
NOS ÎLES

A Symposium on the Channel Islands



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"Tel est le petit pays qui nous est cher, qui a été cher à nos pères depuis tant de siècles et que nous vous prions de chérir pour l'amour d'eux, pour l'amour de nous et pour votre propre bien. On ne perd rien à l'idée d'être venu de peuple dont on est fier. On s'en respecte de plus.

Pendant près de sept cent ans, isolées dans la mer, nous avons tenu notre place au soleil, avec des lois, des coutumes, une langue, le tout bien à nous. Prenons soin de les garder et de les passer intactes à ceux qui viendront après nous. Une patrie, qu'elle soit petite ou qu'elle soit grande, est toujours une patrie et les petites ont souvent les meilleures lois et la plus belle histoire."

Notre Pays, published by E. Le Lièvre.

(Used in schools in St. Peter Port about 70 years ago.)

This book is a co-operative effort. Conscious of the important part which joint thought must play in shaping the future of the Channel Islands, a number of Channel Islanders in Great Britain have, for some months past, devoted much time to the study of subjects of general interest and importance in the life of the Islands. The results of their work are now presented as a contribution to the growing discussion of the problems of our times.

Though the scope of the book has been planned as a whole, each chapter has been written independently and no attempt has been made to secure uniformity of outlook or presentation. Such uniformity or diversity as there is emerges naturally from the wide range of knowledge and experience represented by those who have joined in the task.

The work has been done under the many difficulties inseparable from war conditions and it has, in some cases, been handicapped by the lack, due to the enemy occupation, of adequate information and statistics. But it has been thought right to make these studies available now in the hope that, as great events unfold and the liberation of our homes draws near, they may help to fill a need for information about the Channel Islands and to provide some understanding of the subjects touched upon.

This edition is necessarily limited but it is hoped that the proceeds of its sale will make the publication a self-liquidating venture. Any profit which may be realised will be devoted to work in connection with the Channel Islands.

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INTRODUCTION

IF THERE ARE TWO QUALITIES UPON WHICH CHANNEL ISLANDERS PRIDE THEM-selves it is their loyalty and their independence. These qualities they possess in common with all the British race. Their particular pride in them arises from the unique historical and geographical circumstances of the islands.

When King John was forced to give up those territories in France which he had inherited ultimately from William of Normandy, the islanders were faced with the choice between continued association with the country to which they belonged by ties of geography, race, language, custom and tradition, but which had now been absorbed into the kingdom of France, and association with the more distant kingdom of England. Time after time throughout the long history of cross-Channel conflict, there were enticements to throw in their lot with their nearer neighbours. Their language long remained predominantly French, their law persisted Norman, their affections never wavered from Britain.

Writing in 1751 within memory of the intense stresses which these loyalties underwent in the Stuart conflicts and of the dangers and intrigues of the wars with the Grand Monarque, Thomas Dicey said :—

"It is true that the inhabitants of these Islands cannot, on their parts, glory in the extent or riches of their Country; which can bear no proportion, or enter into comparison with the least of those other Provinces that constitute the British Empire and Dominions. But they can very justly boast of their unblemished loyalty, which, on all occasions, they have kept and given manifest proofs of to this day: and, through a series of near eight hundred years, ever since the ancient Dukes of Normandy exchanged the Coronet for the Imperial Crown of England, they have been noted for their attachment and fidelity to our Kings, as well as natural affection to English subjects; of which they account themselves as much so, in respect of national interest and connection as any other subject who drew his first breath in the interior part of Old England."

Nearly two hundred years have since elapsed. Three great testing times have come to the Channel Islands. In 1781, in the reign of Louis XVI, Jersey was invaded by the French who were routed by the Island Militia and the English garrison. The shadow of Napoleon fell heavily across the islands' coasts, as it threatened the shores of England. And again a continental tyrant has darkened the lovely seas and scenes of Jersey and Guernsey, of Alderney and Sark. Each of these times has brought its encrustation of fortifications, its hardships, its economic impacts, the necessity for readjustments. But loyalty has never altered.

The demilitarisation of a people steeped in martial tradition, evacuation, separation, the blandishments of the Nazis, deportations, deprivations and blockade have passed the islanders through as severe an ordeal as has come to them in any time in their history. And yet the heart beats true and the old devotions remain undimmed.

It is no flight of imagination to ascribe this fundamental loyalty to the continued enjoyment of the liberties and customs which King John recognised and which successive kings of England have confirmed by charter.¹ To these liberties the islanders owe the sturdy independence of outlook which is their other predominant characteristic. This traditional spirit should stand in good stead in the many tasks and problems with which the islands will be faced when they are liberated.

As communities which are virtually self-governing, they present, in many respects, a microcosm of the larger-scale social and economic problems with which many countries will be concerned. Remaining true to their traditions and with the great advantage in reaching and carrying out wise solutions which small communities enjoy, it is not too much to hope that in the days ahead—days of difficulty but of opportunity—the way in which the islands are able to order their affairs may yet serve as an example to other peoples.

Many adjustments will be necessary, much wisdom required, and an energetic mustering of all that is best in the community, a kindly and Christian outlook to heal the scars of enemy occupation, the continuance of that sympathetic attitude of their friends in Britain, and indeed in the Dominions and America, which has been so abundantly shown in their time of trouble.

Above all, however, the high hope for the future of the Channel Islands is founded upon a lively belief in the capacity of the islanders to surmount, through their own sense of individual responsibility and service and by their own devoted efforts, whatever obstacles may lie on the road to yet greater happiness and well-being.

I. A SURVEY

IT SEEMS APPROPRIATE NOW THAT THE WORLD WAR HAS FORCED THE GERMANS to the defensive with periodical retreats that we should think of matters that will need attention when territories still held down by them are liberated. Among those territories the oldest constituents of the realm of King George VI, the Channel Islands, are the only British territory occupied by the Nazis. They cover 77-78 square miles and, in the years before this war, had a population of between 90,000 and 95,000, a very high figure for a region without mining or manufacturing industry. This density of population is a consequence of historical developments; and it must not be too readily assumed that those developments will resume their courses when the war is over.

The islands had a long tradition of farming on a subsistence basis with fishing as an accessory. Fishing is still pursued by farmers in Sark, but, in the other islands, to a considerable extent by men who do not own or rent farms, though they often have small patches of land with greenhouses near their cottages. The fishing communities, as is usual, often married within their own group and might be considered almost a separate element. Guernsey with its fine protected roadstead (now harbour) of St. Peter Port added privateering to its activities during the many wars between France and Britain. A deep-seated background of hostility between Guernsey and the French long persisted, and remnants of this feeling can be found among the older inhabitants. Jersey was not so well provided with harbourage for privateers, and, from the seventeenth century onwards, she expanded her interest in the Newfoundland cod fisheries, Messrs. Robin Bros. becoming leading merchants and bankers in this connection. Their Jersey Bank was eventually taken over by one of the "Big Five."

Guernsey and, to some extent, Jersey were much influenced by the Huguenot movement, especially as this provided French-speaking Protestant clergy after the Reformation. Guernsey families, including the Careys and de Havillands, became Roundhead leaders, accepted the restoration of 1660 perforce, and long remained intensely Protestant, with a strong feeling against Romanist France. John Wesley found a great deal of support in the islands as a consequence of this. No local family in the islands has remained Roman Catholic, but Roman Catholic immigrants, especially religious communities, with both English and French schools, are an important element. There has been, too, a fair settlement during the past century of English "rentiers," many living on pensions after service abroad. They have found the islands pleasant and inexpensive places of retirement with adequate secondary school facilities for their families. They have been an undoubted asset.

Still another thread must be woven in here. For the past 60 years or so Jersey has needed French, chiefly Breton, labourers to dig her potatoes, and quite a number of these seasonal labourers have become tenants of farms, in several cases virtual owners, buying property in the name of Jersey-born wives and children to overcome the restriction on alien ownership of land, for, in that island, a non-British subject cannot hold real estate. Jersey thus has a French-Breton element of recent immigration. In Guernsey, because it slopes northwards while Jersey slopes southwards, it has been necessary to depend mainly on cultivation of early produce under glass; and this has generally meant that a good deal of capital has been needed, and the work has not been of a character to make seasonal immigration of Breton labour a feature. It has therefore happened that, in Guernsey, recent immigration from France has been less, and the early produce trade, in grapes, tomatoes, early flowers and vegetables, has often meant personal relations of the growers with British market centres.

These few points have been discussed to bring out the fact that, with a historic prejudice against French ways, perhaps stronger in Guernsey, there are also results of religious divisions as well as of modern economic developments. It has been shown in a number of cases that the anglicization, or at least de-gallicization, of immigrant settlers in Jersey is quickly marked, though naturally delayed if they retain their Romanist attachment. In more recent years Jersey has used seasonal labour from England and Ireland. Guernsey had a considerable influx of British and Irish labour when its export of stone was most active.

The survival of *patois*, of several varieties, must therefore be carefully distinguished from any idea of "French" tendencies. May 24th, Queen Victoria's birthday, was for long the chief holiday of the year, with reviews of the local Militia and other ceremonies. In fact, French visitors have described the islands as *plus royaliste que le roi*. Some years ago the *Morning Post* was a favourite London newspaper because of its die-hard Tory attitude with "King and Country" as the favourite slogan. Early in this war the boys' grammar school in Guernsey (Elizabeth College), a school with rarely more than 150 boys, issued a first draft of a list of men serving with the Forces. This first draft dealt only with commissioned ranks, and nearly all must have held the King's Commission before the beginning of the war. The list contained the names of 130 officers, some of them in very high positions. No doubt the Jersey grammar school (Victoria College) could match this record. It is often stated that few of His Majesty's ships are without a Channel Islander, and the Royal Air Force has a good many islanders in it too. The islands may therefore be described without any reserve, as enthusiastically patriotic with a strong "services" flavour. This fact must be clearly borne in mind in considering the islands. The islanders are helpless and defenceless, but they are British in spirit, and it is known that out of a total of under 95,000 people there are over 10,000 serving in the Forces, a proportion that is not excelled in any part of the British Commonwealth. The proportion would have risen still higher but for the occupation of the islands by the enemy in 1940.

The more negative factors of this loyalty have been mentioned in an attempt to say something about relations with France. But positive factors have been of great importance as well. Without going into historical details we have the fact that the King rules the islands as the successor of the dukes of Normandy. They are "Normandy of the Isles" and Norman law is a part of their tradition, which has developed in the main autonomously. Already, when Edward I instituted his inquiry, the islanders claimed that their customs and privileges dated from time out of mind. Subsequent kings have only very rarely been associated with any interference in local government, and modern developments of taxation have affected the islands remarkably little. Under Elizabeth, again, the local speech was respected in matters of religion and, though some leading families became anglicized to a considerable extent, there never developed that division between an anglicized aristocracy and a non-anglicized commonalty which became such a feature in Wales under Tudor and later sovereigns. Local government, local currency, local banking remained a feature until recently; in fact it was only after 1918 that the strong local banking companies in Guernsey were taken over by members of the Big Five. This had happened some years earlier in Jersey partly for reasons to which reference will be made later on. Trade with England is an all-important feature of the islands' well-being and is helped by customs and privileges of long standing. There is every desire for close co-operation with the British Commonwealth, and, at the same time, no fear of unwelcome interference.

The combined exports of the islands to the United Kingdom in 1938 were valued at £4,700,000, or more than £50 per head of the population. The combined imports from the United Kingdom in that year were worth £6,000,000, giving a balance favourable to the United Kingdom. This figure of imports from the United Kingdom was exceeded within the British Empire, apart from the Dominions and India, by only Malaya and Straits Settlements, Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

In the old days of subsistence farming dues were largely payable in kind, with money equivalents determined from year to year on the basis of current prices. Finance long continued to deal in small amounts; local government has long been administered largely by honorary officers, who did work that in England would have been given to highly paid officials. There was much mutual knowledge within a small island-community and fortunately there have been few serious betrayals of confidence. An honorary position in the local government has been the natural ambition, not so much of young men seeking a career, as of older men who had accumulated a reasonable fortune, though often one which, judged by English standards, would be deemed small. In some ways, the analogy with the governing personnel of a small Swiss canton is worth mentioning.

Autonomy is thus very strongly based and very deeply cherished; and it will be a matter for serious thought to allow for this in post-war schemes.

Thousands of islanders who were evacuated to Britain will have learned other ways. Some who have remained at home will feel deeply the break in island tradition since 1940, and may be expected to react in various ways according to temperament. There will no doubt be those who wish to rehabilitate the old system as completely as possible; others will plead for innovations in various directions. Evacuees will come back, sometimes to deserted homes, often with economic difficulties to face. These are problems which will be quite commonplace when territories temporarily under German occupation come once more under the control of their own communities. There is abundant reason to believe that their old tradition of sturdy independence and self-government will enable the islanders to triumph over the difficulties the Germans have created for them, and to be as successful as they have been in many political and economic vicissitudes in the past. It is greatly to be hoped that, after a short transition, the traditional systems of the islands' history will in the main re-establish themselves. Any simple absorption of the islands into an English scheme, under the Parliament of Westminster, would have little to recommend it and would destroy something that, however small, has much more than a sentimental value. It is fully appreciated that probably no one in England would seek to push forward any such policy.

The acquisition of residence in the Channel Islands by people coming to them to avoid income tax must be avoided in some way; and the islands will gladly enter into a general scheme of contributions for defence of the Commonwealth. In any such scheme it is to be hoped that the large personal contribution to the fighting services, especially in the commissioned ranks, will be remembered to their credit. Also, Jersey contributed £400,000 and Guernsey £320,000 to the costs of the war of 1914-18.

We must also try to maintain the social tradition which led many men who had acquired a reasonable fortune to devote themselves to unpaid public work and thereby to find a healthy balance of privileges and duties, and to form a corps of public workers esteemed by their fellow citizens. It is true that some able islanders have left the islands and made their way in other lands, but

they often return to their native community for holidays and retirement. This has good aspects even if there is some nepotism; it may bring some contention, but it illustrates the strength of the community life and the power of motives other than that of accumulation of ever larger fortunes.

The strength of the community life has been shown on many occasions, a few of which may be mentioned in connection with Guernsey. In the first half of the nineteenth century the island felt the need of a new market-house and paid the construction costs of a large one with assembly halls in States notes, which were subsequently redeemed from nett revenue of the market and of shops and halls connected with the buildings. Thanks to the fact that Guernsey States notes were not expected by the holders to be accepted as ordinary currency elsewhere, and to the confidence of the people in the local government's credit, no difficulty arose, and so a scheme of borrowing without interest was successfully worked. The same system has been used for building roads, schools and public works over a period of years. Some years later there came the need for enclosing a part of the roadstead of St. Peter Port to form a deep-water harbour. This time the amounts involved were too large for a States notes scheme, but recourse was not had to the London money market, nor were brokers' and underwriters' commissions incurred. Islanders were offered bonds carrying 3 per cent. interest and repayable on demand after reasonable notice, with accrued interest. The whole prime cost, £350,000, was raised in this way and the bonds were redeemed from harbour revenues. This first harbour loan was extinguished before the end of the nineteenth century, and the credit of the island backed by the splendid asset of the harbour stood very high. A new jetty for larger ships has recently been built. A possibility for the difficult transition period after the war is an extension of the use of local States notes and bonds, which would repeat successes of the nineteenth century.

Early in the twentieth century rivalry between the then competing G.W.R. and L.S.W.R. companies for carriage of island produce gave low freight rates. After a time the companies agreed to pool their freight, and exporters were told they could ship by whichever company's boat was loading. In return for this privilege a charge of one penny per packet was suggested. This charge, on three million packages, meant £12,500 per annum. A group of well-known islanders in Guernsey thereupon hired steamships and made an agreement with the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway to send goods via Newhaven. The suggested penny tax was withdrawn, but the local export company did not dissolve completely though, it did not need to maintain its sailings. The organisers appear not to have made money for themselves to any extent, but neither did they lose nor was there any serious distrust of their intentions; it was, once more, an illustration of confidence. There may be serious need of co-operative schemes after this war.

From about 1880 onwards the growth of the early produce trade in Guernsey was bringing both profits and increments of capital values. Land was being covered with glasshouses and the small owners often needed credit for the purpose. The banks mostly concerned were partly local and the directors usually knew the borrowers well enough to have a serious judgment of prospects. Furthermore, they were willing to give long term loans about which British banks, accustomed to the short credits so much used by industrial exporters and importers, would have hesitated. The result was that, with fairly wise administration which was comparatively simple, in a period of rising values, the early produce business was well financed, and the banks became strong, and, on the whole, the growers did not become overburdened with debt. The directors of the lending banks were as much insiders in the early-produce scheme as were

the borrowers, and both sides were consciously members of the community and actual workers in their own glasshouses alongside their wage-labourers in many cases. Some attempts by British immigrants to come into the early-produce scheme as employer-capitalists with high standards of spending have been notable failures. In Jersey, French and Breton immigrants have been very successful, and local banks did not find quite such opportunities. They came earlier under the Big Five.

