin, and in December of 1885 attained the object I had set before myself. During all these many months of study, the purpose of becoming an ethical lecturer never flagged. On the contrary, the wider my acquaintance with the philosophic systems of the world, and the more intimate my understanding of the problems of ethics and of the relation of the practical will to the speculative reason, the stronger and more intense grew my love for the life-work I had selected.

"At the beginning of the year 1886 I spent three months in London, by the kind invitation of Canon Barnett, at Toynbee Hall. My sojourn among

the workers for the poor in East London determined upon my line of activity, which for twelve years I pursued assiduously. As soon as I returned to New York, Professor Adler and his Society invited me to become assistant lecturer. But I was to speak only on twelve Sundays during the year. The rest of my time was to be devoted to conducting the ethical lessons of the children's classes and to work among the poor. To fulfil this last purpose, I went to live, in the autumn of 1886, in one of the most over-crowded tenement-house districts of New York City. Such a course of action seems now quite commonplace and in order; but then it was an unheard-of thing that a man of means and education should voluntarily settle himself and draw others to work with him in the by no means savoury surroundings of a tenement-house.

"Out of this effort of mine grew the now well-established and well-known University Settlement of New York City. It was the parent of all the social settlements of America. There are more than twenty in New York City alone, and as many more in Chicago alone. I mention this fact so that the connection between social settlement work in America and the Ethical Movement should not be overlooked. Had it not been for the kind encouragement of Professor Adler and the generous financial support given me by the members of his society at the start, it would have been impossible for me to have transplanted to America the kind of social service which I had seen young men render at Toynbee Hall.

"In the spring of 1887, the Committee of the South Place Religious Society, at the suggestion of Dr. Moncure Conway, invited me to speak for the four Sundays in September of that year. Again I found myself in London, and staying at Toynbee Hall. Soon after my return in the autumn to America I received a unanimous invitation from the South Place Society to become their 'minister'. But for me at that time to have become the lecturer of any society which did not call itself 'ethical' was a moral impossibility. It was, therefore, only to preserve the direction of my own deepest convictions that I replied to the generous invitation of the members that I would come on one condition—namely, that they changed the name of their Society to that of the South Place Ethical Society. Soon afterwards, I received word that they had acceded to my request. It was, however, only after I had actually come to London, and had begun my 'ministry', that I discovered that only by a very small majority had the change of name been carried, and that even many of those who voted for it thoroughly disliked the change. The discovery of this attitude of mind was the first realisation of a difference in the direction of my own thought and enthusiasm from that of the South Place Society. A fuller realisation of the differences led to my resignation of my position in December, 1891.

"But, from the point of view of the spread of the message of the Ethical Movement, I cannot think that it was a mistake for South Place to invite me, and I am grateful for the opportunity which their platform afforded. It is significant that they also have not cared to drop the name 'ethical'.

STANTON COIT."

(Reproduced from *The Ethical World*, 16th March, 1907.)

(b) "A FORCEFUL PERSONALITY.

"He would be bold who endeavoured to sum up Dr. Stanton Coit's life activities in a sentence. There are those who may be simply and truly characterised as statesmen or authors or preachers; but Dr. Coit does not belong to this obliging category. His is a more complex character, and the danger

is rather that the multiplicity of his interests should obscure for us the underlying unity of his life purpose.

"Already at the age of fifteen, as far back as 1872, he counted himself a disciple of Ralph Waldo Emerson. And the words in his master's writings which appealed to him most profoundly are those the realisation of which have consistently and increasingly occupied his mind for over fifty years. His Ethical Church, at Bayswater, London, a kind of experimental station for developing a Rationalist religious service, represents a bold attempt to translate those words into fact. 'Pure Ethics', Emerson wrote, 'is not now formulated and concreted into a cultus, a fraternity with assemblings and holy days, with song and book, with brick and stone. Why have not those who believe in it and love it left all for this?'

"If Emerson could see Dr. Coit's Church to-day, with Jesus on the left and Buddha on the right of the pulpit, with Socrates and Marcus Aurelius supporting them, with Minerva, the symbol of wisdom, dominating all; with the unadorned but impressive marble altar dedicated to the ideal of the good, the true, and the beautiful; with the dignified service; and heard Dr. Coit's ringing words commending a lofty but non-supernaturalist conception of life, he, like many a Quaker, Rationalist, and Liberal Churchman, would only express a fervent desire that temples of this kind might be thickly strewn over all lands.

"But I am anticipating. Captivated by Emerson, it is only surprising that he did not hear before 1881 of Professor Felix Adler's Ethical Movement founded in 1876. But no sooner did this news penetrate to him at Amherst College than he went to New York, heard, and was conquered, and at once decided to become an Ethical lecturer. In the following year Dr. Coit became a recognised teacher in the Movement, and this he has remained for forty-seven years.

"Soon afterwards, in passing through London, he stayed at Toynbee Hall, and was deeply impressed by the social work undertaken there. Accordingly, on his return to New York he went to live in a notorious slum, and did yeoman's work among the neglected. He gathered a large number of university graduates around him, and became thus, as Jane Addams phrased it, the Father of American university settlements, of which there are now some four hundred. Works such as that on *The Settlement Horizon,* by Woods and Kennedy, fully and gratefully recognise his pioneer claim in this respect.

"After occupying the South Place Religious Society's platform for a month in 1887, he accepted the Society's invitation and became its lecturer in 1888. This post he occupied with brilliant success until the close of 1891, doubling the Society's membership. He then returned to America. Meanwhile the West London Ethical Society was formally constituted on June 26, 1892, and two years later Dr. Coit became its appointed leader. The Society flourished exceedingly at Princes' Hall, Piccadilly; but, as the hall ceased to be available after a brief tenure, the Society had to wander from place to place, until at last it settled down in 1909 at Queen's Road, Bayswater, transforming a theological into a non-theological church.