It should be noted here that the early produce scheme of the islands gave scope not only for close application to work and care of the soil, but also stimulated thought about new methods, judgment concerning crops and their sequence, improvements in packing and selection and so on. In fact, in this respect, as in local government, the islands have offered interesting opportunities to a considerable proportion of the more active minds among the people and there has not, therefore, been a great deal of the dismal emigration of youthful talent which has so disastrously impoverished some rural areas in Britain. At the end of the war of 1914-18, however, quite a number of islanders emigrated to Canada, and some to Australia and New Zealand.

The economic life of the islands will need serious thought. Many matters in the transition arrangements after liberation may need to be studied by a committee having access to many documents and having the power to examine and adjudicate special cases. Bank balances have been transferred to England, islanders probably have claims to accrued interest on government and other stocks on which they have not been able to receive dividends since June 1940, and pensioners living in retirement in the islands have a claim on annuities. On the other hand, damaged property, property left behind by evacuees, repairs and so on will all need much attention. Then there is the problem of a moratorium on mortgages and their interest pending clearer rehabilitation, and there will be families who want to sell their island property because they have taken up other work, and also families who will want to return to their old homes and may be almost penniless. The heads of some families will have stayed in the islands, and may now find it most difficult to resume responsibility for the support of wife and children who have been in Britain all these years and who may have incurred debts for their maintenance and education. All these and many more problems of the transition must get special consideration from experts with local knowledge, who may also have to face the redemption, in some form, of currency issued during the enemy's occupation of the islands, also related matters of public indebtedness. The proportion of evacuees from Jersey is much lower than that from Guernsey.

It is difficult, but perhaps more possible, to consider the general economic prospects of the islands. Jersey's sources of credit were her exported crops, potatoes and outdoor late summer tomatoes—her tourist industry, her export of stone and her sales of pedigree cattle. Other export crops besides potatoes and tomatoes were a relatively small item. The summer warmth makes high cultivation without glasshouses possible, and these erections were quite a subordinate feature until fairly recently.

It seems possible that, with increased air travel, and curiosity to see a place occupied and fortified by the enemy, the tourist industry may even increase; and Jersey may well gain from this, but needs to watch lest her beauty be seriously diminished by uncontrolled building. A Trust analogous with the National Trust in the United Kingdom was formed in Jersey some years ago, and there are ordinances controlling building, to some extent, in Guernsey.

The early potato industry again seems to have reasonable prospects. The

tomato trade will find increased competition but, as the tomato is often a second crop on land that has yielded potatoes, it can probably survive.

The cattle trade will depend for years on the state of affairs as regards the cattle population of the islands when peace comes. Freedom from disease has been a great asset; cattle exported to England seem to lose this as well as several features of the Jersey breed in the course of a few generations away from the island. There can therefore be no doubt that, if the Jersey breed is still in good fettle in the island after the war, a large demand for pedigree beasts will help considerably.

Jersey could thus look forward to a good future economically, but will need to bear in mind in new ways her proximity to France and her dangerous position in any possible war. The old easy security has gone. The density of population (over 1,000 per square mile) makes dependence on home-grown food utterly incompatible with export of produce, though Jersey can turn over quickly from export produce to home food production at need.

It needs to be considered carefully whether evacuees who have made their way to some extent in Britain during the war should not be encouraged to stay where they are or helped to emigrate.

Guernsey's economic position is probably a more critical one than Jersey's. The old population was about 40,000 on a little more than 24 square miles (1,600 per square mile). It was very largely employed in growing early tomatoes under glass, with additional heating. All this installation had furnished scope for investment of capital, a good deal of which was derived from savings. The position was, therefore, temporarily, a very strong one; and there had been a certain amount of "survival of the fittest," i.e. of those who had initiative and ideas, industry and thrift. Some men who had had to start practically from "scratch" had made their way soundly and prosperously, and local bankers' credit had helped a good number. Prosperity and the decline in the value of sterling in 1919-20 had meant that old mortgages had become less burdensome and that the realisable price of good glasshouse property had increased—or at any rate had been such that money put aside for depreciation and repairs was to some extent balanced. Flower-growing in fields and gardens and the growing of grapes, flowers and early vegetables in hothouses were supplementary activities, and the sale of cattle and of stone also helped. The summer visitor industry was far smaller than that in Jersey.

Even before the war the bulk tomato trade of Guernsey (June and July) had rivals in South Devon and the Lea Valley, etc. They might not have quite the same advantage of sunshine or the same long experience and resultant skill, but they had almost equal June temperatures because Guernsey slopes north, and is farther out in the sea than Jersey, which slopes south and is thus kept very warm in summer. The English growers had also the advantage of direct lorry transport to market in a few hours without a sea journey or break of bulk and the bruising as well as the labour costs involved. The English growers need not pick their tomatoes so early, i.e. ripening could be more natural. It remains to be seen whether this English competition will be increased after the war.

Probably the very early produce, what may be called out-of-season produce, or strictly luxury goods, may be able to bear the cost of air transport, and Guernsey will reap an advantage here because of her position and the mildness of the early months of the year, as well as the fact that coal for heating glasshouses can be carried cheaply by sea. It remains questionable, however, whether the great mass of glasshouses is likely to remain profitable; the very early produce is grown usually by specially skilled people, often with good capital backing.

One may add, however, that, from being a luxury, the tomato has become almost a staple of our British diet, valued more than ever since vitamins have come under discussion. Also, intensive tomato-growing is specially suited to the small working proprietor if he can be helped co-operatively.

There is the further serious question of the condition of the glasshouses and their boilers and pipes after the war. Many small owners may be put in difficult circumstances through depreciation of this "delicate" equipment. One can see that special measures may be desirable to meet the danger of serious distress. It would seem worth while to ask expert advice.

In educational arrangements the two main islands differ. Jersey has Victoria College for boys and the Jersey Girls' College, both more or less in the position of direct-grant schools in England, also a relatively small Intermediate School. Guernsey has its old established (1563) Elizabeth College, its Ladies' College, and Intermediate Schools for both boys and girls, managed on the lines of L.E.A. secondary schools in England. The Guernsey Intermediate School for boys originally aimed at giving an education suitable for the farmers and fruit growers and others, while Elizabeth College aimed rather at the professions and at commissions in the services. Guernsey was well ahead in its system of scholarships from elementary schools to intermediate schools and thence, as well as direct, to Elizabeth College. From both islands boys could win "King Charles I" Scholarships at Exeter, Jesus and Pembroke Colleges, Oxford.

Adult education has been developed to a very fair extent, in Guernsey as an extension of the work of the intermediate school through evening classes that included languages, dramatic art, singing, etc., as well as English, typing, shorthand, mathematics, domestic science, etc. Local history was another element in this work and the islands have long had strong local societies and museums, as well as public libraries. An Eisteddfod has become another feature of the islands' life.

Intellectual vigour and initiative in crop-growing and cattle breeding are notable features in the islands, and these characteristics will need to be exercised vigorously to meet the after-war crises. There must also be a special effort to give the islands educational compensation for the years of war isolation and to develop as wide an international outlook and understanding as possible. Inevitably the international situation after this war will have many bearings on the islands' economic and social schemes.

Alderney is a special problem. Its old-time farming population received a considerable accession when Lord Palmerston's government built an elaborate naval harbour and fortifications. The harbour was found to be unsuitable and its breakwater was damaged by storms. The garrison was reduced in course of time and the fortifications would have been quite useless in 1940. The population had declined and had little source of income from the outer world save a certain amount of exported road metal and a few cattle sent to England. The whole population of about 1,500 was evacuated in 1940 and the island will sorely need resettlement guidance with plans prepared beforehand to some extent; those plans will need to envisage the problems of economic life, if it is to be assumed that Alderney is incapable of becoming a fortress in a modern sense.

II. THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

THERE CAN BE FEW SUBJECTS UPON WHICH SO MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN WITH so little understanding and to so little purpose as the history of the Channel Islands. The picturesque or sensational incidents in their long history, anything that has the makings of an anecdote in it, have indeed been told and retold,

but it is difficult to find any serious attempt to understand their evolution as self-governing and politically self-conscious communities. The task of searching for information among the books that pass for histories of the islands can be exceedingly depressing; for they are interminably repetitive, annalistic and anecdotal; they solve no problems for they see none to solve. There are indeed a number of technical studies of the law and the archaeology of the islands, but to the knowledge of the writer there is only one work which shows any understanding of their political evolution, and that is the *Memorandum* prepared by the Attorney-General for Jersey in connection with the Jersey Prison Board Case, heard before the Privy Council in 1894. This *Memorandum* naturally has a case to prove, and tends to pass by anything that does not help to prove that case; it uses evidence as a lawyer does, rather than as a historian would use it; but it does examine critically a large number of documents and is virtually the only attempt to understand them as evidence of an evolutionary process. The ordinary histories of the islands must be used for such documents as they may print or summarise, and for the information they give of the state of affairs at the time they were written they have little to offer as interpretation.

It is not yet possible, therefore, to write a general interpretation of the political development of the Channel Islands; all that can be done here is to set down a few preliminary ideas, most of which should be regarded as suggestions rather than as reasoned affirmations.

Before the German occupation in 1940 the Channel Islands had achieved a high degree of self-government. They could not be classified as Dominions, for they had no international status, and they had greater powers of self-government than any of the colonies. Nor, indeed, could they be profitably compared with those territories within the British Commonwealth whose government is intermediate between those of the Dominions and the colonies, for their whole process of development has been so different. Their constitutions have not been given them at any time by an act of the Crown or by an act of Parliament. These constitutions are both home-made and *sui generis*. This is perhaps the one thing about the government of the Channel Islands that is really important. Though conditions have, on the whole, been made favourable to them; though they have through the centuries enjoyed the protection of English armed forces; though successive governments at Westminster, recognising the strategic importance which the islands possessed until very recently, have shown themselves generous, tolerant and helpful; and though the islands owe a great deal to the fact that they were never sovereign communities, and could call for assistance to external authority when local problems grew so tangled that they could not be solved locally, yet, when all such allowances have been made, it must be conceded that the Channel Islands have achieved self-government chiefly as the result of their own efforts. This is their strongest claim to sympathetic treatment after the war. We are coming to understand that freedom and democratic institutions have to be won, and when they have been won they have to be watchfully and energetically held; such benefits when received gratuitously are seldom maintained. The Channel Islands have been of considerable value to England in the past, and, in proportion to their size and resources, have rendered great services, both military and economic. It is quite possible that they may not be able to render precisely those services in the future. But they do not desire to live on their past, to claim privileged treatment for loyalty in days gone by. What they will say is this: Here you have a group of communities that were as prosperous and generally contented as any to be found in the years between the wars, and they were prosperous very largely because they were hard-working and self-reliant. They were communities,

moreover, which had learnt to govern themselves. This is not an easy lesson to learn; those who have learnt it are an asset to any wider political organisation of which they may form a part, and the institutions which they have built up and which they are willing and anxious to maintain and to improve have a claim on the wider organisation for protection, or, as in the present case, when they fall a victim to the misfortunes of war, to such facilities as may be necessary to set them going again.

The validity of such a claim clearly depends on the ability of the islanders to show that they did indeed, to a significant degree, create their instrument of self-government. It is the purpose of this essay to show how far existing historical knowledge, such as it is, supports this claim.

The oldest medieval documents referring to the Channel Islands (and evidence of their condition in earlier ages is of no relevance to the present inquiry) show that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the islands formed a unit of local administration in the duchy of Normandy. There is not sufficient evidence at present to show exactly how this administration functioned in the islands, though it is not likely to have differed significantly from local administration in other parts of the duchy. But we do know that the inhabitants were predominantly if not wholly Norman; that their law was Norman and was administered in part by visiting justices from the ducal court in Normandy; and that most of the land was held either by the duke as part of his domain or by landowners, ecclesiastical and lay, whose chief estates lay on the Norman mainland. Thus economically, socially and politically, the islands were a part of Normandy, separated from the mainland only by geographical fact.

Early in the thirteenth century, however, the political connection which had existed since 1066 between Normandy and England was suddenly broken, and "continental" Normandy was absorbed into the kingdom of France, the Channel Islands alone remaining to the kings of England as a vestige of their lost inheritance in Normandy. This was the most critical moment in their history. King John and his successors might have abandoned the islands to their fate, for they were insignificant specks by comparison with what had been lost on the mainland of France, and they were difficult to defend; or they might—*theoretically* at least—have absorbed them into the English system of local government. In fact the English government did what was perhaps the most natural thing in the thirteenth century; it treated the islands as a possession of the king of England but separate and distinct from his kingdom of England; and the political relationship between the Channel Islands and the king of England has always remained a continuation and a natural development of the political relationship existing between Normandy and the king of England in the twelfth century. Thus it could be argued in the fourteenth century that "the lord king has nothing in this island (i.e. Guernsey) save the status of duke." This was completely true, in practice as well as in theory, until the English parliament began to assert its authority against that of the king; even in later times it has remained true in principle.

It follows from this that the political changes in the islands consequent upon the separation of England and Normandy were as slight as they could be in the circumstances. But the void in their administration created by their complete alienation from what had been their metropolitan government in Normandy had to be filled. It was filled in part by the government at Westminster, in part by institutions in the islands themselves, created or developed for the purpose. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to say confidently whether these institutions, whose nature and working are so well documented in the

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, existed in some form before the separation from Normandy and were simply adapted to the new situation after the catastrophe, or whether they were for the most part a new creation. For the general argument, however, this is immaterial; for although the medieval institutions of the Channel Islands formed the framework of their later development, the significant thing is what the islanders have made of these institutions, not their origins.

The royal, or, as the islanders would no doubt have preferred to call it, the ducal authority in the islands, was exercised during the Middle Ages by an official called the *custos* or warden. The terms of his appointment varied in detail from time to time; but he was never permitted to make his office hereditary, and that is important. Had he done so the subsequent political development of the islands would have been very different. In principle the warden exercised the royal authority in all spheres, military, judicial and administrative; but as it was never possible for him to perform all his duties personally and simultaneously in four islands, his functions had to be deputed. Originally the officials who thus took over some of his functions, the bailiffs as presidents of the royal courts in Jersey and Guernsey, the constables who kept the royal castles of Gorey and Cornet, and the receivers who collected the king's rents and dues, were appointed, paid and controlled by the warden. By a natural development, however, they came to treat functions regularly performed as theirs by right as well as by duty, and they endeavoured to make themselves independent of their employer. The warden, for his part, as the feud between England and France was prolonged and exacerbated, was forced by circumstances to give more and more of his time and attention to military duties, and to leave the civil administration in the hands of his subordinates. Now these subordinates, in the vast majority of cases, were natives of the island they served; thus their growing independence *vis-à-vis* the warden is one symptom of the political development of the Channel Islands, for, if there were conflict between the interests of the islands and the interests of the warden or of the king whom he represented, these men stood for the interests of their island. The islands, that is to say, gradually took possession of the king's administration by filling the several offices with natives or residents. The bailiff, for example, who by the custom of the islands had to be a "resident" of the island in which he held office, first asserted his right to be the king's bailiff, not the warden's underling, and then, while continuing to derive his authority from the king, became the acknowledged head of the island community.

But this was by no means the only principle of political development in the Channel Islands. As far back as we know anything of their political organisation, they were privileged communities. Who was the author of these privileges is a matter of great uncertainty. Insular tradition for generations has attributed them to King John; and certainly he must have done something to adapt the administration of the islands to their new political and strategic rôle after the loss of Normandy. But the essentials of these privileges can be traced back to the eleventh century. It is quite likely, indeed, that the medieval communities of the islands took their origin in a scheme for repopulating them after the Viking raids, a scheme whereby some Norman lord, possibly the duke himself, offered personal and tenurial privileges in order to attract settlers. This suggestion may, however, be treated as highly speculative, for there is no detailed evidence concerning these privileges older than the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In modern times Channel Islanders usually refer to their "privileges"; in the Middle Ages they referred to their "laws and customs," a term which was then,

and still is, very much more appropriate. For the essence of these "laws and customs" was this: that the islands should be permitted to preserve and develop their own law, which was the law of Normandy (undisturbed by their political severance from continental Normandy), with certain local variants such as might be found in any part of the duchy; that the king's courts in the islands should have full jurisdiction over all cases arising there, and that no case should be adjourned from these courts to any court outside the islands, saving the right of appeal to the king himself; that an essential element in the king's courts of Jersey and Guernsey should be twelve jurats in each island, chosen by the king's ministers and the notables of the island, and that no case should be judged in the courts save by those jurats, who were judges of law as well as of fact (indeed, it was their primary function to declare the law); that the peasantry of the islands should be free from all the harsh incidents of serfdom, free from arbitrary mulcts of all kinds, free from forced labour, and free from any obligation to perform military service outside their own island. In course of time certain commercial privileges in England were granted to the islands by successive kings, such as the right to export from England goods needed for the islanders' own use, and to import into England goods of their own production, free from all customs dues. It is impossible, in the present state of historical knowledge, to say just how far these economic franchises have conditioned the political development of the islands through the centuries; but there can be no doubt that from time to time, and more particularly in recent years, the prosperity, if not the very existence, of the island communities has depended upon them.