"Dr. Coit was far from idle during all these years. He carried on the Kentish Town Neighbourhood Guild. He was instrumental in creating the Union of Ethical Societies. He was the inspirer and founder of the Moral Instruction League. He was active as a publicist. He helped in establishing over forty Ethical Societies. And, convinced by the experience gained of the absolute need of trained leaders if there is to be a new orientation in thought, he pursued as vigorously as ever his avocation of fisher of men. He supplied

the American Ethical Movement with three British leaders—Mr. (now Dr.) Horace J. Bridges, Mr. G. E. O'Dell, and Mr. H. J. Golding—and with a fourth one, an American. At least two distinguished R. P. A. workers and two members of the present House of Commons, besides a number of others, received for a time a stipend through him. And numerous are those thinkers and workers who feel infinitely grateful to him for his emancipating and inspiring counsel. In this connection it may be interesting to record that the present Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. MacDonald, collaborated with Dr. Coit for some time, and that he is still an ardent admirer of his.

"Space forbids to do anything like adequate justice to Dr. Coit's remarkable personality and wide influence. But I must touch on his latest venture—the establishment of the Foundation for Moral Leadership. This also springs out of his deep conviction that only by statesman-like action, corresponding to that of the Rationalist Press Association on the intellectual side, can we dissociate the moral idealism of mankind from the obscurantism and other-worldliness of the Churches, and root it in a sane and social conception of human life. The object of the Foundation, as the Prospectus informs us, is to bring the moral idealism of the world into harmony with scientific thought, and it seeks to achieve this by placing leadership of the highest procurable standard at the disposal of any group which aims at overcoming the tyranny of traditionalism, on the one hand, and the chaos of disruptive egoism, on the other.

"It is highly symptomatic for our time that Dr. Coit has enlisted in this connection the moral support of a number of the leading philosophical thinkers of our age, especially those of Great Britain and the United States. The more immediate problem is to raise the funds necessary for providing student-fellowships.

"In two large volumes Dr. Stanton Coit has elaborated his conception of the Church to come. His pocket-book of ethical scriptures, *The Message of Man,* has never ceased to appeal widely, and his *Social Worship,* a monumental volume of readings from the greater literature of the world, although expensive, has a steady sale, and is treasured among those who cherish the religion of the open mind.

G. SPILLER."

(Reproduced from *The Literary Guide,* July 1929.)

2. THE RIGHT HON. LORD SNELL, C.B.E., *Ethical Propagandist and Organiser.*

For nearly fifty years Lord Snell has been active in reform movements.

He received his early education in a village school. Later, he continued his studies at Nottingham University College, the London School of Economics, and Heidelberg University.

In 1884 he joined the National Secular Society in Nottingham, and from 1885 onwards he spoke frequently at Freethought meetings in Nottingham, Leicester, and the East Midlands. In this connection he came in contact with, and under the influence of, Charles Bradlaugh, Mrs. Besant, and other Freethought propagandists.

In 1885, he took part in the Election Campaign of John Burns, for West Nottingham. He often spoke on labour questions.

In 1890 he came to London, where he continued his Freethought and Labour advocacy and spoke on Sundays in the Parks. Subsequently he became Secretary to the Director of the London School of Economics and afterwards Hutchinson Trust Lecturer for the Fabian Society in the Provinces.

In 1898, he became attached to the Ethical Movement, through Dr. Stanton Coit. He took part in the work of the Ethical Settlement at Leighton Hall, wrote numerous articles for *The Ethical World,* and also pamphlets and leaflets for the Movement. From that time until now, he has lectured regularly before the various Ethical Societies.

He was Secretary of the Ethical Union from 1906 to 1920; he became Chairman of its Council in 1921; and in 1931 he was elected President in succession to Prof. Gilbert Murray.

Since the conclusion of the War, he has been official English correspondent of the American Ethical Union and has repeatedly visited the United States to consult with the Ethical leaders there and to lecture at the American Ethical Societies.

At his suggestion the English Ethical Union founded the Secular Education League in 1907, of which he continued Secretary until his elevation to the peerage.

In 1912, he organised the German-English Understanding Conference.

In 1921-23, he organised for the Union three important and successful series of Conferences of Modern Religious Thinkers.

He has long been active in the political field. He fought and lost three Elections, two in 1910 and 1 in 1918. He was elected to the London County Council for East Woolwich and served the Metropolis in this capacity for six years. In 1922 he was elected Member of Parliament for East Woolwich which he continued to represent until 1931 when he was raised to the peerage and appointed Under Secretary of State for India. He has been member of the National Executive of the British Labour Party, member of the Executive of the Fabian Society, Secretary of the Commonwealth Group of Labour Members of Parliament, member of the Council of the African Society, member of the Council of the Royal Empire Society, Director of the Rationalist Press Association, etc. He also occupied the highly responsible and onerous post of Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party from 1929 until 1931 when he became a peer.

He was a member of the Parliamentary Delegation to South Africa during the first Labour Administration in 1924 and served on diverse Royal Commissions—Lunacy and Mental Disorder, London Parks and Open Spaces, British Guiana Enquiry Commission, Palestine Enquiry Commission,—and on many Departmental Committees.

"Mr. Snell", writes Mrs. Seaton-Tiedeman, herself an old and valued worker in the Movement, "has specialised in Empire questions, and the treatment of native races. He has done this because he felt that in this way he could extend the Ethical outlook on things, and induce greater and more intensive realisation of the responsibilities of this country to the backward peoples under its care."

Lord Snell contributed a Chapter to *The Ethical Movement: Its Principles and Aims,* published by the Union in 1911. Among his ethical pamphlets are: *The Church of Man, Ethical Association, Nationalism as a Religion, The Two Germanies, The Spiritual Reconstruction of England,* and *Will Democracy Last?*

The rare spirit which animates this stalwart and undaunted protagonist of the Ethical Movement is well exemplified in a contribution of his to the volume *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Ethical Movement* (1926), which follows here:—

"How shall I attempt to recall and reveal the spiritual anxieties and perplexities, the temporary accommodations and renunciations, the searchings,

and the final discovery, thirty years ago, of an abiding peace in the Ethical Movement? And how can those memories be recorded so that others may understand? I think that only those who were nurtured in the creeds of an English agricultural village more than half a century ago, can understand the shock and terror of the discovery that most of what one had been taught about religion and the Bible was utterly, demonstrably false. Only those who have passed through that dark valley of disillusionment can measure the desolation of the journey. Spiritual disturbance of that kind drives one type of mind to seek peace by closing the mind altogether and by falling back upon priestly authority; another type becomes torpid and accepts the peace of indifference, which is akin to death itself; yet a third type finds relief in angry resentment against the rejected creed: he desires to wound the thing which he had loved but which had deceived him. My first reaction was towards a passionate critical propaganda in which a search for new foundations occupied only a minor place. This was followed by an exploration of modern restatements of the Christian faith such as Unitarianism, none of which satisfied both brain and heart. Occultism never made the least appeal to me in any of its debilitating forms. Whatever happened, reason had to remain seated on her shining throne. It was through Mazzini and Emerson with, strange to say, a touch of Carlyle, that brought me to the borderland of a modern humanist faith, and when the Ethical Movement brought its serene sanity and its rationalised moral passion before me, I entered into its gates with thanksgiving. It has given me unremitting work and many anxieties, but I have found in it that abiding peace that passes understanding."

SOURCES.

For the biographical portion of this sketch, I have mainly to thank Lord Snell himself.

3. AN APPRECIATION OF MR. F. J. GOULD, *Moral Instruction Pioneer.*

Contributed by Miss E. M. WHITE.

Alfred de Vigny said: "What is a great life? A thought conceived in youth and realised in mature years." And even in a larger sense than de Vigny meant has been the work which has made the life of F. J. Gould a great one; for the thought "conceived in youth", had itself expanded by the time it was "realised in mature years", until it embraced the whole world and all the ages. In his own words (this and other quotations are from *The Life Story of a Humanist,* by F. J. Gould, Watts & Co.) when speaking of a visit to Belgium in his youth: "Old towns and belfries and historic churches breathed history to me, and silently built up conceptions that were to evolve into a master thought."

As a youth teaching in the village school at Chenies (Bucks) he began moral education through story-telling without moralising; this plan enlarged, until, as is shown by the title of one of his numerous pamphlets, "Moral Teaching as Life Revelation," life itself gave him his syllabus.

In London he continued his educational efforts and commenced rationalistic and political activities. "I was perchance the most restless teacher in London. While incessantly angry with the callous insufficiency of the current methods, both 'secular' and 'religious', . . . the period evolved me profitably in the direction of a concrete method of presentation towards crude young minds, and in effective modes of story-telling in biography and

history." He was one of the founders of the Rationalist Press Association, and, on account of his writings in Rationalist papers there came a dislocation of his teaching career: his school was changed, and he gave no religious teaching. He reflects on this: "The Religious Instruction cannot remain as it is, but neither will the mere abolition of 'Bible lessons' provide a final solution of the perplexities which my own case has illustrated. That solution, I believe, lies in an education inspired by Humanity's entire story—a story which includes the Bible and all other expressions of the genius of our race. . . . This moral education is based upon a philosophy of history, and upon what one may call the Bible of Civilisation. But it forbids moralising and the hose-pipe of 'good advice,' and uses the parable and dramatic recital rather than the maxims. . . . Very few of these anecdotes imply blame of evil. The vast majority are positive in quality—that is they portray the Honourable, the Sane, and the Noble in many ages and many lands." During the years of his work in Ethical Sunday Schools and the Ethical Movement generally he worked on this principle.

The Secretaryship of the Secular Society at Leicester gave him a wider field for his activities: he gave lectures and held classes in literature, biography, history, logic, psychology, sociology, etc.; supervised Guilds for young people and children; edited and wrote; organised meetings of all kinds, visited members, improved the literary and other sides of the Society and yet remarks "still I felt the agenda was inadequate and longed for more scopes to conquer."

His experiences on the Leicester Town Council and School Board made him a Socialist. Even in London such events as the Dock Strike which agitated his district, had drawn him into a closer study of the labour problems. "Education, Freethought and the Religion of Humanity, all converged for me, then as now, towards that and kindred crucial points." He gave innumerable services to the Socialist cause by speech, writing and advice; he became the friend of H. M. Hyndman; and after his death he wrote the biography. In the economic sphere now his main interest is in the Social Credit idea as expounded by Major C. H. Douglas.

On becoming Lecturer and Demonstrator for the Moral Education League, after eleven years at Leicester, the last two of which were spent as leader of the Leicester Positivist Society, he concentrated officially on Moral Education, and became world-known through his public lessons and books for youth. No type of child has he not met and taught: he toured Bombay cities by arrangement with the Bombay government addressing Hindu, Moslem and Parsee boys, and his book *Youth's Noble Path,* written with Indian material for Indians, is widely used in that country; he gave over 300 public lessons in the U.S.A. schools and colleges of forty cities, sometimes to coloured pupils; and he has addressed boys and girls in 200 towns and villages in Great Britain, and written some thirty books for them. Truly no one is more competent than he to judge the needs of education. Since his severance from the Moral Education League (which died in 1919) under the auspices of a small Committee this part of his work continued and widened, until he expounded his "master-thought" of History teaching and the Norms of Humanity.