Now there was nothing very remarkable about these laws and customs at the time in which they came into being. It was characteristic of the thirteenth century that the islands should be allowed to preserve their Norman law notwithstanding their political severance from Normandy; and, if it would be difficult to find an exact parallel to the institutions of the Channel Islands in the Middle Ages, there were many communities up and down Europe enjoying a very similar degree of local freedom on much the same basis. What is remarkable about the islands is the way in which they developed their medieval institutions. In the Middle Ages their political structure was entirely seigniorial. The warden was the king's official and subordinate officials were appointed by him: the courts were the king's courts: the administration was concerned only to provide for the defence of the king's castles, to administer the king's justice in the king's courts and to collect the king's rents and dues. The men who held office in this administration, apart from the diminishing group of officials sent from England, were islanders, certainly, but they were drawn from a local aristocracy of petty seigneurs. That means that the politically effective class in the islands was very small indeed. But medieval government in Europe, generally, was aristocratic; there were few democratic experiments outside the great manufacturing cities, and those rarely endured. It must be accounted a piece of rare good fortune for the islands that no one family, with the possible exception of the de Carterets in Jersey, ever became so powerful as to endanger the working of the administration. The point here is that the small ruling class in the Channel Islands was, on the whole, worthy of its privileges. It succeeded in identifying its interests with those of the community as a whole, to the benefit of the community. It led the resistance to the attack upon the "laws and customs" of the islands made by the centralising policy of the English government early in the fourteenth century; and in fighting to preserve and to extend the rights of those offices that could be held by islanders, it was, consciously or not, laying the foundations of Channel Island self-government. Furthermore it understood that the possession of "franchises" carried a correlative duty to provide adequate local government.

The development of this medieval feudal administration into modern democratic self-government was made possible in two ways. The first has already received some attention. It was that the administration, which in the thirteenth century had been the king's administration, designed to make such profit for the king as could be made in the islands, came to be staffed more and more by local men and hence tended to work in the interests of the islands. As the jurats, whose function was stated to be to preserve the king's rights and those of the islanders, came to put the rights of the islanders first, so the courts, which nevertheless remained the king's courts, administering the king's justice in the king's name, became the stout defenders of local custom. The second shows the importance of this. The functions of courts such as those which existed in the islands in the Middle Ages were not nearly so clearly defined or so closely restricted as they have since become. Wherever in medieval Europe courts were administering customary law, it was not easy to draw a distinct line between declaring the law (which was the prime function of the jurats) and making law, between jurisdiction and legislation. Nor was the composition of the island courts in any way hard and fast. When the "Chief Pleas" were held, three times a year, the seigneurs of the island were bound to attend by reason of their tenure, and this was not the empty ceremony it has since become. Their advice might be asked on a difficult point of law; they might recommend that the law be administered in this way or that. Now the general rule in the Middle Ages was that legislation, when legislation was necessary (and it was regarded as highly exceptional, not the normal everyday function of government that it is to-day), should be the act of the prince with the consent of the people concerned. But it might well originate in a petition of the people, to which the prince might give his consent and the force of law; and just as an English parliament (i.e. the king's court) in the thirteenth century, though composed solely of royal officials and magnates, would claim to speak for the "community of the country," so the Channel Island courts, consisting of bailiff, jurats, the seigneurs and anyone else whom they chose to consult, would, in addressing a petition to the king, claim to speak on behalf of the "community of the island," and such a petition might well form the basis of a legislative act. The courts, that is to say, developed easily into legislative assemblies without, at the same time, ceasing to be courts.

This local aristocracy continued to rule the islands, as bailiffs, jurats, vicomtes, prévôts, and so on, until very recent times—disturbed occasionally by an energetic, conscientious or fussy governor; but governors came and went. Between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries, however, the institutions of government developed enormously, and prepared the way for more advanced and democratic forms. The authority assumed by the bailiff and jurats to lead and to speak for the community, and their practice of calling for advice from other leading men in the islands, gradually became formalized into the bodies known as the States of Jersey and the States of Guernsey. Even to-day a glance at the composition of these bodies will show that they are simply enlarged sessions of the courts, that is, the courts sitting for general discussion rather than for formal legal proceedings—what the Middle Ages called a "parliament." If the island had a grievance, if the law needed amendment, if public works were required, here was the natural body to discuss the matter and to address a petition to the king. The king's reply would have the force of law; and while no one would have dreamed of denying the king's right to legislate for the islands *proprio motu*, much, indeed an ever-increasing amount of legislation for the islands came to have a local origin in this way. Now there is no evidence that the English government was neglectful of the islands in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and if local legislation and local affairs generally were

being taken over by the States of Guernsey and the States of Jersey, it was because they were ready and anxious to do things for themselves.

This may be illustrated by the way in which the States developed in these centuries. In both islands the rectors of the parish churches have sat in the States from the time when first the States came to have an independent existence. Perhaps it was natural for them to do so, representing, as they must have done in former times, the chief, if not the only, educated element in the community. But it may be suggested—at present it can only be a suggestion—that they owe their political influence rather to the form which the Reformation took in the islands, i.e. French Calvinism. It is perhaps no coincidence that the States in both islands began to take on a much more definite shape precisely when (at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries) the power of this church organisation was at its height; nor is it unlikely that this *discipline ecclésiastique*, with its consistories, colloquies and synods, contributed mightily to the political education of the Channel Islanders even though, or perhaps because, it temporarily overshadowed the civil government.

Until the nineteenth century, the only representative element in the States was provided by the constables. These parochial officers (not to be confused with the constables who were in command of the garrisons of the castles in the Middle Ages) were elected on a not very liberal franchise rather for their police and administrative duties in the parishes than as potential representatives in the States. But the parish assemblies over which they presided seem to have been fairly vigorous institutions, and the fact that the representative element in the States consisted of these constables sitting as the delegates of their parish assemblies rather than of representatives elected on some other basis, created a very useful connection between the affairs of the parish and the affairs of the island; it tended to knit the island community together and it brought into the States men who, in the nature of things, had a very intimate knowledge of the feelings of their constituents.

As a last example, the president of the States has always been not the warden or, to give him his modern title, the governor, but the bailiff. It may seem natural that this should be so, since the States has grown out of the court, over which the bailiff early established his right to preside; but the States could not have developed as they did in the nineteenth century if the bailiff had not succeeded in making himself independent of the governor. There was a heroic struggle in Jersey in the seventeenth century, as a result of which it was established that the bailiff was to be directly appointed by the king and responsible to him, and that, generally speaking, the governor should confine himself to military matters, leaving civil affairs to the bailiff. Thus the civil government was placed wholly in the hands of islanders, though the authority of the chief officers continued to be derived from the crown.

The States of Jersey and the States of Guernsey were thus, in the course of time, growing into adult legislative assemblies. This process was taken a stage further in Jersey in 1771, when the court was deprived of those legislative functions which it still retained, leaving the States in possession of the field. In Guernsey this step has not yet been taken, for the court may still make temporary ordinances and it still has an important part in the making of permanent legislation. There is a striking similarity between the development of the States from afforced sessions of the royal courts in the islands and the growth of the parliament at Westminster, at least in principle. But there is one important difference. Had the parallel been exact, the modern administration of the islands would have grown out of the medieval, and would have derived its authority from the governor, as representing the crown, whether the States had established

a right to control its policy or not. In fact the modern administration of the islands has grown up quite differently.

It should be remembered that modern administration is altogether different in principle from medieval. The medieval administration of the islands could be described as the king's private, almost domestic, service; for although the king in some sense represented the whole community, his property could in no sense be described as public. The primary purpose of medieval administration was to exploit and maintain that property; to collect the king's rents, look after his estates, maintain the king's castles, his mills and his barns. Add the provision of justice, keeping the peace and making war, and this catalogue of the functions of medieval government will be complete. The change to a more public conception of government came gradually in the course of many centuries. The beginnings of this change in the Channel Islands should probably be associated with the Reformation, for the Calvinistic organisation, which was closely associated with the civil government there for a number of years, was in no way inhibited from constant interference with the private life of the individual. But its progress was slow, and its later stages were confused with the greater change which came over the conception of government in England and elsewhere in the nineteenth century. This was the change from an idea of government whose function, as far as internal affairs were concerned, was mainly to keep order and to prevent political injustice, to a conception in which the state, as *res publlica*, must take account of social and economic injustice as well, must regulate and condition the activities of its citizens, provide social services, and in general assume a positive liability for the welfare of the people.

It must be made clear at this point that our knowledge of the corresponding change in the Channel Island government is of the vaguest, for no historian has yet addressed himself to the problem. It is possible, however, to discern a number of symptoms. One of these was that the States became more representative than hitherto. Until the middle of the nineteenth century the States, both in Guernsey and in Jersey, were composed of the bailiff (appointed by the crown) as president, the jurats (elected for life by the ratepayers of the island in Jersey, by the States of Election* in Guernsey), the rectors (crown nominees) and the constables (elected by the ratepayers in each parish). This could not be described as a very democratic body. By 1940, however, the States of Deliberation in Guernsey had come to consist of the bailiff, 12 jurats and 10 rectors as before; but the constables had been replaced by 6 representatives from the five douzaines† of St. Peter Port and one representative from each of the douzaines of the nine country parishes. These representatives were chosen by their douzaines; the douzaines were elected by the ratepayers of the parish. But in addition there were 18 deputies representing five constituencies, each returning a number of deputies proportional to its population, and these deputies were elected by all men over 20 and all women over 30 years of age. Jersey has not yet moved so far in this direction, adding to the bailiff, 12 jurats, 12 rectors and 12 constables, only 6 deputies from St. Helier's parish and one from each of the eleven country parishes. Although it is clear that in both islands the system of representation is capable of further development and improvement, the representative members in both assemblies already outnumber the permanent and ex-officio members.

* There are two forms of the States of Guernsey. The States of Deliberation is the legislative body. Its composition is described in the text. The States of Election meet only to elect a jurat or, a prévot, and on these occasions all the douzaines, not merely their representatives, and the constables of the parishes with the eighteen deputies are present, 243 members in all.

† "Douzaine" is the Guernsey name for a parish council. The parish of St. Peter Port, unlike any other parish, is divided into four cantons, each of which has its own douzaine, and there is a "central douzaine" for the whole parish as well.

Another symptom has been the extended competence claimed by the States. For a very long time the courts or the States have claimed the right to make representations when an order-in-council, or an act of parliament transmitted by order-in-council, was considered to be contrary to their laws and customs in some way. This claim never caused any difficulty, because the representations of the islanders could constitutionally be rejected and a peremptory order issued. During the nineteenth century, however, the States of Jersey in particular advanced the claim that no order-in-council should be issued without previous consultation with the States; that is to say they were claiming that there should be no legislation for the island without their consent. This claim has never been admitted in England, and, so far as it concerns the validity of acts of parliament in the islands, it has been dismissed by an English constitutional lawyer as absurd; but in several cases brought before the Privy Council, wherein the States of Jersey contested the validity of an order-in-council issued without their consent, their lordships declined to give judgment against the States; and in the islands it may still be argued that an act of parliament derives such force as it may have there from the order-in-council with which it is transmitted, not from the sovereignty of Parliament. However, the whole problem has since become almost academic; for, just as Parliament ceased to legislate for the Dominions long before their legislative sovereignty was recognised by the Statute of Westminster, so in practice the island legislatures have gradually assumed full legislative authority over the internal affairs of their respective islands. In this they have but followed the general trend of development in the British Commonwealth as a whole. It may be that much of the legislative authority of the States of Jersey and the States of Guernsey is based on custom and convention rather than upon constitutional law; so is a great part of the constitution of the Commonwealth and of Britain herself.

The development of these powers in the island legislatures was probably to some extent a result of the great legislative hustle that recent years have witnessed, not only in the Channel Islands, but in all civilised countries. In the islands this legislation has been in part designed to bring their law more into conformity with modern conditions, as in the law of inheritance and in matrimonial law; in part it has been concerned with social legislation, that is education, public health, accident insurance, and so on. In both respects the islands have done much and still have much to do. If they were accused of backwardness in social legislation, they would reply very properly that they have had no serious problem of poverty for a very long time, and that the organisation of their main industry, market gardening, is such that a very high proportion of the work-people have a good chance of being their own masters one day, a prospect which Channel Islanders, certainly, may find more attractive than any amount of social insurance. A land of smallholdings and free enterprise (in the nineteenth century sense) has bred independence and self-reliance in its people. Whether these virtues, with their attendant defects, are those which will best meet conditions in the future remains to be seen.

Lastly the States, both in Jersey and in Guernsey, have constructed a modern administration which is wholly responsible to the legislature. That it should be the creation of the States is ultimately due to the bailiff's victory over the governor in the seventeenth century; for, whereas in every other British dominion the executive derives its authority from the crown or its representative, whether constitutionally responsible to an elected assembly or not, in the Channel Islands the administration derives its authority from the States. The permanent civil service, both in Jersey and in Guernsey, is under the immediate control and direction of committees of the States. A committee is appointed for each

specific purpose, some quite temporary, others more or less permanent. Thus, to take a few examples from Guernsey in 1940, where there were, *inter alia*, a finance committee, an education council, a board of health, an air raid precautions committee, an island hospital committee, a telephone department, a committee preparing reforms in the law of succession, a water board, a police committee, and so on. When the dates and the circumstances of the creation of each of these committees have been discovered, and when it has been ascertained whether this system arose spontaneously in the islands or was derived from similar institutions elsewhere, it may be possible to trace the development of modern government in the Channel Islands with some precision.

Since these committees direct the civil service they control the expenditure of public money. With the exception of revenue from the crown lands and rights, over which the States have no control and which is mostly spent in the islands in the form of the salaries of the bailiff (still the "king's bailiff"), the law officers of the crown, etc., and with the exception also of certain parish rates, public moneys are raised entirely by taxation voted by the States, States loans, stamp duties, etc. Financially the islands are quite independent.

In so short an essay it is difficult to tell the whole story and dishonest to pretend that the whole story has been told. The favourable circumstances which made the growth of Channel Island self-government possible have indeed received a bare mention; but the part which the occasional interventions of the English Government have played has necessarily been wholly omitted—chiefly because it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to say whether the initiative in each instance has come from Westminster or from the islands. Similarly the example of Westminster, which may well have been a more powerful formative influence than its precepts, cannot be evaluated for lack of a comparative study of English and Channel Island institutions. Economic conditions have been left out of account. But when all due allowance has been made for these unknown quantities, there remains no reasonable doubt that the law of Jersey and the law of Guernsey, their representative institutions, their modern administration, that is, the essentials of their government, are substantially the islanders' own achievement. Channel Islanders may regard their institutions of government with affection, even with pride; but they will be false to their own traditions if they regard the future of their government in a spirit of complacent antiquarianism or narrow traditionalism. The work of modification and adaptation to changing conditions must go on continually, and the islanders have no greater boon to ask of fortune than to be allowed to get on with the job.

III. CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE ISLANDS

THE CHANNEL ISLANDS HAVE ALWAYS FORMED A GEOGRAPHICAL ENTITY. SINCE the separation of continental Normandy from Britain they have also formed a unique political entity. The loyalties of the islanders have, however, probably always been directed each to his own island rather than to the group, and they have seldom appreciated the advantages to be obtained from common action among a group of people having most of their vital interests in common.

There is, moreover, a friendly but deep-seated rivalry between Jersey and Guernsey which arises from certain innate differences of which we have hints throughout historic and perhaps even prehistoric times. Guernsey's interests have long been more maritime and commercial; she has been more progressive in politics, more puritanical in religion and has absorbed more of English language and culture. Jersey's interests have been more purely agricultural; feudalism has been deeper-rooted and there has been, perhaps, a stronger sense

of the value of established institutions in politics and religion. While her loyalty has, since the political separation from Normandy, been wholeheartedly to England, she has retained closer linguistic and cultural ties with the Continent. During the past century these differences have become less marked but they have by no means disappeared.

As we consider the possibilities of future co-operation between the islands it is well that we should have in mind the past history of such co-operation and, at times, the lack of it.

OFFICIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ISLANDS

When first the islands were separated from continental Normandy they were governed for the king of England by a single Warden. In 1279 Edward I granted the bailiffs of Jersey and Guernsey a common seal for sealing local contracts, but by about 1300 the administration of the two bailiwicks had become so much separated that each had to have a seal of its own.