Correspondents all over the world, some very distinguished and others in humble positions, benefit by his views. Some have come through his Secretaryship of the Council of the International Moral Education Congress. Having given lessons before the teachers of many nations in the Congresses held at London and The Hague, he was the mainspring in the arrangements for the Assemblies at Geneva, Rome (where he spoke in the Hall of the

Campidoglio on the Capitol Hill), and at the Sorbonne in Paris (1930). He is thus permeating the most progressive and philosophic section of the educational world with his "master-thought", which will be increasingly adopted in the future. In his book *History the Teacher* he demonstrates the idea that by revealing what mankind *has done* the young soul is inspired to carry civilisation still further. One of his favourite quotations is Pascal's "The whole succession of men through the ages may be considered as One Man ever living and always learning," and he says "I believe on the evidence of history that our race journeys, in a pilgrimage of pain and joy, towards an ever-larger sanity and a final world unity."

His conception is not what may be termed the journalistic one of keeping to events and ages. Ages are vital as implying successive stages of growth; but growth of *what*? It is the What that makes history. As the human race gets much older, events will be too many to record in formal "history" (for education). But the vital norms will still be the same few, and these normal values make real history. The achievements of mankind can be classed under what Mr. Gould calls the five Norms; and so simple and yet comprehensive, and, in a sense, epoch-making is the idea that a sketch of the norms is here given.

1. Observation of animals, plants, minerals; human and economic geography; action of nature on man, and man on nature.

2. Industry; useful arts and crafts, and travels involving socially useful exploration.

3. Fine arts—poetry and general imaginative literature, including myths and legends; music and drama; costume; painting; sculpture; architecture and decoration; gardening.

4. Science, from its crude origins (in early ideas of number, weight, measure, astronomy, physics, etc.) onwards.

5. Social order and progress, customs, manners, laws, politics, religion; social value of language, with such simple notes on etymology as may have a historical interest for young minds; phases of slavery, serfdom, guilds, trade unions, etc.

With these synthetic ideas in mind it can be seen what he means when he declares that "education needs not an official syllabus of lessons so much as a vast new inspiration derived from the history and creative enthusiasm of humanity. . . . The aim of education should be service of family and commonwealth expressed in material, intellectual, and artistic industry, inspired by history, and perpetually responsive to the claims of the whole circle of humanity; and this duty of service applies to all members of the community without exception."

His distribution of literature—books, pamphlets, journals, leaflets—is enormous: for example, during the last three years over 5,000 schools have been touched. It is doubtful whether any other living person has come into close contact with so many teachers of widely different minds. The list of languages into which his books for young people have been translated is an imposing one—Italian, Polish, Arabic, Masachi, Hindu, Urdu, Malayalam, Gujerati, Danish, Norwegian, etc. Beside these books (including two on sex), and those on education and religion (over 50 in all), three biographies, of Thomas Paine, Auguste Comte, and H. M. Hyndman, each of which depicts the social tendencies and philosophic atmosphere of the time, are illustrations of his own activities, which have included the editorship of *Humanity* (formerly *The Positivist Review*).

Perhaps no one has given so much praise as he, and his practice of

appreciation has enabled him to receive the confidence of many, for he understands and interprets significances often unknown to the workers themselves in educational and social fields of progress. And nothing is regarded by him as in a field by itself, for like Sophocles, always he sees life steadily and sees it whole. "I have a tremendous reverence for the synthetic principle," he says.

So vital and wise a personality could never be bound by Codes and Systems and his plasticity of thought and judgment has caused him to "retain a joyful freedom from the dictatorship of any creed or programme or polity or imposing *ism*."

APPENDIX.

The British Ethical Movement an Integral Part of the International Ethical Movement.

We have seen that right from its earliest beginnings the British Ethical Movement has been animated and guided by the same fundamental ideas. The two subjoined citations show, further, that the basic conceptions of the British Ethical Movement are, as might be anticipated, identical with those of the Ethical Movement as a whole.

First, there is the pithy General Aim of the International Ethical Union, adopted "unanimously" at one of its Conferences and in literal accord with British pronouncements:—

"To assert the supreme importance of the ethical factor in all the relations of life—personal, social, national, and international, apart from all theological and metaphysical considerations."

Then, a comprehensive statement emphatically endorsed by the official British declaration that "the general attitude of the Union of Ethical Societies towards the moral and social issues of our time has found no more concise and comprehensive expression than in the following Manifesto" (which the Union reprinted):—

"MANIFESTO
of THE DELEGATES AT THE FIRST CONGRESS of the INTERNATIONAL ETHICAL UNION in Zurich, September, 1896.

"The delegates of the first Congress of the International Ethical Union recommend to the Ethical Societies represented in it the following outline of a common programme, subject to later expansion and enrichment of detail:—

"I.—(a) The object of Ethical Societies is pre-eminently the moral advancement of their members. A better moral life is not so much a gift which we would fain give to others, as a good which we must strive after for ourselves with unremitting effort.

"(b) The chief means to this end are (1) the closer fellowship into which we enter in our Ethical Societies with others who are striving towards the same goal; (2) the moral training and instruction of the young, on the basis of an Ethics which in its principles is independent of all theological doctrines; (3) opportunities for self-culture and discipline.

"II.—(a) Ethical Societies should declare their attitude towards the great social problems of the time, in the solution of which the highest significance belongs to moral forces.

"We recognise, accordingly, that the effort of the masses of the people to attain a human standard of existence contains in it a moral aim of the first rank, and we declare ourselves bound to support this effort to the utmost. But we believe that there is here a question, not only as to the needs of the poorer classes of the people, but in an equal degree as to the moral poverty among the members of the well-to-do classes, who are direly threatened in their moral being by the untoward conditions of our modern economic life.