In 1331, shortly after this administrative separation, there occurred the first important known instance of co-operation between the people of Jersey and Guernsey, when the leading men of both islands met at the Priory of St. Helier and swore to maintain their ancient rights and privileges which were being challenged by the itinerant justices sent over by Edward III. It is impossible to say how much their protest contributed to the final confirmation of these privileges in 1341.

In the administrative sphere—and we have little knowledge of any other sphere—the fourteenth century was marked by the gradually widening separation of the two bailiwicks, and long before Tudor times each had become, in effect, a separate country with a high degree of autonomy and dealing separately with the English Government.

This state of affairs has continued ever since, but there have been a few occasions when joint action has been taken in external matters, and there was one period when something approaching an internal unity of the whole group of islands was achieved. This was the period immediately following the Reformation in the reign of Elizabeth. Owing to their language and situation, the islands received the teachings of the Reformation from French refugees who brought with them the doctrines and methods of Geneva. Thus the earliest method of reformed church government was Presbyterian.

According to Le Quesne's *Constitutional History of Jersey*, each parish was ruled by a Consistory composed of the Minister, Elders and Deacons, who did not confine themselves to church affairs but kept a stern eye upon the manners and behaviour of the inhabitants of their district, far beyond present-day conceptions of the limits of religious discipline.

In each island the church was governed and ministers were appointed by the local colloquy consisting of the governor, bailiffs, jurats, ministers and elders of the churches. Over all was the synod, the ecclesiastical legislature of the islands, held alternately in Jersey and Guernsey once in two years, or oftener if necessary, by a deputation of ministers and elders from the colloquies.

During the reign of Elizabeth this organisation became so powerful that it came very near to supplanting the civil government; and it was still strong enough in Guernsey in the 1640's to ensure that the island should declare for parliament in the Civil War. Its influence was probably never quite as great in Jersey as in Guernsey.

From the Restoration to the end of the First World War, we find no important example of co-operation in external affairs. The Channel Islands Exhibition of

1851, further discussed below, is an example of co-operation between the islands but depended more on private initiative than on state action. As an example of non-co-operation we may note the squabble as to whether Sark should be included in the Bailiwick of Jersey or of Guernsey.

The period between the world wars was marked by an increasing degree of co-operation between the States of Jersey and of Guernsey. Probably the most important subject of their joint discussions was the question of an "Imperial Contribution."^{*} In 1923 the British Government requested that the islands of Jersey and of Guernsey should make very considerable annual payments for an indefinite period to the Imperial Exchequer, as a contribution towards the cost of Imperial defence. The amounts of the suggested payments were regarded in both islands as being financially impracticable, and important constitutional issues were also involved. We are not now concerned with the relative merits of the arguments adduced by the British Government and by the States of the islands, but rather with the methods adopted by the States in their negotiations with Britain.

Three months after the subject was first raised, a committee of the States of Guernsey visited Jersey in order to confer with a similar committee in that island. Some words spoken at one of their conferences by the late Sir Havilland de Saussmarez, Bailiff of Guernsey, deserve quotation as a clear statement of an ideal of co-operation. He said, "We are met together to deal with large questions which confront both bailiwicks equally. From the first we have been in touch with one another. Incorporated in the first resolutions passed by our respective States was a decision to consult and act together We have both seen that we should act in concert and that our response to the questions raised by H.M.'s Government should, as far as possible, be one; and on behalf of this delegation of the States of Guernsey, I can assure you that we have come filled with the intention to co-operate with you loyally and to the best of our power."

Unfortunately, in this instance the preliminary arrangements for the conference had been inadequate, and while the Guernsey delegates came prepared for a full and detailed discussion, the Jersey committee had expected only an informal talk to be followed at a later date by a more serious conference. Shortly after this the Jersey States, acting independently, passed a resolution dealing with the whole question, which precluded further co-operation for the time, and the projected conference did not take place. Thus for the next three years the two bailiwicks pursued separate negotiations with Britain, but in 1926, following the publication of the report of the Privy Council Committee appointed to deal with the subject, the States of Jersey and of Guernsey again came together and thenceforward acted in close concert, both in the final settlement of the Imperial contribution question and in the succeeding negotiations with the British Government on the prevention of "tax dodging" by persons resident and companies registered in the islands.

The Governments of Britain, Jersey and Guernsey were all agreed upon the necessity of preventing tax dodging, and the cordiality of these discussions inaugurated a period, lasting up to the outbreak of the present war, in which relations between Jersey and Guernsey and between the islands and Britain were perhaps more friendly than they had ever been before. The islands showed themselves ready, at some sacrifice to themselves, to contribute to the solution of the British unemployment problem.[†] The inauguration of airports and an

* Most of this information has been obtained from *Guernsey and the Imperial Contribution*, by Sir Havilland de Saussmarez (States of Guernsey 1930).

† In Jersey this involved the displacement of Breton seasonal agricultural labour by English workers, mostly far less skilled in potato digging and lifting than the Bretons.

air-mail service was dealt with in a similar spirit of mutual helpfulness, as were many other matters, such as protection against the Colorado beetle.

Soon after the outbreak of the present war, the States of Jersey and of Guernsey each, as in the previous war, voluntarily adopted military conscription on the British model, suspending the constitutional privilege of Channel Islanders of not being compelled to fight outside their own island except to protect the Person of the King. This act was felt to be one of loyalty to Britain, designed to protect her rather than themselves from an enemy still far from the gates of either.

The full story of what happened in 1940 when the enemy was indeed at the gates is not yet known, but there does not appear to have been any attempt by the States of Jersey and of Guernsey to follow any common line of action—though in this case it must be admitted that the speed of events left little time for negotiation, having regard to the complete absence of any permanent machinery for the purpose. Certain it is that, in the outcome, each of the four larger islands adopted its individual solution to the pressing problem. Alderney's population left *en masse*. Nearly half the population of Guernsey departed, including nearly all the school children with their teachers. Only about a fifth of the people of Jersey left, and there was no systematic evacuation of the schools. Finally, scarcely a soul left Sark.

UNOFFICIAL CO-OPERATION

While co-operation between the islands as political entities has been rare and, usually, incomplete, a number of organisations active in two or more of the islands have brought about a high degree of non-official co-operation in relation to particular interests, and have led to numerous personal friendships between individuals in separate islands and, in some cases, to a sense of corporate unity related to the archipelago as a whole. It must be realised, however, that, to the majority of the people in each island, residents in the other islands were strangers and the bonds between the islands were consequently slender.

The organisations fostering co-operation may be classed as:—(a) Religious, (b) Cultural and Political, and (c) Sporting.

It is probably in religious affairs that the nearest approach to unity has been achieved, but there is an interesting contrast to be observed here between the two most numerous religious bodies, the Anglican and Methodist Churches.

The Church of England has an Inter-decanal Conference which deals with matters affecting the islands, or rather the deaneries, in common, but the principal level of integration within the Diocese of Winchester is that of the individual deaneries, that of Guernsey being co-extensive with the bailiwick. The existing degree of separation between the deaneries can perhaps be correlated with their history, for the church in Jersey came over earlier and more nearly completely from the Presbyterian to the Episcopalian tradition.

In the Methodist Church, on the other hand, the next major level of integration above that of the circuits, of which there are several in Jersey and Guernsey, is that of the Channel Islands District with a chairman stationed in Guernsey. The island Methodist Councils are *ad hoc* bodies with few administrative functions. Probably as a result of this, the Methodists are the most closely integrated body of persons in the archipelago considered as a whole, and there appear to be more friendships between individuals and families living in different islands among Methodists than among any other section of the community. It is interesting to note, in passing, the formal resemblance of the Methodist organisation to that of the established Presbyterian Church of the sixteenth century.

In cultural and intellectual affairs numerous contacts are maintained between the islands. Most of these have arisen in the past hundred years and the year 1851 is an outstanding one in the history of inter-insular co-operation, for it was then that the Channel Islands Exhibition took place. It was held in the grounds and buildings of the newly established Victoria College, Jersey, and the people not only of Jersey but of Guernsey contributed loyally and liberally of their products in great variety and so ensured its remarkable success as a social, cultural and commercial event.

The Eisteddfod, a Celtic institution, has, during the present century, been introduced into Jersey and Guernsey and has established itself as an important feature in island life. Every year the Eisteddfod of each island is attended by numerous performers from the other. Apart from this there are also occasional visits of parties of amateur entertainers of various kinds from one island to the other.

The Société Jersiaise and Société Guernesiaise are learned societies specialising in local philology, folklore, history, archaeology and natural history. They include among their members most of the persons of high intellectual attainments in the islands. They maintain close touch with one another, and through them is focused a great deal of social and intellectual co-operation between the islands.

Scholarships at Exeter, Jesus and Pembroke Colleges, Oxford are open to competition by boys from all the islands, and there can be little doubt that much in the way of intercourse between the islands has arisen from friendships begun at Oxford, not only in the social and intellectual spheres, but extending to the churches and the States of the islands.

Most islanders probably think of inter-island relations chiefly in the terms of sports and games. In nearly all of the common British sports there are competitions and keen rivalry between the islands. Most of these competitions, and in particular the numerous matches between teams of schoolboys and schoolgirls, undoubtedly have a good effect in promoting inter-island friendship. Apart from schoolboy matches, association football is in a rather special position. Jersey, Guernsey and especially Alderney have all adopted it as their principal national game, and in the annual matches for the "Muratti" Cup, and particularly in the Jersey-Guernsey match, is focused all the traditional rivalry between the islands. Each visiting team is accompanied by a special excursion of hundreds of supporters. The partisanship associated with the Jersey-Guernsey match can only be compared for intensity and vociferousness with that associated with such events as the annual rugby football match between Cardiff and Swansea. While it is desirable that island rivalry should find such a relatively innocuous outlet, the quality of the partisanship is, perhaps, a symptom of the lack of true sympathy existing between the majority of the people of the two islands.

CO-OPERATION DURING THE PRESENT WAR

The present trials which the people of all the islands are suffering in common has undoubtedly aroused a new spirit of mutual understanding and appreciation. Among the refugees in Great Britain insular distinctions have begun to disappear. The Channel Islands Refugees' Committee with representatives from Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney works for the common good of all refugees. The old-established Jersey Society in London has opened its meetings to refugees from all the islands, and nearly one hundred local Channel Island Societies, open to all islanders, have been established in different parts of the country. In the larger reception centres, welfare committees of these societies co-operate with the main Refugees' Committee in assisting those in need. Recently groups of islanders from Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney have met on various occasions

to study the problems which are likely to arise when the islands are liberated, and all who have taken part have been conscious of a strong mutual desire to help all the islands, without distinction, to re-establish themselves.

In the islands themselves there must inevitably be a deep consciousness of unity in tribulation. The Germans, however, appear to have treated the two bailiwicks for civil purposes as separate states, and there is no question of any unity having been imposed from above. A joint purchasing commission did, however, visit France in 1940, and a similar procedure has probably been followed several times since then. A party of Guernsey amateur entertainers is known to have visited Jersey. Guernsey people have, as in peace time, spent holidays in Sark and Jersey people in Guernsey. There is no generally available evidence to show whether the total amount of social and commercial intercourse between the islands has increased or decreased as compared with normal times.

We may sum up the historical picture by saying that co-operation between the islands has been fitful and sometimes ineffectual, but for the last hundred years, and particularly for the last twenty, it has been increasing in frequency and effectiveness, culminating in the present co-operation between islanders in Great Britain, where something approaching a fusion of island interests, though by no means of identities, has been achieved.

COMMON PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE

After the liberation the islands will have to face many problems in a greatly changed and disturbed world, and nearly every one of these problems will be common to all the islands. It will, therefore, be well for them to face them in common. In internal affairs, consultation should be the primary aim, with common machinery only if the situation should urgently demand it. The immediate internal problems will largely be the same for all the islands and in facing them a pooling of the knowledge and wisdom of the States and their advisers should prove to be of great value.

When the immediate tasks of liberation have been dealt with there will come the process of adaptation to a variety of social, political and economic changes, some peculiar to the islands, some common to the whole of western Europe or the world. Each of these changes will impinge similarly on the two larger islands, and will demand consultation as to the action to be taken. External affairs will, however, demand not merely consultation but effective common action. The predominant factor here is the relationship with Great Britain. Changes both in the islands and in Britain will probably involve a good deal of adjustment on both sides to meet new circumstances. This will be a crucial test of the statesmanship of the islands' States and of the suitability of our established institutions. There is, however, every reason to hope that wise solutions will be reached, if there is a spirit of accommodation and understanding of each other's point of view. If the islands can together develop a common outlook and a common accord as to the adjustments which they are willing to make, this will not only considerably facilitate negotiations but will enable their point of view to command much more consideration than if each island followed its own peculiar and wholly self-centred policy.

In negotiations with important British commercial interests it is to be hoped that a similar spirit of accommodation will prevail, but if matters arise where a firm stand is necessary this will be much more effective pursued in common than separately.

Their geographical nearness to France would of itself impose upon the Channel Islands some concern about the future of France. If, as we must hope, relations between Great Britain and the post-war governments of France are friendly, the

islands will be able also to resume the friendly relationships of pre-war days, while their ties with both England and France may perhaps make them a bridge and a common meeting ground to assist in resolving those hindrances, which will undoubtedly exist, to a complete trustfulness between the two larger countries. Moreover, if, as everyone hopes, financial barriers between the countries of Europe are lowered after the war, social and commercial intercourse between the islands and France may become closer than ever. The problem of France will perhaps be more important for Jersey than for the other islands, but it is clearly a subject which, if necessary, the islands ought to consider together both in their own interests and those of Britain.

COMMUNICATIONS

Communication with England is a vital interest of the islands, but it is one where they have sometimes failed to reap the benefits of co-operation. Even when two completely independent railway companies ran boat services to the islands, the latter probably failed to secure the best possible terms because they could not settle their mutual rivalries. In the future one interest, representing the Southern and Great Western Railway Companies, will control all the previously existing mailboat and air services. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the islands should act together in negotiations with the railway companies and in negotiations with the British Government about communications, and not allow possible small advantages to be gained by one island or the other to prejudice their common action. They will do well to bear in mind the example of Guernsey, with its established tradition of internal co-operation, where to circumvent a shipping monopoly the growers founded their own shipping company.

That the islands can act together in such matters is shown by the case of the airports and the establishment of an air-mail, in connection with which the Governments of Britain, Jersey and Guernsey co-operated admirably, and much to their joint advantage.

What has been said about communications applies almost equally to many other matters in which the islands may have to deal with powerful British commercial interests.

CO-OPERATION IN OTHER EXTERNAL MATTERS

While there is reason to hope that, after the war, bounteous crops anywhere will be regarded with gratification rather than as a nuisance, we must not expect complete elimination of competition for markets for products of the soil.

There has been little competition in the past between the products of Jersey and Guernsey, but each had to compete with foreign producers and each will, after the war, have to compete with English products which will have largely "filled the gap" left by the temporary elimination of the islands from the economic sphere of Britain. To what extent this will impose changes upon the agriculture of the islands cannot be foreseen, but it may be assumed that, to some extent, they will continue to export the same products as before. These all (tomatoes, grapes, early potatoes) fall broadly into the category of semi-luxury foods, and it would probably be both possible and advantageous to establish some form of joint representation in England for the products of the islands.

The producers were, in the past, far too greatly dependent upon middlemen, and in Jersey in particular the markets fluctuated excessively as a result. This last abuse has been largely eliminated by price-control exercised on behalf of the States of Jersey, but consideration ought to be given to the setting up of a

scheme of co-operative marketing, which might well be a joint one for Jersey and Guernsey. Owing to their mutual interest in transport facilities of all kinds there would have to be constant contact between representatives of any marketing scheme and of the body concerned with passenger transport.

In advertising themselves, the islands would benefit greatly by mutual co-operation. The individual islands have, in the past, advertised their attractions to the British public, and advertisements have also been issued by third parties seeking benefit from the visitor traffic. As there is a great resemblance, on paper at least, between the attractions of one island and another, the advertisements have to some extent competed with one another and to a corresponding extent cancelled one another out. Thus part of the effort expended in advertisement has been wasted. Moreover, some of the advertisements, especially some of those issued other than by official local bodies, have not tended to attract the most desirable class of visitors.

The very fact of competition which makes co-operation desirable, will also make it difficult and particularly since the names of the individual islands will always have more publicity value than the rather prosaic term "Channel Islands." Thus, in any joint scheme, the representatives of each island will have to acquiesce in the claims of the others, both to the possession of those advantages which all have in common such as cliffs and climate, and also of those which are peculiar to one island and are, therefore, potential if not actual sources of envy. It will, indeed, be desirable to stress the unique features of the separate islands so as to appeal to the widest possible variety of tastes.

A co-operative publicity scheme ought, however, to do much more than attract ordinary visitors. It should set out to attract the best type of visitor, and not temporary visitors only but permanent residents. It should also in a much broader sense set out to create goodwill towards the islands and their products. The goodwill of the British public, and especially of the thinking members of the public, towards the Channel Islands may well prove to be very important for their welfare in the precarious days which will follow the war.

CO-OPERATION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS

While the desirability of some degree of co-operation regarding the external affairs of the islands is beyond question, the need for common action in internal matters is much more problematical for such action would impinge much more closely upon the existing administrative systems.

The fields with which we are chiefly concerned are those of government administration, and of public medical and other scientific and technical services. In favour of co-operation in all these fields, and perhaps in others as well, it may be said that the Channel Islands, with a normal population of about 100,000, form the ideal size of administrative unit. This may one day be a good reason for a considerable degree of federation but the present is probably not a good time for such a step, for many weighty reasons. Of all the fields mentioned, it may be said that integration of the islands with one another tends towards integration of them with the United Kingdom. Of the sphere of government and administration it must furthermore be said that the strength of the autonomy of the islands lies in the manner in which the two separate bailiwicks have each evolved their slightly different machinery and learned to use it. Any far-reaching interference with these separate integrations at a critical time such as the present is, therefore, greatly to be deprecated. Any common administrative machinery which might be set up should be limited to that needed for the control of the common services which it might be found desirable to institute.

In medical, scientific and technical matters it must be realised that each of the larger islands will always need its officers on the spot to deal with day-to-day problems. If, in any of these fields, it should be thought desirable to appoint an expert for the whole of the Channel Islands, the reason would in most cases be either that by pooling resources they could pay a larger salary and so secure a better qualified man, or that the wider field of experience offered would of itself be an attraction. In such matters, however, the field of experience offered by all the islands is not significantly greater than that of one of them, while if problems should arise requiring the attention of a specialist whose services were more expensive than Jersey or Guernsey alone could afford to command permanently, it would probably be best in every case to get the advice of a consultant of the highest qualifications and really wide experience rather than attempt to employ permanently a somewhat inferior man. It would in general only be in cases where the problems of the Channel Islands as a whole differed significantly from those of the United Kingdom that common experts could usefully be employed.

MEDICAL SERVICES

In the absence of a daily air service to England, a good case could be made out for the establishment of a common pathological service and possibly other common medical services. Indeed, an attempt was made, without success, some years before the war, to start a common biochemical service for Jersey and Guernsey. Now, however, that specimens can be rapidly sent to London for highly specialised tests, it is best that each larger island should run its own routine pathological laboratory. In the matter of securing the services of medical consultants, too, the air service brings the islands almost as near to England as they are to one another.

It may be, however, that as a result of the German occupation the islands will for some time present special medical problems, and to deal with these it may be necessary to set up a temporary common medical service. Moreover, far-reaching and detailed plans should be made for immediate common action in dealing with emergencies arising from the occupation or from the islands' nearness to a possibly disease-stricken Continent. For instance, should a single case of typhus appear in any of the islands, an immediate state of emergency should be declared in all of them, and the necessary steps taken to detect and prevent its spread.

Even though there should be no need after the immediate post-war period for any common organisation, definite provision should be made for constant consultation between the public medical officers of Jersey and Guernsey, and the resident physicians of Alderney and Sark. Informal consultations have no doubt been in existence for many years.

VETERINARY SERVICES

The veterinary services of the islands are mainly concerned with cattle, and with regard to these the problems of the two bailiwicks are almost the same, for each is the unique primary home of a pedigree breed which must, for the sake mainly of the export market, be kept free from disease and genetically pure. There does not seem to be any urgent need for any high degree of integration between the veterinary services but, as with the medical services, provision should be made for information and consultation in case of epizootics, especially foot and mouth disease, which may be a more serious problem than before the war.

AGRICULTURAL SERVICES

Jersey and Guernsey maintain highly specialised types of farming and growing, each making extensive use of artificial fertilisers, sprays and other chemical aids.

Whereas, however, Jersey has a well-developed agricultural advisory service, Guernsey, with the more highly specialised methods of culture, has none, though individual growers have recourse to English laboratories and, informally, to that of Jersey as well as, in the last few years, to a commercial service based on the methods used in Jersey. While the laboratory tests and types of advice needed are substantially the same in the two islands, it will probably be best for each to run its own service.

There is, however, one service in which all the islands should co-operate as a matter of extreme urgency. This is the prevention, and possibly the elimination, of infestation by the Colorado beetle. This pest will certainly have spread almost unchecked during the war to the whole of the French coasts facing the islands, and it may well have established itself on some or all of them. So long as it exists on any island, and for some time afterwards, it is certain that Britain will refuse to accept produce from that island. As the beetle is capable of flying or being blown over wide stretches of sea, the problem is one which demands common treatment, and it would probably be well for the islands to establish a common service to deal with it. It might be desirable, with the permission of the French authorities, and on the analogy of the African international locust service, to station observers on the French coast. Certainly the Colorado beetle services of the various islands should be more closely integrated than before the war, when Guernsey instituted prophylactic spraying with arsenate of lead, but the Jersey farmers, after a referendum, refused to do so until the beetle appeared. One did appear, but the outbreak was successfully checked.

In other routine scientific and technical services, such as gas, electricity and water supplies and road construction, there is little to recommend common action. There might, however, be some special problems arising out of the occupation, such as how to deal with the fortifications, where a single expert might well be called in by the islands jointly. If any substantial number of the joint services and forms of co-operation contemplated in this chapter are instituted, it will be necessary to devise some means of administering them. This must be such as to interfere as little as possible with the existing separate autonomies, and yet to allow considerable flexibility in day-to-day working.

It is suggested that a small Channel Islands Council be set up, consisting of representatives of the States of Jersey, Guernsey and possibly Alderney. This Council would employ the minimum necessary office staff and would have full administrative control of the common services. Before any given service was set up the Council would draft the necessary legislation to be submitted to the States of each island. It might be necessary to refer points back for amendment, but finally, when the several States had passed the necessary identical acts and these had been approved by His Majesty in Council, the service would become the sole responsibility of the Council. Before the scheme could be made to work many points would require careful consideration, which we need not discuss in detail here, such as the procedure to be followed in case of dispute between the police of one island and the Council's servants. We have already mentioned the possibility of joint representation of the islands in dealing with the British Government and with other British interests. To this end it might be advantageous to maintain a permanent Channel Islands Office in London.

More important, however, than any set scheme, is the disposition of the islanders to work together, and of this, as we have seen, there has been increasing evidence in the years immediately preceding and during this war. Without such a disposition the most elaborate scheme will break down. With it, even a most

imperfect scheme will be able to work and to eliminate its imperfections in the course of its working.

IV. AGRICULTURE

I. AGRICULTURE IN JERSEY

SINCE THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY IN JERSEY, THE island's main economic activity has been agriculture, although since the last war the tourist industry has assumed an increasing importance. The export of potatoes began about 1850 and has since remained the most important crop. Roughly 15,000 vergées, or about one-third of the island's cultivated area, were devoted to it each year (2½ vergées = 1 acre). Since the turn of the century outdoor tomato cultivation has made rapid strides and has become an alternative though much less important main crop, also a second crop in the earliest districts, planted immediately after potatoes have been lifted. The export of other produce is of little importance.

Mixed farming is the general practice. A herd of cattle is regarded as a useful source of regular income through the disposal of milk and butter. It also brings in an occasional welcome lump sum when an animal is sold for export. Just as valuable, however, is the animal manure which every farmer and local landowner regards as essential for maintaining the high fertility of the soil.

The old-time cultivation of parsnips for feeding cattle caused the Jersey farmer to plough deeply and this practice has become traditional. Together with the generous use of artificial manures, the spreading of *vraic* (seaweed) and the well established practice of alternate husbandry, there has been provided virtually ideal conditions for potato cultivation. Some areas have, however, produced potatoes for 60 years or more without rotation. The orchards, mostly producing cider-making apples, which at one time covered thousands of acres, have to all intents and purposes disappeared.

The island is intensively cultivated. In 1939 there were about 1,800 separate holdings. These rarely exceed 70 vergées (30 acres) and are usually much less. The farmer's wife and family work on the farm, although less during the past twenty years than formerly. Seasonal labour, imported and local, is employed and it has long been the custom for farmers to pool their horses and farm implements with neighbours and relatives for harvesting and ploughing operations, *la grande chethue* being a festive occasion.

In Jersey the area under glass is relatively very small (1931—84 vergées) and with a few notable exceptions, "growing" after the Guernsey manner is chiefly carried on as a side line by progressive general farmers with capital to spare. Most of the glasshouses are watered from private wells and springs, being outside the area of supply of the waterworks. Individual growers, especially on high ground, have encountered difficulties in getting enough water, but on the coastal plains where most of the glasshouses are found, underground water is probably more plentiful than in almost any part of Guernsey. The problems of competition between neighbouring wells and of salting which exist in Guernsey practically never arise in Jersey with the present volume of pumping, except in the built-up area of St. Helier. If in the future a vast increase in the glasshouse growing industry (or in any other industry such as the visitor traffic) should demand a large increase in the public water supply, there remain a number of large streams which could probably easily be dammed and made available.

(The Jersey Waterworks are, however, unlike Guernsey, at present not owned or controlled by the States but by a private company.)

The farming community, even more so than the town dwellers, are a frugal folk. To own a farm is the ambition of every farmer, ownership passing on to the eldest son under wise inheritance laws which seek to preserve existing farm units. Only a very small number of farms are owned other than by farmers or retired farmers.

A high degree of traditional skill and the practice of already advanced methods of agriculture has not prevented the Jersey farmer from taking advantage of the recent progress of agricultural science. The States experimental farm at Trinity was used to an increasing extent and the number of soil analyses carried out annually was remarkably high and steadily increasing. Tractors have been used more and more since the last war, and although the horse remains in use on most farms, the motor lorry and the motor car are now part of the farmer's general equipment. Agricultural machinery to suit local conditions was designed locally, the deep plough being exclusively of local manufacture.

The farmer's floating capital per acre before the war was higher than in almost any county in England. The standard of cultivation was as high and therefore as costly as the best market garden practice in England. An acre of potatoes would cost about £55 to grow; an acre of tomatoes about £100. The majority of farmers sold their produce to local merchants who would pack and export it at their own risk. The farmer would buy supplies of forage, fertilisers, feeding stuffs, etc., from the merchant often against the next season's crop. Merchants' credit was a recognised part of Jersey finance.

The Royal Jersey Agricultural and Horticultural Society is a flourishing body. Through the Jersey Herd Book it has brought about wide co-operation on matters connected with cattle breeding. Co-operative dairies have worked well but co-operative schemes for buying farmers' supplies and for the marketing of produce have had only limited success.

Land values in Jersey before 1940 were as high as the best Lincolnshire early districts are to-day with their high war-time figures. Rents varied from £5 10s. a vergée (£12 10s. an acre). Farm buildings are for the most part granite built and were maintained in a very good condition. A Jersey farm of 25 acres would have as extensive buildings as an English farm of 200 acres.

The prosperity of agriculture in Jersey rested on the ability to export early potatoes to the open English market before English earlies were ready and to export outdoor grown tomatoes during August to November when English glasshouse supplies were on the wane. An island of 45 square miles which exported an average of 60,000 tons of potatoes as well as something like 25,000 tons of tomatoes a year and at the same time kept a cattle population of about 10,000 head was making the best possible use of its land. But at the same time it made itself dependent upon imports for the larger part of its own consumption needs.

The island was self-supporting in milk and probably in pork, but it imported butter, eggs, bacon, beef, some fruit and vegetables, and about 2,000 tons of English main crop potatoes each year for consumption in the winter. Potato and tomato growing had almost completely ousted cereals in the period between the wars. Concentrated cattle foods such as oil cakes were imported as well as some oats, hay and practically all supplies of straw, much of this coming from Scandinavia. All requirements of artificial fertilisers—some 15,000 tons a year, valued at over £100,000—were imported from Britain. There was no worth-while supplies of local timber. All timber required for agriculture and

for the export trade—staves and hoops for potato barrels, sets for potato and tomato boxes and chips, stakes for tomato plants, canes, etc.—was imported. St. Helier, with its population of 28,000 compared with 22,000 in the non-urban areas, was not only the seat of island government but also a market town and an import and export centre for the agricultural industry. The success or failure of a season's crop was felt throughout the island, though less in St. Helier than in the country since the town was largely supported by "rentiers" receiving incomes from external sources.

POTATOES

During the ten years 1929-1938, Jersey's potato exports averaged about 60,000 tons a year, the average value during the same period being about £600,000 yearly. 1935 was a high record with a tonnage of about 88,000 valued at little short of a million pounds. On the basis of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. consumption daily per person, Jersey's exports represented about six days' supply of potatoes for England as a whole.

The crop is lifted and exported mainly during the last two weeks in May, the whole of June and the early part of July. Jersey's crop was preceded by that from Spain and the Canaries but the only English areas capable of producing early potatoes at this time are Cornwall, South Pembrokeshire and the Gower peninsula, with Kent, Bedfordshire and Lincolnshire able to compete during the month of June if the weather has been good.

The early Jersey was a recognised good quality potato distinguished by a very high standard of grading and packing. In some years the crop suffered from "blight" when this fungus caused serious losses and badly affected the market. This was in the process of being overcome through a rigorous system of crop inspection and control methods based on research work carried out locally. The "Jersey Royal" or "International Kidney" is the variety grown, virtually without exception. It has been grown in Jersey for about 60 years without degenerating and this virtue of resistance to degenerative virus disease has enabled the farmer to save his seed year after year and to avoid the importation of fresh seed with the attendant risks of also importing pests into the island. The Jersey Royal is virtually immune from wart disease and a law existed to prevent the importation of non-immune varieties. Despite restrictions, Potato Eelworm had crept in and was causing some uneasiness. In 1939 the Colorado Beetle pest, so serious in France, made a short-lived and isolated appearance in the island. Timely and vigorous action cleaned up the outbreak. Rigid restrictions existed to prevent the beetle being brought over by passengers and goods from France.

The potato marketing system was probably unique. The grower brought his crops to St. Helier to be weighed on the public weighbridge and the open area around the weighbridge constituted the "market." The grower would sell his load of produce to the merchant who offered him the highest price per cental (100 lbs.). It would be unloaded into barrels or sacks at the merchant's nearby store and the grower could, if he wished, collect the value of his load in cash. One of the disadvantages of the system had been the wide fluctuations in the prices paid by the merchant to the grower, prices being governed by the firm orders which the merchant received from England, by shipping facilities, by the volume of produce coming on to the market—itself governed by weather, crop, etc.—and other trade factors. In recent years a "Pricing Committee," set up by the States, consisting of members of the States Agricultural Committee and representatives of merchants and farmers met each day during the potato

exporting season to fix minimum local prices on the basis of demand in the English markets. The system worked admirably.

Before the last war and for about ten years afterwards, a feature of the potato season was the importation from Brittany of seasonal labour for lifting the potato crop. This employment was much sought after by the Bretons who returned home with a considerable sum of money earned as wages. They worked literally from dawn till dusk and were ideal for this arduous work. Many Bretons remained in the island to become farmers themselves and within a generation or two became absorbed into the island's life. In recent years, in an effort to help relieve unemployment in the United Kingdom, Breton labour was replaced by imported English labour, a good proportion of Irishmen also coming to the island for the potato season. The wages paid to imported seasonal labour amounted to about £100,000 each year.

TOMATOES

The cultivation of the tomato in Jersey has made considerable progress since the last war. In 1931 there were nearly 4,000 vergées under cultivation. This had been enlarged considerably since then. The crop varies considerably in weight and value from year to year according to weather conditions since, unlike that in Guernsey, it is mainly grown outdoors. In the few years before this war the exports reached about 30,000 tons but averaged rather less than this figure. When grown as a main crop, produce becomes available during August, early or late in the month according to the weather during June and July. The beginning of the second crop—following upon a potato crop—joins the main crop during September and continues during October and even into November. A saleable yield of about 6 tons to the vergée (14 tons to the acre) is usually obtained, but towards the end of the season there is sometimes a considerable loss in unmatured or diseased fruit. The crop is produced more cheaply than in the south of England. Jersey tomatoes thus become available on the English market at a price which puts them within reach of everybody in the country, even the poorest.

By no means all the soil in Jersey is suitable for tomato growing. Potato blight also attacks tomatoes and the crop suffers from several diseases of its own. Spraying with sulphate of copper ("Bordeaux mixture") is general and the labour involved in producing the crop is considerable.

The crop is marketed mainly through merchants in the same way as the potato crop but no price regulation exists. To an increasing extent, growers were packing their own produce for export and sending it on consignment to fruit merchants in the main English markets. It was by no means definite which system of marketing, taking all factors into account, gave the grower the best nett returns. The small but increasing amount of indoor-grown produce was all exported by the growers themselves owing to the lack of a local market before the month of August.

Small plants existed locally both for canning tomatoes and new potatoes and for manufacturing tomato sauce. The offtake of each was negligible and in view of the seasonal nature of the trade it was still doubtful how far a local canning industry could be developed in view of the considerable overhead charges involved.