"(b) We acknowledge that resistance against injustice and oppression is a sacred duty, and that under the existing circumstances the struggle for rights is an indispensable means in clearing up conceptions of justice and in the attainment of better conditions; but we demand that the struggle be kept within the limits prescribed by humanity, and that it be conducted in the interest of the community as a whole, and with continual reference to ultimate social peace.

"(c) We maintain that in the solution of the so-called labour problem the question is one, not only of the material necessities of the labourers, but of their social and legal status, and of their full participation in the highest results of civilisation, science, and art.

"(d) We recognise it as a task of the Ethical Union to assist in such intellectual equipment of the people as will serve the cause of social progress; for example, to encourage scientific efforts which aim at examining the conflicting theories of Individualism and Socialism, with a view to the possibility of their being harmonised in some profounder view of life; further, to establish inquiries and institute research in moral statistics, which, based on well-authenticated facts, shall bring impressively before the eye the need of reforms in our conditions, and to help in the dissemination of the results so obtained, in order to bring the public conscience to bear as a force making for social justice and higher development.

"(e) We leave it to the various Societies to apply the above tasks according to the circumstances of their own countries, and we call upon all individual members of our Societies, by simplicity in their manner of life and by active sympathy, to advance the forward social movement.

"III.—We regard the institution of pure monogamic marriage as a priceless good of humanity, which is indispensable for the moral development of the individual and for the permanent duration of moral civilisation; but we insist that this institution should stamp itself upon sentiment and conduct with a thoroughness which as yet is absent in wide-reaching circles of society.

"IV.—(a) We demand for woman the possibility of the fullest development of her mental and moral personality, and we would strive to bring about in all departments of life an uncurtailed expression of the equal worth of her personality with man's.

"(b) Especially we regard the fate of working women in industry (whether in the factory or at home), and also in personal domestic service, as one of the most grievous evils of our time, and would strive to restore throughout the whole people conditions of a healthy family life.

"V.—We hold it to be a fundamental task of our age to give again to education its unity, which in great part has been lost, and, by establishing a universal ethical end in all education, to confer that kind of service which denominational religion once rendered to education in elementary and secondary schools.

"VI.—We heartily approve efforts to establish universal peace among nations, and we would direct our share in these efforts towards overcoming militarism in public sentiment, towards checking the power which it exercises

upon the imagination—especially of the young, and towards bringing out in some nobler way those morally significant elements which the life of the soldier contains; further, towards opposing national egoism and national passion, which are at least to-day as dangerous enemies to peace as are the prejudices and personal interests of rulers; and finally towards bringing about a reign of conscience and calm reason in times of excitement, and when partisan spirit fosters a blind hatred of enemies.

"VII.—We call upon our Ethical Societies not only to direct their efforts towards the spread of the Ethical Movement, but to devote their highest energy to the formation of a new ideal of life, which shall harmonise with the requirements of clarified thinking, feeling, and willing, and we issue this call in the conviction that such an ideal, after which humanity thirsts, will ultimately serve all classes of society and all nations."

At the meeting where this Manifesto was adopted, delegates were present from the English Ethical Societies federated in the Union of Ethical Societies, as also from the Union of American Ethical Societies, and various branches of the German, Swiss, and Austrian Societies for Ethical Culture.

To complete the picture, here is a succinct summary of the history of the Ethical Movement from its inception in 1876 to 1908:—

"About thirty-six years ago an American youth of twenty-one, after a stay of three years in Germany, duly received his *summa,* the highest honours degree, in philosophy, at Heidelberg. His father, a well-known rabbi of New York, wished his son to be his successor. Dr. Felix Adler returned from Germany and delivered before a congregation of nearly two thousand people his maiden sermon, which was most warmly received. Here was a worthy successor, such was the universal impression. All went smoothly until the sermon appeared in print, when it was found by some that this young aspirant to rabbiship had made in his address no allusion to the deity. A shock of surprise, and partly of horror, went through the congregation. Nevertheless Dr. Adler was formally and officially invited by a deputation to be his father's successor, the only condition being that he acknowledged a belief in a deity. He replied that he was not an atheist, but that he preferred not to bind himself by accepting the post. At the age of twenty-three Dr. Adler became Professor of Oriental Languages in Cornell University, and for two years he taught there. During this period a number of those who had been impressed with his non-theological sermon and who sympathised with its spirit, appealed to him at frequent intervals to found a new religious body which should be free from theology. Professor Adler gave way. A programme was issued and circulated; he delivered an address in May 1876; and the New York Society for Ethical Culture was inaugurated with a little over a hundred members. 'Deed, not Creed', was the motto of the leader of the Society. Soon Professor Adler attracted large congregations, and able men—Mr. W. M. Salter, Dr. Stanton Coit, Mr. Burns Weston, and Mr. W. Sheldon—joined the ranks of the propagandists. As a consequence, ethical societies were established in Chicago, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. The idea of the Movement found a quick echo in England, and the London Ethical Society was started by Dr. James Bonar, Professor Bernard Bosanquet, Prof. J. H. Muirhead, Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, Dr. Sophie Bryant, and others. Then, some twenty years ago, Dr. Stanton Coit came to England where he has remained, and where, largely owing to his efforts. there are now in London and the provinces nearly forty ethical societies. Soon, too, the German Ethical

Society, which has some fifteen branches, was founded. It is a society which has had among its leaders many able and distinguished men, its President being Dr. Wilhelm Foerster, Professor of Astronomy at Berlin University, and, until his retirement, Director of the Berlin Observatory. The Movement spread to Austria, Switzerland, Italy, France, and the Colonies, and periodicals in English, German, French, and Italian have echoed the new views. There exists also an International Ethical Union, binding together the various national groups." (G. Spiller, *Faith in Man*, London, 1908, pp. 183-185. See also *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, article "Ethical Movement.")

Subsequent developments in the different countries exhibit approximately the same trend as in Great Britain, with the exception that in the United States ground has been gained rather than lost and that the Vienna Ethical Society, under the capable and enthusiastic leadership of Wilhelm Börner, has continued to be a powerful centre of ethical inspiration and beneficence. [There is one outstanding personal event to record, namely the lamented death (in the early part of 1933) of the Founder of the Ethical Movement, Professor Felix Adler, of New York, who had reached the ripe age of eighty-one and had remained a dynamic personality to the last.]

Some insight into the international Ethical Movement may also be gained by examining the comprehensive list of publications issued by the International Union of Ethical Societies in January 1907, at a time when the Movement was rapidly developing. The imposing list is here reproduced in full:—

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ETHICAL SOCIETIES.

Literature.

a) Periodicals.

International Journal of Ethics. Quarterly. 65 cents (2s. 6d.) per copy.—The Ethical World. Monthly. London. 1d.—South Place (Ethical Society) Magazine. Monthly. London. 2d.—Ethical Addresses and Ethical Record. Monthly. Philadelphia. 10 cents.—Ethische Kultur. Halbmonatsschrift. Berlin. Vierteljährlich M. 1,60.—Mitteilungen der Ethischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Zwanglos.—Libres Entretiens; Correspondance. Paris.—News-Letter, of the New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia Ethical Societies. Monthly.—Ethische Umschau. Monatlich. Zürich. Jährlich 2 fr.

b) Books.

America.

Adler, Prof. Felix. Creed and Deed. 90 and 50 cents.—Ditto. The Essentials of Spirituality. 1.00.—Ditto. Life and Destiny. 1.00 and 50 cents.—Ditto. Marriage and Divorce. 50 cents.—Ditto. The Religion of Duty. 1.20.—Desjardins, Paul. The Present Duty. (Translation.) 50 cents.—Muzzey, David Saville. The Rise of the New Testament. 1.25.—Ditto. Spiritual Heroes. 1.25.—Salter, William M. Anarchy or Government. 75 cents.—Ditto. Ethical Religion. 1.00 and 6d.—Ditto. Moral Aspiration and Song. 30 cents.—Sheldon, Walter L. An Ethical Movement. 1.25.—Ditto. Wisdom Gems. 25 cents.—Ditto. A Sentiment in Verse for every Day in the Year. 50 cents.—Ditto. A Study of the Divine Comedy of Dante. 50 cents.—Ditto. The Story of the Bible. 30 cents.

England.

Bosanquet, Dr. Bernard. The Civilisation of Christendom, and other Studies. 4/6.—Bryant, Dr. Sophie. Short Studies in Character. 4/6.—Coit, Dr. Stanton. Ethical Democracy. (Essays by Prof. Ritchie and others.)—Ditto. The Message of Man. (Compilation.) 2/- and 1/6.—Ditto. Neighbourhood Guilds. 2/6.—Ditto, and Spiller, Gustav. Ethical Hymn Book. (Compilation.) Words, 1/- and 1/6; Words and Music, 3/6.—Conway, Dr. M. C. Farewell Discourses, delivered at South Place, 1884. 9d.—Ditto. Lessons for the Day. Fifty Discourses. 1/-.—Ditto. Centenary History of South Place. 1/6.—Ditto. Autobiography. Memories and Experiences. 2 vols. 25/-.—Gizycki, Georg von. Introduction to the Study of Ethics. (Translation.) 2/6.—Ritchie, Prof. D. G. Studies in Political and Social Ethics. 4/6.—Sidgwick, Prof. Henry. Practical Ethics. 3/6.—Spiller, Gustav. Faith in Man. 1/6.—Stephen, Sir Leslie. Social Rights and Duties. 2 vols. 9s.—Sullivan, Dr. W. R. Washington. Morality as a Religion. 4/6.—Ethics and Religion. (Essays by Sir John Seeley and others.) 4/-.—Hymns and Anthems, as used at South Place Ethical Society. 2/- and 1/-.

Germany.

Coit, Dr. Stanton. Die Ethische Bewegung in der Religion. M.3.—Foerster, Prof. Wilhelm. Lebensbilder und Lebensfragen. 2 Bände. M.6.—Gizycki, Georg von. Moralphilosophie. M.4.—Moulet, Alfred. Pioniere des sittlichen Fortschrittes. (Uebersetzung.) M.1.—Salter, William M. Moralische Reden. (Uebersetzung.) M.1.—Ditto. Die Religion der Moral. (Uebersetzung.) M.3.—Ethische Ausblicke und Hoffnungen. (14 Vorträge.) M.2.—Die Sittlichkeitslehre als Naturlehre.—Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Ethische Kultur (1893-6). In zwanglosen Heften.

Austria.

Die Arbeits- und Lohnverhältnisse der Wiener Lohnarbeiterinnen. 9 K.

France.

Desjardins, Paul. Le Devoir Présent.—Ditto. Les Règles de l'Honnête Discussion selon Pascal. 0 fr. 60.—Guyau. Esquisse d'une Morale sans obligation ni sanction. 3 fr. 75.—Hoffmann, P. La Religion basée sur la Morale. Choix de Discours publiés par les Sociétés pour la Culture Morale, traduits en français. 3 fr. 75.—Lagneau, Jules: Notice sur sa Vie et sa Philosophie. 0 fr. 50.—Moulet, Alfred. Le Mouvement Ethique. 1 fr. 50.—Séailles, Gabriel. Les Affirmations de la Conscience Moderne. 3 fr. 50.—Dilecta: Esquisse d'un Catalogue de livres utiles à la Conduite de la Vie. 1 fr. et 2 fr.

c) Pamphlets.

America.