CATTLE

The high reputation of the Jersey cow is proverbial. Careful selective breeding over many generations has preserved and advanced its four main features—the small delicate build and consequent low food intake, the high milk yield,

the high butter fat content of the milk, and the yellow colouring of the milk. The fact that the breed tends to lose its distinctive characteristics when bred elsewhere over a period of 50 or 60 years, creates a constant demand for fresh stock. For the past 30 years well over 1,000 head of cattle were exported each year mainly to the U.S.A., England and Canada. This compares with a normal cattle population of about 10,000. In 1931, owing to reduced exports, the cattle population reached over 12,500. When it is remembered that the importation of cattle is prohibited, it may seem that to allow such a large number of the best stock to be exported every year would eventually have harmful repercussions. This has not been the case and there are several reasons why the standard of the Jersey cow has remained so high.

Only bulls from cows of good type and production are kept for breeding. These bulls are examined as yearlings by a committee of judges appointed by the Jersey Herd Book, who at the same time examine the dam of the bull in question and decide whether the bull should be kept for breeding. If it is decided that it should not, it is destroyed immediately. The services of a selected bull are available to all breeders and the island being small the best bulls are within reach of every breeder. Stud fees are low. Bulls kept for breeding are not exported until they have reached the age of three or four years. Breeders will not, as a rule, dispose of good females until they have produced one or two daughters.

An important factor which has enabled breeders in Jersey to continue exportation and replacement is the island's freedom from disease. Cattle in Jersey enjoy an enviable reputation for freedom from infectious diseases which is in striking contrast to the position in the United Kingdom where the ravages of tuberculosis, contagious abortion and Jöhne's disease cost many million pounds a year.

In Jersey, tuberculosis was virtually unknown. Hundreds of cattle were subjected each year to the recognised tuberculin tests; the reactors were under one-half per cent. These animals were destroyed and the rest of the herd from which they came were subjected to a tuberculin test. All local cattle slaughtered for human consumption were subjected to a veterinary examination. In the past 45 years only two outbreaks of tuberculosis have been confirmed and the disease was completely eradicated on each occasion.

Contagious abortion was never very prevalent but its eradication was brought about by the introduction of a law in 1934 which made the disease notifiable. Affected animals were destroyed and the herds in which the disease was found were subjected to the agglutination test at intervals of one month until the disease was eradicated.

Jöhne's disease which was prevalent in the latter part of the last century and the beginning of this has since then been rarely encountered. The reason for the self-eradication of this condition (for nothing was done deliberately to eradicate it) is unknown but it is extremely likely that the change in the system of farming, namely the ploughing up of permanent pasture for potato cultivation, was responsible.

With the spread of arable cultivation and the enhanced value of land it became impossible to allow cattle to roam at will, so tethering of cattle became the custom. Grassland management has long been practised in Jersey; the application three or four times a year of liquid manure collected from the cow-sheds and the application of artificial manures was general.

Mangolds, turnips, swedes and hay for winter feeding indoors were grown by all cattle-owning farmers.

THE FUTURE

The future of agriculture in Jersey for some years to come will be determined first by what has happened during the occupation, and secondly by the overriding plans made by the British authorities to meet war and post-war needs. Probably the most important single factor, however, will be whether the Colorado Beetle has now invaded the island and if so, how quickly effective measures can be taken to combat the pest. The island will be exceedingly fortunate if, with the present intensive traffic with France, no serious infestation has taken place. Whatever the degree of infestation it would be likely temporarily to prevent exports to England either of potatoes or tomatoes and the island would then have to remain, as it is to-day, largely self-sufficient, with seriously depressing effects upon the island's economy and standards of living. Nevertheless, the island's food producing capacity will stand it in good stead and there is no reason to doubt the ability of the people to adapt themselves to changed conditions as they have done so often in the past. Taking into account war-time agricultural developments in Britain, and the serious food situation likely to obtain on the Continent for a few years after the cessation of active fighting, the Channel Islands may have to re-orientate their agriculture or to seek new crops. The production of sugar beet seed, onion seed and soya beans under certain conditions may offer possibilities as alternatives to potatoes and tomatoes for export. These new crops cannot be satisfactorily produced in England owing to the climate yet are valuable under war conditions to the British economy. Soya beans are scarcely an economic crop for good Jersey soil; they would grow quite well on soil unsuitable for more valuable crops, e.g. Les Quennevais. It is the climate, not the soil, which would enable Jersey, and not England, to grow them.

From information gathered from several sources it would seem that the cattle population in Jersey is now greater than before the war with some restriction upon the growth of herds due, no doubt, to the lack of export trade and the limited supply of feeding stuffs. It is probable that the same applies to Guernsey. This is understandable when it is remembered that Jersey exported before the war over 1,000 head of cattle each year, that the Jersey cow is of little value for meat, and that the island's present needs, including those of the German troops and imported labour, call for large quantities of milk and butter. It is not probable therefore that any large numbers have yet been killed. It must be expected, however, that the general condition of the animals will be bad. In any case, if no live cattle have been introduced from France (and there is no reason to suppose that there has been) and the local veterinary surgeons have been allowed to control disease, it is not likely that the breeders would favour importation of stock to replenish any depleted herds. They would prefer patiently to rebuild their herds from existing stocks thus maintaining unimpaired the valuable characteristics of the island breed.

POST-LIBERATION NEEDS

Immediate post-liberation needs for agricultural purposes will largely depend upon the time of year when the islands are freed from the enemy. For instance, if they are relieved before the island's potato crop is disposed of, sufficient can be kept for seed purposes for a possibly enlarged production in the following season and the importation of main crop potatoes for human consumption may be necessary. If the first crop after liberation is inadequate to satisfy both the island's determined needs and the following season's enlarged seed requirements, imports of seed potatoes may be needed. Arran Pilot would be a suitable variety.

The proposed cropping will determine the requirements of imported fertilisers. It is unlikely that the usual standard of manuring has been maintained during the occupation therefore the need for restoring full fertility to the soil may arise. Within the first year at least 10,000 tons of manures will be required for Jersey alone with an unknown quantity of lime as carbonate. Tractors will need replacing or renewing. Agricultural implements, being mostly of local design, may not have been removed by the enemy. There will be a great need for cattle feeding stuffs and in this the island is likely to have to remain self-sufficient for some time. Arrangements should therefore be made for lectures and demonstrations on silage-making and for the provision of silos and molasses. An intensive campaign in this is thought to be essential, unless of course, some such similar methods have already been adopted.

If export trade is to be resumed, the large number of merchants' barrels now in England should be sent back to the island and supplies of sacks should be made available. Since tomatoes are such a valuable source of vitamin C, now so restricted in England as a result of the limitation of imports of citrus fruits, the early resumption of exports to England may become possible. Tomato seed will be required, as well as supplies of stakes, sulphate of copper for spraying, and containers for export.

Owing to other calls upon the labour available locally, labour may become a limiting factor in agricultural production. It may be, therefore, that the importation of potato digging machines and new types of agricultural machinery now used in England will be necessary.

Whatever the particular agricultural problems the Channel Islands may have to face during the next few years, the fundamentals will remain unaltered—a favourable climate, a fertile soil and a high agricultural skill. We must hope that economic and other conditions will very soon allow the products of these once more to come to England to the advantage of buyer and seller alike.

II. AGRICULTURE IN GUERNSEY

GENERAL

Certain occupations have been distinct landmarks in the history of Guernsey during the last 400 years. The fish and wine traffic, dating from medieval times, were still dominant in the sixteenth century. A feature of the seventeenth was the knitting of woollen garments, succeeded in the next century by privateering and "free trading" or smuggling. Shipbuilding, quarrying and cattle farming filled most of the nineteenth century. The twentieth has seen the rise of "growing" (market-gardening) and the beginnings of a tourist industry.

The last available census, that of 1931, showed the population of the island to be more than 40,000 (it was approaching 43,000 in 1940). Of this number well over 5,000 were agricultural workers, at least two-thirds being listed as "gardeners," the remainder being farmers and farm labourers. Even in 1921 it was stated: "The proportion of gardeners is remarkable and much higher than found in any of the English counties." The island population is crowded into a very small area, approximately 24½ square miles, actually 15,557 acres of habitable land. It is estimated that 27,000 vergées (in Guernsey 2½ vergées are equivalent to one acre), or 70 per cent., are cultivable. In 1931 more than three-quarters of the cultivable land was worked—in one parish the percentage was 84.

The soil was not intrinsically more fertile than would be the average in England. Derived from the weathering of gneiss and granite, overlain with loam (*limon*), a few patches of valley gravel and a wide scattering of dune sands, the soil so formed has been enriched by generations of manuring with cow

dung and seaweed (*vraic*). Artificial fertilisers and steam sterilisation have further increased the productivity of the soil. The one grave deficiency is the lack of lime.

One is accustomed to think of intensive culture as a modern feature, but its roots go far back. All the Channel Islands had originally the same type of settlement, a nuclear village, with open field system and common pasture. But in Guernsey the smallness of the available area, a plentiful water supply and a network of lanes led to closer settlement and universally scattered dwellings with the workable land between them intensively cultivated. This was reinforced by the division of the land into very small fields—an inevitable consequence of the island laws of inheritance—and the resulting influence of personal ownership. These were contributing elements to that sturdy independence and untiring capacity for work so evident to-day.

The climatic factors are also an advantage. Rainfall averages 37 inches per annum, there is a high annual total of sunshine exceeding 1,800 hours and an equable temperature with a mean of 50°F.

FARMING

Much of what has been written about farming in Jersey applies equally to Guernsey.

Holdings in the island are small, none exceeding 60 acres, and the majority ranging from 5 to 25 acres. Sixty-two per cent. of the holdings are owned by those who cultivate them. In point of acreage, grass has been the principal crop of the Guernsey farmer, more than half the cultivable area being under grass, though this was rapidly diminishing with the spread of glasshouses. About half the grass is a rotation crop, permanent pasture being far less common in Guernsey than in England.

There is no special rotation in Guernsey. Two crops a year are often raised from the same field. Early potatoes or broccoli are grown and cleared off the ground before the main root or grain crop. Little grain was, however, being grown. In 1931 only 373 acres of wheat, barley and oats were raised.

The Guernsey cow, like the Jersey, has become indigenous and distinct. Pasturage is restricted by the small size of the fields and the wastage of land due to the thick hedges. The custom of tethering animals at graze greatly economises the food supply. With accelerated and reliable communications the farmer has, however, come to depend more and more upon imported foodstuffs for winter feeding. In 1938, over 3,500 tons of bran and cattle foods were imported.

The purity of the local breed of cattle has been maintained by rigorous enactments since 1763 against the importation of live cattle, except for purposes of slaughter. Not even the exhibition of Guernsey cows in English agricultural shows, and their return to the island, has been allowed. The result has been, not only the production of an unique animal, but also its freedom from disease. The island is supplied with "clean milk."

The great feature of the Guernsey cow is its large production of yellow-tinted milk, very rich in cream, which can be made into golden-coloured butter. For the past hundred years Guernsey cows have been exported to the principal dairying countries of the world. Most of them have gone to England, the Dominions and the United States. The numbers annually exported have ranged from 700 to 900, and up to recent times good prices have been obtained.

The Royal Guernsey Agricultural and Horticultural Society (founded in 1846) advises farmers in various branches of agriculture, particularly cattle breeding. A register (or island stud book) of the cattle is kept. It is known as the Herd Book. Herein are recorded details of the best cattle, their ancestry, progeny,

yield of milk and butter fat. Calves to be kept must be registered and sketched by the official sketcher. Bulls are only qualified for service at 15 months. The qualification for the dam is that she has passed for advanced Registry, i.e. must, in the third year, have produced 250.5 lbs. butter fat. When five years old, cows should produce at least 360 lbs.

In 1934 the island herd numbered only 4,864 animals and a special commission was set up to enquire into the decline of cattle farming. A serious question was raised in that the return obtainable by farmers was not attractive enough to induce them to keep sufficient cattle in the future to supply enough milk for the island. Many reasons were put forward to account for the decline. The former high prices paid for Guernseys by American buyers were then in abeyance. (A Guernsey bull fetched the record price of 3,400 guineas at Reading in October 1943.) There was an exodus of young farmers, a dearth of grassland, increased costs of cattle foods and competition from imported butter and preserved milk. Higher wages had to be paid, the labourer formerly paid 16s. to 18s. getting 35s. to 40s. weekly. Two successive years of summer drought increased the difficulties.

Attempts were made to meet the crisis by a States subsidy, a milk marketing scheme and a States co-operative dairy. Up to the time of the evacuation it was not evident that any of these measures had proved successful. The decline continued. The real cause of the trouble was undoubtedly the expansion of the growing industry. Smallholders had in the past adopted a form of mixed farming and growing. Tomatoes and cattle were raised on the same property, poultry kept and pigs reared. But a number of farmers sold off their cattle and had taken to whole-time tomato cultivation, instead of just running one or two glasshouses as a side-line.

HORTICULTURE

The development of modern horticulture in Guernsey has been marked by an ever-increasing expansion up to and including the first year of the war. Already in the 1930's there were four men engaged in the growing industry for every one engaged in farming. The area under glass in 1938 was 2,237 vergées, or over 900 acres.

The beginnings of glasshouse culture in Guernsey go back 150 years. The first glasshouse was built by one Peter Mourant in 1793. By 1841 numerous greenhouses had been erected with a view to profit, and many hundreds of pounds of hothouse and greenhouse grapes were sent annually to London. The commercial idea of exploiting glasshouse products had begun a few years earlier with the despatch to England of choice specimens of the famous Guernsey lily. Grapes, however, for many years were the main produce exported. The *Black Hamburg* was especially successful in cold houses.

As regular steamship communications with England improved enterprise was shown, and by 1889 four or five companies had been promoted to grow early vegetables and fruit for export. Up to about 1900 table grapes—*Black Hamburg*, *Muscat*, *Alicante*—continued to be the chief product. In 1921 the quantity exported was 1,737 tons. By 1938 it had dwindled to 688 tons. The causes for the diminution were adverse competition with grapes imported into England from foreign countries, and the greater demands on labour and skill in raising grapes than are needed for other crops. In a word, the tomato had come into its own. In passing, it should be noted that other delicate fruits formed side-lines to the growers' main crop of grapes. Melons (first raised under glass in 1803), peaches and figs consistently recur as items in the exports of Guernsey.

The dispersion of glasshouses over Guernsey is island wide, but by no means equal in distribution. While it is almost impossible to be out of sight of one,

there is notably a greater concentration in the northern parishes of St. Sampson and the Vale with their lighter soil. Here, nearly a third of the cultivable land is under glass.

The modern glasshouse is about 150 by 30 feet, of span construction, which is better calculated to withstand strong winds than the old lean-to type. Older houses may be larger and wider, being intended for coldhouse culture. The frames are of strong white-painted wood. Each house, in a well-kept property, is repainted and puttied annually.

Heating is done by hot water through 4-inch cast iron pipes placed five or six feet apart throughout the width of the house. Each house or pair of houses has its own boiler. This system has proved preferable to that of large heating units serving a large acreage of glass.

Growers draw water supplies for their glasshouses from the public water supply and from private wells and disused quarries. In a dry summer the demands of the growers put a heavy strain on all these sources. In the case of wells and quarries, overpumping tends not only to exhaust the supply of water on the spot but also to lower the level in neighbouring properties and to bring salt water from the sea into the whole area. The Guernsey waterworks are controlled by the States, but the geography of the island is such that, despite a good rainfall, the volume of individual streams is small and any material increase in the public water supply will demand the impounding at considerable expense of numerous small streams. Thus the area under glass is limited by the difficulties of water supply, and, for this reason principally, the States had begun to control the building of new glasshouses.

In many cases rain water is collected from the gutters of greenhouses and dwelling houses and, as rain water is preferable for watering, one would wish that the practice was more widely followed by individual growers. The States water supply is now the life-line for too many estates. However, many growers, from September to June, draw water supplies either from their own wells and reservoirs, relying on the States supply only during the drier months. In some parts of the Vale, where the water table is high, the plants may not be watered once during a season, the required moisture being available in the subsoil. Yet where the soil is light and very well drained it may be necessary to water as much as three times a week at the height of the season. Plants in pots need watering every day over a long period.

The planting of seedlings may be in the ground or in pots. Those in pots are planted in December and January, those in the ground in February and early March. As skill and practice become perfected, earlier plantings have produced earlier crops. The fires are lighted in January, and heating (adapted to weather conditions) continues right up to mid-June or early July. A general temperature of 60°F. is aimed at. On warm spring days ventilation is necessary and fires are damped down. The best anthracite is the fuel used. The following figures for Guernsey's imports of anthracite are an index to the progress of hothouse culture:—

1913	1923	1932	1938
57,260 tons	68,421 tons	104,166 tons	138,130 tons

The preparation of the soil is another matter for the expert. Stable manure is now replaced by artificial fertilisers. In some instances relatively large quantities of sand are admixed for better drainage and aeration. Soil steaming is the chief form of sterilisation employed. The general practice is to steam one or two months before planting; the steamed soil needs thorough soaking. Feeding plants in pots is begun when the first truss is setting. In either pots or ground, feeding takes place every third watering, but not more than once a week.

The Guernsey grower in his domain is a skilled artisan. The seven points of root restriction, soil sterilisation, tying, spraying, manuring, plant fertilisation and grading are but parts of his technique.

There is a strong society, The Guernsey Growers' Association (founded in 1894), which looks after the interests of the industry. It gives advice to its members and arranges lectures for instruction and debate. Good connections have been established with the Cheshunt Experimental Station, whose Director has often lectured and given advice and encouragement to local growers, especially with reference to the control of pests and plant diseases. In recent years the Guernsey Growers' Mutual Improvement Association has grappled more closely with actual cultivation problems. No experimental station has yet been established in Guernsey.

Glasshouse culture is *not* independent of weather. It must be stressed that Guernsey will always have climatic advantages over England. The relatively long and mild winter days, the greater sunshine and light intensity in winter, the freedom from really severe and prolonged cold: all count in the production of early crops.

EXPORTS

Each tomato plant yields from 5 to 10 lbs. of fruit; anything less is counted a poor crop. Stringent regulations cover the packing and export of the fruit. Inspectors are on duty at the harbour to enforce the regulations. The first tomatoes are picked at the end of March or beginning of April. They realise high prices and help substantially to pay the growers' coal bill. The heavy season is from the end of May to the end of June. After an early crop the glasshouses may be replenished with late varieties, or more rarely the plants will be allowed to stay until the end of September. Pickings after mid-August barely pay expenses, the market being then also supplied with the outdoor crop from Jersey and elsewhere. Few Guernsey growers plant any tomatoes outdoors. Even the coldhouse plantings, which do not give heavy pickings until the end of July, are frequently unremunerative. But it is largely in coldhouses that catch crops are raised. So chrysanthemums, french beans and forced bulbs are common. Radishes, potatoes, violets and bulb flowers are also produced in notable quantities.

The small non-returnable "chips" or tomato baskets hold 12 lbs. of fruit. They were supplied from eight local box-making establishments, employing a large number of people in work ancillary to the growing industry. In pre-war days it was usual to see ships from the Baltic countries in the harbour of St. Peter Port, unloading timber for greenhouse construction and for the box factories. An annual export of 30,000 tons of tomatoes would need more than 5½ millions of these baskets.

Figures for the export of tomatoes—all to Great Britain—are as follows:—

	<i>Tons</i>
1913	13,517
1928	25,069
1937	31,629
1938	34,964
1939	35,038

In addition to tomatoes, intensive horticulture produced for export not only grapes, other fruit and vegetables, but also about 4,000 tons of flowers each year. As already indicated there was a wide range: outdoor and glasshouse daffodils and narcissi in January and February, hothouse iris and tulips in March, coldhouse iris and tulips in April, gladioli both in and outdoors in

May and June, and finally chrysanthemums outdoors in October and indoors in November and December. Those were the principal varieties of a precarious harvest. Others were arum lilies, asparagus fern, smilax, freesias, etc. Bulbs were also exported to the amount of about 400 tons a year although the markets of U.S.A. and Holland were closed.

THE FUTURE

Some anxiety has been felt as to the revitalisation of the tomato industry in Guernsey after the war. The governing factors are many and incalculable, but the general outlook is favourable for recovery in both agricultural and horticultural pursuits, conditioned by the adaptability and inherent skill of the Guernsey farmer and grower. The Ministry of Agriculture has published figures relating to England's wartime production. Briefly: 60,000 tons of tomatoes were grown in England before the war, being a third of her consumption; in 1943 British growers produced 155,000 tons, more than had ever before reached the markets from mid-May to mid-November.

These figures of course refer to extraordinary wartime efforts, and much of the acreage involved may revert to flower, bulb production, or other crops. The period mentioned overlaps that of Guernsey, but the volume of the island's earlier output would always have a distinct advantage. In considering competition with the Lea Valley, Worthing and Lincolnshire areas, it should be remembered that within five years of peace, cultivation of early Guernsey produce could be advanced yet another month.

Freight and handling are serious handicaps. In the early days some Guernsey growers chartered their own steamer to carry tomatoes, independently of the railway companies, but the Great Western and the Southern Railway Companies' steamers have transported the greater bulk of the produce. The harbour of St. Peter Port enlarged its accommodation to deal with their bigger ships. Co-operative efforts on the part of local export companies would minimise costs, and there may be a future in air transportation. Unexportable produce might be dealt with in canneries, an experiment already tried in Jersey.

Much depends upon the state of affairs after the cessation of hostilities. A large amount of land is, and will continue to be, devoted to food production for local consumption. However, in our lifetime, by dint of intensive publicity and the discovery of vitamin C, the tomato has become, and will remain, an important article of food. Even now we know that Guernsey tomatoes are being grown and exported to the Continent. This continental connection may conceivably prove a useful market after the war.

There will be other problems to meet. There is the possibility of infestation by the Colorado beetle. Rigorous measures had kept it at bay and the island was free in pre-war days. The import of fuel may be handicapped, both by limited production in Wales and the lack of small ships. The provision of up-to-date equipment will need attention. The replacement of metal pipes, boilers and glass may be a large item of expenditure. It is to be hoped that water supplies will be sufficient to meet all needs and in this connection it is interesting to note that during the enemy occupation, when Guernsey has probably had a larger total population than ever before in its history and is growing more of its own food requirements, no complaints about the water supply have come through to Guernsey folk in the United Kingdom.

Growing has been Guernsey's latest and most profitable industry. When the island is liberated, ingenuity will be found to utilise again the reservoir of energy and skill, the fertility of the land and the favourable climatic conditions which enemy occupation cannot destroy.

V. TRADE AND FINANCE

I

BEFORE THE WAR JERSEY HAD A POPULATION OF 50,000. GUERNSEY WITH adjacent isles had 44,000. For many years the standard of living in the islands had been high, most necessaries and luxuries being imported, practically the whole coming from the United Kingdom. Thus the essential: an ability to pay for imports.

From time immemorial the produce and manufactures of the islands had enjoyed freedom of entry into the United Kingdom. On the other hand "free trade" was extended to imports from the United Kingdom. Following the Ottawa agreement the United Kingdom and the Channel Islands had the same tariff.

Channel Islanders claimed rightfully that they were, on a per head basis, the United Kingdom's best customers.

The three sources which had contributed to meet the cost of Channel Islands imports were:—

- (i) income derived from exports, mainly agricultural and horticultural produce;
- (ii) income from the overseas investments and pensions of residents;
- (iii) income from the tourist industry.

These made up the whole of the external purchasing power of the islands.

To restore pre-war living standards it will be essential to increase substantially the pre-war external purchasing power of the islands in terms of money. The increase needed will be roughly equivalent to the rise which has occurred in the cost of living (food, rent, clothing, fuel and light). (United Kingdom, October 1943—44 per cent.) In other words, if the power to make external purchases in the future is no greater than in 1938, the standard of living in the islands will, as a result of the general rise in prices, be lower.

But a general rise in the cost of living means that food production and distribution interests partake of it. Therefore the produce exports of the islands should be entitled to earn higher prices than formerly. Approximately one-half of Jersey's external purchasing power came from produce exports. In Guernsey it is believed that the proportion was somewhat higher. So the respective proportions should secure, as soon as standard exports are resumed and if the price level remains higher than pre-war, a money value higher than in 1938. In the meanwhile a smaller volume of exports should realise, per export unit, a higher money return than before the war.

What of other sources? In 1938 the income of the islands, from other than exports, was thought to be somewhere in the region of £1½ to £2 million. In Jersey the respective proportions coming from residents and tourists was about in the ratio of 8 to 5. No figures are at present available suggesting what the Guernsey proportions were.

What is the outlook for the immediate future? The tourist industry will be suspended. Residents will have suffered heavy depreciation and loss of income on investments in Europe and East Asia and will have had to sell out valuable investments overseas, as well as losing income from some investments in the United Kingdom.

An article in the April 1943 issue of the *Economic Journal* by Mr. Nicholas Kaldor deals with the investment income losses of Great Britain. If we take Mr. Kaldor's figures as roughly applicable to Channel Islands residents, we may

expect total non-island investment income to be about half what it was in 1938. The fall may, in fact, be greater, since a large proportion of the former investment and pension income was received by persons who left the islands in 1940, many of whom may not quickly return.

In respect of Jersey, we know, approximately, what overseas investment and pensions income was—about £800,000. But we are unable to divide it between:—

- (i) Foreign and colonial investments;
- (ii) United Kingdom investments;
- (iii) Pensions.

It is certain, however, that Jersey will bear a large share of any loss in Channel Islands overseas investment income.

The islands must therefore expect to have to meet, in *immediate post-liberation days*, this situation:—

- (i) a reduced external income from exports;
- (ii) a greatly reduced external income from the other sources mentioned.

These together will give a total external purchasing power far lower than the islands had in 1938.

So as to arrive at current prospective costs of imports needed to maintain pre-war standards of living, we must add to the total cost of pre-war imports of each island part of the cost of living increase in the United Kingdom. We should not add all because lighting and rental charges are not wholly external, and United Kingdom retail distribution charges reflected in the United Kingdom index figure are somewhat high. We must remember, however, that the pre-war figure was for the needs of the whole population, plus those of the thousands of tourists staying for an average period of two weeks in each year.

It is estimated that the prospective populations, in the *immediate post-liberation* period, will be roughly as follows:—

	Jersey	Guernsey*
Pre-war weekly average, including tourists	54,000	45,600
Less tourists (200,000 visitor-weeks over 50)	4,000	(80,000 visitor-weeks over 50)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	50,000	44,000
In H.M. Forces and refugees	12,500	21,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	37,500	23,000
Plus first repatriations, say	2,500	5,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	40,000	28,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>

* Including adjacent isles.

The presence of embodied military forces in the islands is a possible favourable factor from the trade point of view which, however, is not being taken into consideration in this study.

So, to approximate to the old standard of living, the Channel Islands' total requirements of goods will diminish proportionate to the reduction in population. External purchasing power will, however, have gone down to a much greater proportion than the population, which logically means a lessened capacity to resume imports at the pre-war level.

The precise position will, however, depend upon:—

- (i) the categories of people returning to the islands;
 - (ii) measures taken to restrict purchases of many things bought before the war which are not now deemed essential;
 - (iii) the impossibility of buying other things which, obtainable before, are unobtainable now;
 - (iv) applying the same food subsidies as in the United Kingdom. This is a factor of great importance.

Moreover, there is the clear expectation that in the post-liberation period the islands will be required to restrict their imports so that other communities are not deprived of necessities. It will be important, too, to economise on the domestic consumption of supplies in any place which is capable of contributing towards the total needs of all countries.

From changes in population in the post-liberation period it might follow that in respect of some local produce the quantities available per head may be more than before. For example, there might be the former supplies of milk if there was no serious reduction in the number of cows or in milk yields.

As food supplies are likely to be fixed internationally with the object of sharing out supplies equitably, it may be taken that the change in the Channel Islands' standard of living will not be greater than that in other comparable places, and in respect of food is likely to be much the same as that in the United Kingdom.

The post-war picture will brighten. We can then count on—

- (i) a return to full-scale produce exports;
 - (ii) a renewed tourist industry.

We can, in time, re-establish the tourist industry as well as, eventually, something of what is lost in the reduction in overseas incomes. It is certain that, after so long a period without normal holidays, the whole of the working population of the United Kingdom will want to visit holiday resorts. The islands may expect to attract large numbers of tourists and should do what they can to provide the best holiday conditions.

There can be little doubt, if the islands are to maintain the same populations as in pre-war days, that they will need to have a tourist industry at least as large as before the war.

III

The immediate needs of the people in all the islands upon liberation will be urgent. These needs cannot fall within any study of trade and finance. They will have to be met by a speedy humanitarianism. The preparedness of all who are concerned in Great Britain with delivering quick relief and helping in rehabilitation will do much to ease the sufferings caused by the occupation.

During the period of immediate relief there will need to be discussions with the local authorities with the object of adapting United Kingdom controls to the conditions in each island. Taking a broad view, the islands will be well advised to work on United Kingdom methods which have passed through the stages of trial and error.

The probability is that the basis of supplies of each controlled commodity for each island will be:

It is suggested that there should be three stages:—

(i) *Relief*.—Medical relief, immediate supplies of fuel, warm clothing, footwear, blankets, household utensils, etc. Food will be required urgently. Whilst this stage is passing, preparations for the future will be made. It will be easy to deal with food rationing, adapting the systems existing in each island to a wider range of commodities.

The problem of bringing local shops to life again is not a big one, taking into account the relatively small number of people affected. How should it be solved? One method should be to require all people in the islands to register with a trader of their choice for all the goods which, for example, are subject in Great Britain to the clothing rationing scheme. Whilst this was being done (and it could be completed in a very short time) the Board of Trade could, bearing in mind the long period during which the population had been without new clothing and footwear, etc., fix with the local authorities replacements for a fair period, the corresponding initial number of coupons being allowed to each person. Each trader could then receive a credit of X coupons per registered customer and with these proceed to obtain his stock. His financial arrangements should be made with his bankers. This method of registration would be a protection for traders in the islands *vis-à-vis* English multiple stores with island branches, which are trading over here and are already holding stocks.

For goods which are not covered by coupons, traders should seek to make their own normal purchasing arrangements. The Board of Trade should, in general, hasten forward all supplies for the islands. British purchase tax will not apply to goods exported to the Channel Islands.

(ii) *Revival of Trading*.—Trading can begin only when traders have received their stocks and people are able to buy against coupons. In this stage, conditions begin to move towards normal. The public will be buying, the trader will be selling. Traders will replenish stocks against the surrender of coupons collected from customers. After the initial grant of clothing coupons has been used up the period of registration with a particular trader should end, and people be free to buy from whom they choose.

An analysis by the Board of Trade of the articles upon which men, women and children expend their clothing coupons in the United Kingdom could usefully be issued in the islands as a guide to traders in ordering against their initial coupon credits. People might, however, be able to state their exact requirements when registering.

(iii) *The Stage of Rehabilitation* during which each island receives assistance and restitution.

In practice the three stages will sometimes overlap and will sometimes develop simultaneously. The transition from re-occupation to post-liberation and thence to post war will be gradual. The question of removing from the islands all foreign labour brought in by the enemy is one which will have to be solved according to the military conditions at the time.

An important problem bound up with this transition will be the return:—

(i) of refugees;

(ii) of demobilised servicemen. Total demobilisation is not likely for some years.

Are there any tests by which to control the return of refugees?

The matter cannot be dealt with wholly on sentimental grounds. It will be of advantage to the recovery of each island for priority of return to be given to

sources of, rather than to seekers of, employment, but growers, landworkers and artisans might be amongst the first required to go back.

All other refugees who can retain employment over here until conditions are quite suitable for their return should be encouraged to do so. Many are affected by the Essential Works Order, and may not, therefore, be free to leave the United Kingdom permanently whilst war production continues.

Guernsey schools will be likely to return only when conditions have been restored sufficiently to permit children to return to fairly normal living in the island.

Recovery of pre-war standards can only come through the establishment of the equilibrium between imports and visible and invisible exports. Thus, viewed objectively and from a materialistic standpoint, it may be better that a man with an overseas income, able to promote local trade, should return permanently before one for whom work is not available. But just as the problem cannot be dealt with wholly from a sentimental standpoint, neither can it be dealt with wholly from an economic or utilitarian standpoint. The natural feelings of the islanders must be given as full consideration as purely economic arguments in determining priorities. Discharged servicemen and women, for instance, should be allowed to return immediately, if they desire, and every possible facility should be extended to former residents, native or not, who wish to return to the islands permanently.

The priorities which appear desirable from an *economic* standpoint, for permanent return to the islands during the post-liberation and relief period are:—

- (i) Agricultural workers, public officials, doctors, bank and insurance officials, proprietors of established businesses; residents who make a declaration that they are self-supporting from external income; all servicemen and servicewomen upon their discharge from H.M. Forces.
- (ii) Employees whose employers in the islands make successful application to the local authorities for a permit for their immediate return, and who are willing to return.
- (iii) Other workers to return for permanent residence only when employment is in sight. It has to be remembered that as there is no unemployment insurance in the islands, an unemployed worker is a potential charge on the Poor Law.

The former degree of permanence of residence should be taken into account in cases of difficulty.

The question of the eventual return of former residents deported to Germany is not considered here since it will be governed by conditions in Europe after the defeat of Germany, and will present its own peculiar problems.

The minimum of restriction should be placed upon facilities for temporary visits to the islands. These should be encouraged. The bringing together of separated families must obviously be taken into account in establishing the full list of priorities.