Adler, Prof. Felix.—The Modern Saint. Prayer and Worship. The Freedom of Ethical Fellowship. Consolations. The Four Types of Suffering. The Monroe Doctrine and the War Spirit. Address of May 15th, 1876 (at the organisation of the first Society for Ethical Culture). Twentieth Anniversary of the Society for Ethical Culture of New York. The International Ethical Congress (1896). How far does the Ethical Society take the place of a Church? The Ethical Culture Society as the Meeting Ground of Gentiles and Jews. The Spiritual Meaning of Marriage. The Teachings of Jesus in

the Modern World. Our Hopes for the Twentieth Century. Huxley's Attitude towards Religion. Mohammed. The Moral Value of Silence. The Philippine War: two Ethical Questions. Ethics and Culture. The New Attitude towards Others. The Prerequisites of a Religion. The Negro Problem in the United States. Spiritual Renewal. The Ethics of the Political Situation. The Ethics of the Labour Struggle. Evils disclosed by the Coal Strike. The Freedom of Public Worship. Atheism. Protest against the Russian Treaty. The Recent Persecution of the Jews. The Sabbath and the World's Fair. The Parting of the Ways in the Foreign Policy of the United States. O. B. Frothingham—Memorial Address. H. W. Longfellow—Memorial Address. The Anti-Jewish Agitation in Germany. (10 cents.) Changes in the Conception of God. (10 cents.)

Chubb, Percival.—The Conservative and Liberal Aspects of Ethical Religion. Tolstoi's "Resurrection." Ruskin's Message to our Time. (10 cents.) Parsifal and the Quest of the Holy Grail.

Coit, Dr. Stanton.—Intellectual Honesty in the Pulpit.

Harrison, Frederic.—The Religion of Duty.

Jastrow, Morris, Jr.—The Modern Attitude towards Religion.

Mangasarian, M. M.—Our Besetting Sins. Teaching and Teachers.

Muzzey, David Saville.—The Ethics of the New Testament. Revelation. The Union of Hebrew and Christian Ideals in the Ethical Culture Movement.

Salter, William M.—Morality—What does it Mean? The Highest Rule of Life. "Ethical Agnosticism." The Next Step in Christianity. "Ethics or Religion." The Venezuelan Question. Bad Wealth, and how it is sometimes Got. The Cause of Ethics. The Justice of the Single Tax. What is of Permanent Value in the Old Testament? A New Nation and a New Duty. The New Militarism. The First Thing in Life. The Great Side of Walt Whitman. Ethical Culture: its Message to Jew, Christian and Unbeliever. The Ethical Elements in Socialism and Individualism. The Lack of Joy in Modern Life and the Need of Festivals. "Thy Commandment is exceeding broad"; or the Scope of Morality. Non-Christian Teachers and Jesus: Whom shall we follow? Morality as a Religion. Society and its Children: The Problem of Child Labour. "Everyman"; or the Higher Possibilities of the Drama. The Negro Problem: Is the Nation going Backward? The Gospel for an Age of Doubt. Judaism and Ethical Culture. Women in Recent Fiction. Freedom of Thought and of Speech. Moral Forces in dealing with the Labour Question. Objections to the Ethical Movement Considered. What Does the Ethical Society stand for? Imperialism. England in 1776, America in 1899. Ethics and Philosophy. What is the Moral Life? The Future of the Family. (10 cents.) The Eight Hours Question. (10 cents.) Reforms about which Good Men might Agree. (10 cents.) America's Compact with Despotism in Russia. (10 cents.) Channing as a Social Reformer. (10 cents.) The Social Ideal. (10 cents.) Why Unitarianism does not satisfy Us. (10 cents.) The Basis of the Ethical Movement. (10 cents.) A Clue to the Meaning of Life. (10 cents.)

Sheldon, Walter L.—True Liberalism. What we Mean by Duty. Worship in the Spirit. The New Woman. Good and Bad Side in Novel Reading. What to Believe: an Ethical Creed. Why Progress is so Slow. Does Justice Triumph in the End? Why Prosperity does not always bring Happiness. Two Sides of Kipling. A Survey of the Nineteenth Century. The Belief in one God. The Good Side to Adversity. What Makes Life Worth Living? The Wage-Earners' Self-culture Clubs. (10 cents.) The Marriage Problem of To-day. (10 cents.) The Meaning of the Ethical Movement. How far is it

Right to make Happiness the Chief Aim of Life? True Heroism and what it Means. Ethics at the Dawn of the Modern World—an Historical Survey. (10 cents.) What it means to work for a Cause. (10 cents.)

Stewardson, Langdon C.—The Supreme Allegiance.

Wu Ting Fang.—Confucius and Mencius.

(All American Pamphlets 5 cents, unless otherwise marked.)

Ethical Pamphlets.—(Free.) Basis and Obligation of Ethical Fellowship. What the Ethical Culture School Stands for. The Aims of the Ethical Society. The Origin and Growth of the Ethical Movement. Concerning "The Simple Life." A New Statement of the Aims of the Ethical Culture Societies. The Mission of the Ethical Movement to the Skeptic. Immortality. The Function of the Festival in School Life. The Mission of the Ethical Movement to the Child. The Spiritual Attitude towards Old Age. Moral Conditions in American Life, in the Light of Recent Revelations. An Ethical View of Life. The Mission of Ethical Culture to the Unchurched.

Ethical Leaflets.—A Naming Service. An Ethical Funeral Service. The City of Light.

England.

Coit, Dr. Stanton.—The Ethical Movement Defined. The Spiritual Atmosphere at Ethical Meetings. What Think ye of Christ? The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Sermon on the Mount. The Lord's Prayer. The Ten Commandments. England as an Organic Unit of Religious Life. State Ethical Society and Ethical Free Churches. The Moral Significance of Religious Revivals. 1d. each.

Johnson, Harrold.—The Church of the Past and the Church of the Future. 1d.

McCabe, Joseph.—The Supremacy of the Moral Ideal. 1d.

McMillan, Margaret.—The Mission of Children. 1d.

Salter, W. M.—Why Live a Moral Life? 1d.

Sanders, William.—Ethical Citizenship. 1d.

Snell, Harry.—Ethical Association. ½d.

Spiller, Gustav.—The Ethical Movement and the Miraculous. 1d. Christian Science, the Higher Thought and Spiritism. 1d.

Vallance, Zona.—Reason in the Ethical Movement. ½d. The Ethical Movement and Women. 1d. The Ethical Movement and the After Life. 1d.

Ethical Leaflets.—(Free.) A Religion for Everybody. Ethical Fellowship. A Basis for Religious Union. Faith in Man. A Few Points about Ethical Societies. Ethics; or the Religion of Ethics. Manifesto. The Ethical Movement Defined. The Aims of the Ethical Society.

Germany.

Adler, Prof. Felix.—Die Ethischen Gesellschaften. M. 0,25.

Döring, Prof. August.—Der Inhalt der sittlichen Forderung. M. 0,30.

Foerster, Prof. Wilhelm.—Die Begründung einer Gesellschaft für Ethische Kultur. M. 0,40. Geistesfreiheit und Gesittung. M. 0,30. Zur Ethik des Nationalismus und der Judenfrage. M. 0,30. Eröffnungsrede und einleitende Darstellung betr. den Ethischen Bund und die Akademie für Ethische Kultur. M. 0,30. Ethische Kultur und Genauigkeit. Die Anfänge eines neuen sozialen Geistes. M. 0,60. Die ethische Bewegung in Deutschland am Schluss ihres ersten Jahrzehnts. M. 0,50. Samuel Kristeller und Hugo Rheinhold. Die Solidarität der Menschenwelt. M. 0,25.

Foerster, Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm.—Religion, Moral und Schule (Flugblatt).

Ethische Aufgaben in der sozialen Bewegung. M. 0,50. Berichte über die Ethische Bewegung, 1-11, 1897-1903.

Jodl, Prof. Fr.—Wesen und Ziele der Ethischen Bewegung in Deutschland. M. 0,50.

Kronenberg, Dr. M.—Friedrich Nietzsche und seine Herrenmoral. M. 0,75.

Maier, Gustav.—Die Organisation der ethischen Gesellschaft gemäss den Lehren der Geschichte. M. 0,30.

Michels, Dr. Robert.—Patriotismus und Ethik. M. 0,50.

Morgenstern, Lina.—Die Aufgabe der Frauen in der Erziehung. M. 0,30.

Penzig, Dr. Rudolph.—Massenstreik und Ethik. M. 0,75. Laienpredigten vom neuen Menschentum. M. 0,30 jedes Heft.

Pfungst, Dr. Arthur.—Wer soll der D.G.E.K. beitreten? M. 0,40.

Salter, W. M.—Die ethische Lebensansicht. M. 0,40.

Schwerin, Jeannette, zum Gedächtnis. M. 0,50.

Seidel, Robert.—Sozialdemokratie und ethische Bewegung. M. 0,20.

Die ethische Bewegung in Deutschland. Vorbereitende Mitteilungen, etc. M. 0,60.

Einführung in die Grundgedanken der ethischen Bewegung.

Programm des Ethischen Bundes. Zürich, 1896.

Satzungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft fur Ethische Kultur. 1905.

Züricher Reden, ethisch-socialwissenschaftliche Vortragskurse: Harald Höffding, Ethische Prinzipienlehre. M. von Egidy, Ueber Erziehung. Werner Sombart, Socialismus und sociale Bewegung im 19. Jahrhundert. Emil Reich, Volkstümliche Universitätsbewegung. F. Staudiger, Beiträge zur Socialpädagogik. J. Jastrow, Die Socialpolitik in der Verwaltung von Staat und Gemeinde. Wilhelm Foerster, Naturwissenschaft und Lebensführung. Ferdinand Tönnies, Die Grundtatsachen des socialen Lebens. R. Saitschick, Zur Reform der Methoden des höheren Unterrichts. Gustav Maier, Sociale Entwickelung in Geld- und Kreditwesen, Handel, Industrie und Haushalt. Stephan Gschwind, Ueber Genossenschaftswesen. Das Bändchen M. 0,60.

Flugblätter.—Wer ist ethisch? Für die weltliche Schule. Leitsätze der D.G.E.K. Einige Fragen über konfessionelle und weltliche Schule.

Austria.

Börner, Wilhelm.—Die Ethische Gesellschaft in Wien im ersten Dezennium ihres Bestandes. 10 h.

Glatz, Friedrich.—Zwei Kriterien einer modernen Lebensauffassung. 40 h. Symbolik: eine Betrachtung über ihre kulturelle Berechtigung im modernen Leben. 40 h.

Jodl, Prof. Friedrich.—Ueber das Wesen und die Aufgabe der Ethischen Gesellschaft. 20 h. Was heisst ethische Kultur? 30 h.

Spiller, Gustav.—Der Internationale Ethische Bund. (1905.) 6 h.

France.

Stanton Coit.—Le Mouvement Ethique en Angleterre.

Le Programme de la Ligue Ethique.

Switzerland.

Forel, Prof. August.—Die theoretische und praktische menschliche Moral und die hypothetische Offenbarungsmoral.

d) Moral Instruction.

America.

Adler, Prof. Felix.—Moral Instruction of Children. 1.50 and 50 cents. The Punishment of Children. 10 cents.

Adler, Helen.—Hints for the Scientific Observation and Study of Children. 5 cents.

Brumbaugh, Martin G.—The Need and Scope of Moral Training of the Young. 5 cents.

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