Special consideration should be given to problems affecting discharged servicemen and servicewomen so that, in the event of their being unemployed they do not become a charge on their island Poor Law. The British Government should be asked to make the concession of allowing the benefits of National Health Insurance and Unemployment Insurance to be paid to demobilised servicemen for a period, as though they had remained in the United Kingdom. These men, whilst in the Forces, have had compulsory weekly deductions from their pay to provide for these benefits.

During the last war Channel Islands servicemen had deductions from their pay for National Health Insurance (there being then no Unemployment Insurance). On returning to the islands they found, because they were outside the United Kingdom, that they could not receive any benefits or have any part of their contributions returned. Now that unemployment insurance is included, the necessary steps should be taken so that payment of this benefit can be made in the Channel Islands.

III

Problems similar to those of the Channel Islands, but on a much larger scale, are being studied on an international basis. For example, the functions of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), which is to provide for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations, include these:—

- (a) To build up reservoirs of foodstuffs and other supplies.
- (b) The responsibility for ensuring adequate distribution, amongst liberated populations, of such supplies; and
- (c) The supplying of these populations with the proper means of reviving industries and agricultural production.

Several UNRRA agencies are at work now. There are commissions on food and agriculture for dealing with currency problems and with long-term economic development.

As far as humanly possible, the islanders will certainly wish to pursue a policy of self-help. There are, however, many matters among the losses and injuries inseparable from four years of enemy occupation in which the islands will need some assistance.

There will be problems of finance under, say, four main heads:—

- (i) Losses which will be subject to war indemnities, to restitution by the enemy, or to compensation for common-cause losses, including grants for the revival of industries, etc.
- (ii) The pre-war debt.
- (iii) Foreign exchange losses and currency re-establishment.
- (iv) All other kinds of expenditure or liabilities resulting from the enemy occupation.

It is felt that the problems for the islands to bear themselves can be, at most, those arising from (ii) and possibly part of those arising from (iii) and (iv) above. It is believed that all the islanders would do a great deal to restore and maintain the pre-war position, and that, providing there is restitution by the enemy and that "common-cause" and associated losses are dealt with by the nations together, each island will be able to deal with its own more limited problems.

With respect to the pre-war debt (see page 48) it is doubtful whether pre-war obligations for payment of interest and repayment of loans, undertaken on the assumption that revenues would come in regularly at fairly constant levels, can all have been fulfilled. The position of loans charged on departmental revenues will have deteriorated, although any 1940 surplus may have tided over actual default. In Jersey, the departments concerned had quite substantial surpluses. It is almost certain that sources of revenue (general imports, petrol, motor vehicles, the tourist industry and the capacity of the income tax payer) have all fallen off.

The question of the pre-war debt in each island is a purely local matter. So, if the islands have not continued to fulfil their interest obligations, we should

not take too gloomy a view of the default, as the matter can be adjusted direct with the bondholders, a large proportion of whom are islanders or residents.

It may be that the opportunity will be taken of dealing with the pre-war debt by consolidating it into one new loan. In that event the holders of existing loans would be invited to participate in a conversion operation. Should some holders prefer reimbursement in cash there should be sufficient new savings available to deal with that.

New borrowing may be necessary. Coupled with a sustained local campaign to encourage savings for taking up local bonds, it is suggested that:—

- (i) The States should accept in subscription to its loans, either cash in sterling or other first-class British sterling securities, and to include, in the conditions of the loan, reimbursement, at a small premium, by drawings.
- (ii) The States should establish its own savings department and issue its own savings stamps and certificates. The small lender is now important; his savings will do much to assist recovery. The prospect of there being limited outlets for spending will encourage saving and lending. The explanation, in simple terms, of the islands' financial problems would do much to promote success.

Taking the amounts subscribed by large and small lenders, under a continuous loan issue, the States of each island, facing the needs of the extraordinary situation partly by borrowing and partly by taxation, should be able to raise a good amount of new money.

There will be an immediate currency problem because the existing currency will be mixed, made up probably of English, French, German and local notes. It is assumed that island currencies will continue to be issued. For internal use these may have considerable possibilities.

IV

The following figures indicate the position of the islands' public finances before the war:—

<i>Jersey, end 1938—</i>						
Outstanding Debt	..	..	..	..	..	£1,271,190
Revenue 1938	..	..	..	..	..	£520,022
Expenditure 1938	..	..	..	..	..	£533,873

<i>Guernsey, end 1938—</i>						
Outstanding Debt	..	..	..	..	..	£1,609,835
Revenue 1938	..	..	..	..	..	£489,214
Expenditure 1938	..	..	..	..	..	£465,792

The Guernsey public debt was somewhat higher than that of Jersey. One reason is that it includes, for instance, public loans for waterworks, which in Jersey are privately owned.

The general revenue of the States of each island came from direct and indirect taxation.

In Jersey income tax was the only form of direct taxation. Only a very small part of the income tax revenue came from agriculturists. In this connection, the assessment basis of X times the rental value of farm land in Jersey may call for revision. In defending that basis it will be said that a similar basis existed in the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, however, agriculture is not

the chief industry as it is in Jersey. Assessment on profits would seem to be the fairest direct tax basis, although the accompanying administrative difficulties must not be overlooked.

In Guernsey there was an income tax and a surtax on higher incomes. All individuals were assessed on their total incomes. Assessment of growers was not on rental values.

In future, the base rate of tax in both islands is likely to be permanently higher than before the war. (It is much higher already than in 1940.)

In both islands tax exemption limits will probably be lowered, making a large number of people, exempted previously, then liable to tax. Children's allowances may have to be brought up to the United Kingdom standard of £50 per child, if that has not already been done.

Indirect taxation in both islands was drawn mainly from duties on wines, spirits and tobaccos; entertainments tax; a petrol tax (imposed in Jersey in 1940); tariffs; motor vehicle duties. Many of the previous sources of revenue will be reduced in future.

To meet the stringencies of the post-war period it will be in everybody's interest to create conditions of maximum consumption. It will be good for health, good for employment, good for retail distribution, good for production, and good for the revenue because increased trade turnover means more nett profits to be taxed. In an *Acte Rapport* to the Jersey States on 27th September, 1927, the good point was made "... that in practically all businesses, providing the 'Standing Charges' remain the same, any increased turnover means that the 'Gross Profit' thereon becomes 'Net Profit'"

The islands are faced with a prospect of higher charges for goods and passengers carried by rail/steamer/air. If freights are higher, goods may be dearer. If fares are higher, passengers may be fewer. But if fares are higher and hotel charges and living costs in general are comparatively lower, then there is something to neutralise the rise in fares. We know that the comparatively heavy "all-in" costs (in which high fares accounted for a lot) had kept very large numbers of tourists from coming to the islands in the past. To attract them in future we must offer advantages in day-to-day living costs to counterbalance the high fares. Therefore we must seek to keep all taxes at a low level. One means of keeping rates of taxation at a low level in the islands will be to develop a large tourist industry so that imports and consequent local profits increase and the scope for taxation widens.

One justification for relying in the past to a great extent on indirect taxation was that it brought to the revenue contributions from people who, because of low income, were exempted from direct taxation. With wider income tax liability in the future many of these people are likely to lose that exemption—a good reason for introducing a simpler system of taxation in general. It is not to be expected, however, that, at least for some time, any simple system will replace the arrangements based on existing laws. Possibilities of increasing revenue include—

- (i) Motor Vehicle Taxation.—The *average* receipts in the United Kingdom per vehicle on a whole year's licence for year ending September 1938 were:—

		£ s. d.
Private Car taxed on h.p.	..	9 4 6
Motor Cycles ..	..	1 17 6
Goods Vehicles ..	..	27 5 6
Motor Hackneys ..	..	55 14 6

It cannot be expected that the islands will have the same total of motor vehicles as before (in Jersey 10,000 cars taxed at £3 per year up to 20 h.p.), nor will the average weight and power of vehicles be as great as in the United Kingdom, but even so, there is scope here for higher revenues.

- (ii) Revenue Stamps.—A stamp of 1d. on all receipts of £1 and over, and a cheque stamp of 1d., would bring Jersey a fair revenue. Guernsey had had revenue from stamps on receipts and cheques for some time before 1940. In 1938 Guernsey received £11,582 from this source.
- (iii) Postage Stamps.—Efforts had been made to obtain the agreement of the United Kingdom Postal Authorities to the issue of Jersey postage stamps. The position was then unfavourable because British stamps were on issue already. That position has changed, and local stamps are now in use in the islands. The islands should seek to retain the practice. The revenue from this source could do something to compensate for irrecoverable losses under other headings.
- (iv) Tobacco and Cigarettes.—These will bear increased duties whilst keeping still below United Kingdom duty levels.
- (v) A Luxury Tax.—On the principle of the United Kingdom purchase tax, paid by the trader on importation, this can be a useful source of revenue.

Is a Channel Islands Customs Union, securing free trade between the islands and a common policy in regard to duties, now a possibility?

The main objection will be on the grounds of an implied restriction of each island's "sovereignty." In other words, if the working of an agreement for customs union restricted the powers of the islands' legislatures by limiting their freedom to impose or remove import duties at any time, then "sovereignty" is touched, at least technically.

The idea is, however, worthy of examination. This might be the test of the current idea for a closer relationship between the islands. As a favourable sign it is worth recalling that, following the Ottawa Agreement, the islands took agreed action to avoid the adoption of differing methods of handling the same problem. A customs union, or a joint customs board, could make trade between the islands flow more easily. There would be psychological benefits as well as practical advantages.

The question of parochial taxation is a subject which can only be briefly touched upon. In Guernsey, an occupier's rate was collected by its ten parishes. In Jersey, parochial taxation included an occupier's rate assessed on rental values by twelve separate rating authorities. In Jersey poor law, lighting and roads, other than main roads, were parochial charges. In Guernsey the parochial rates were raised to pay for local lighting and parochial incidentals, such as cemetery upkeep and church repairs.

The ideal would seem to be for each island to centralise the cost of public assistance, roads authorities, lighting, etc. In Guernsey a great measure of centralisation of public services has, in fact, been achieved already. There is also the example of the cost of education services being met in each island by the central authority without parochial contributions. Except for the attachment to long custom and the desire to retain parochial distinctiveness in administration, there seems to be no reason why, in principle, all public assistance, roads and similar expenditure, should not be met in the same way. In the event of any serious move towards "Beveridge" standards of social service, centralisation from the parishes to the States would be a *sine qua non*.

V

On the subject of new trades or industries, generally speaking, the possibilities are very limited. They are determined by the necessity of safeguarding agriculture and of preserving the islands as tourist and residential resorts. In another chapter it is suggested that there are great possibilities for the future of the islands as resorts. If efforts are centred on that development many compatible satellite enterprises will arise as a matter of course.

It is suggested that there may be good prospects for a Channel Islands' co-operative fishing industry. An oyster industry, which at one time was quite prosperous in Jersey and was then based largely upon beds near the French coast, might be revived.

Inter-island trade depends upon one island producing, as an economic proposition, something which the other island wants to buy. One practical basis of interchange is in the realm of holidays. As one result of the friendships created between Channel Islanders whilst refugees in Britain it should be possible to create an "inter-insular" tourist industry.

On the subject of communication services to England:—

- (i) We cannot export products unless the necessary shipping is provided. As we can grow and export food, and the signs are that all possible sources of food supply will be harnessed to the task of feeding liberated countries, it can be expected that the Ministry of War Transport will, during the post-liberation period, see that all the shipping required is provided. As is well known, Jersey is different from Guernsey in that her crop exports do not cover very extended periods. On the other hand, the heavy summer passenger traffic to Jersey was an assurance of an all-the-year-round daily steamer service. The large summer traffic is not going to revive immediately. Still, the regular imports which the islands will need, and the service of shipping which the United Kingdom supplies, are sources of United Kingdom trade which we may expect the United Kingdom to foster.

So we can believe that at the earliest possible moment something in the nature of a regular steamer service, slender though it may be by pre-war standards, will re-establish sea communications with the United Kingdom.

With the addition of a service air mail, which may use the original Jersey beach aerodrome should the airport be unusable, the islands will feel that the old links are being re-forged.

- (ii) The railway companies have been able to acquire control of the three companies—Jersey, Guernsey, and Channel Islands Airways. It is to be hoped that the development of air traffic will not be held in check by railway interests. It is hoped also that the island authorities, after their big expenditure on airports, will see that full facilities are always, and equally, available to other air lines free from control by the railway companies.

VI. THE TOURIST INDUSTRY

GENERAL

IN EXAMINING THE FUTURE POSITION OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS IT IS ASSUMED that after rehabilitation and a reasonable amount of repair and renovations, it will be possible for the visitor traffic to recommence.

While this chapter deals mainly with conditions in Jersey, generally speaking, the arguments applicable to Jersey are equally applicable to Guernsey, although

Guernsey has not been publicised to the same extent as Jersey and has only a fraction of the accommodation available. Before Guernsey can undertake any development at all it will be necessary to build suitable hotels and boarding houses.

The occupation of the islands by the enemy and the presence of refugees in this country have given the islands more publicity than they would have had normally, and, apart from the question whether the continental resorts will attract visitors for some time after the war, there is little doubt that many extra visitors will wish to see the islands. Whether they return year after year depends largely on whether they enjoy their first holiday.

In spite of the limitations imposed by reason of size and amenities, the Channel Islands have every reason to plan for a reasonable increase in numbers and perhaps a slightly longer season as a holiday centre than heretofore.

A slightly longer season, most desired by hotel proprietors and shopkeepers, is one of the problems to be overcome. In pre-war years the islands had all the visitors they could reasonably accommodate during August and the first two weeks in September. Had it been possible to fill the half-empty hotels for a further six weeks, the additional cost would have been negligible and the benefit to the islands increased out of all proportion.

Whether it will be possible to extend the season in the future depends only in part on the additional attractions and reduced prices. It will depend on persuading people to break away from established tradition. But it must be remembered that many people have to take their holidays during the school holiday period.

"Samples" of visitors' opinions upon the islands as holiday resorts show that there is a general agreement in regard to the natural attractions the islands offer. First, the adventure of the sea or air journey, the feeling of going abroad and the semi-continental atmosphere engendered by the French names and the local *patois*. Secondly, the historical associations. Thirdly, and by no means the least attraction, the low price of wines and spirits, tobacco and cigarettes. Finally, there is the desire to get away from crowds, the sense of freedom from train time-tables and rigid organisation.

A general criticism concerns the channel steamer accommodation. The major complaints are overcrowding, compelling a large number to spend a night on deck, sometimes, alas, in rain or on a choppy sea, and the fact that by far the greater part of the vessels was reserved for first class passengers. Even those who paid the first class fare were by no means certain of sleeping accommodation. These complaints only applied to night services at week-ends, and it is difficult to suggest a solution to the problem, which is, perforce, governed by over-all economic considerations. Unfortunately, people usually begin and end their holidays at the week-end, and it is questionable whether this can be altered although future advertising might suggest that travelling by mid-week sailings means more comfort and better accommodation. But hotel keepers are organised for a week-end exodus and entry, and are not anxious to change this custom.

The daylight service avoided the discomfort of night travel, and if more shelter deck had been provided it would have gone far towards making the journey less unpleasant in bad weather.

There obviously is a demand for nearly all types of accommodation. Some visitors prefer living in a farmhouse in the country, others who argue that they will, in any case, be out all day are satisfied with almost any type of accommoda-

tion that is clean and comfortable and within easy reach of transport to the various bays. There is a section who want the facilities offered by a hotel in the country and very near to a bay and cliffs where they spend most of the daylight hours, whilst still others enjoy visiting a different bay each day, and for them accommodation at St. Helier's or St. Peter Port fills the need.

One of the most difficult problems in making the Channel Islands better holiday resorts is the question of providing amenities for a wet day and for the evenings. Here, as in almost everything connected with personal tastes, there is a very great divergence of opinion. For the young the dance-floor seems most attractive. For older people there is quite a demand for the continental style of café with some form of cabaret entertainment.

Some islanders seem to have a prejudice against the visitor traffic. Perhaps this is due, to some extent, to the establishment in recent years of three holiday camps in island beauty spots, accommodating some hundreds of people for as low a figure as 50s. a week for full board and lodging. Such establishments and the cheaper boarding-houses are bound to attract the younger and the poorer element. Investors naturally calculate whether a small profit per head on a large turn-over is more interesting from the profit-making point of view than a larger profit per head from fewer people. It must also be remembered that the better class establishment requires a very much larger staff to provide the standard of service expected, and the capital outlay in furniture, decoration and appointments is also greater. Whilst the investor may regard the large cheap establishment as more profitable from his own point of view, it is questionable whether this type of accommodation is in keeping with the character of the tourist industry which the islands desire to develop.

There is one point on which all the former visitors questioned are in agreement: that is the avoidance at all cost of organised beach entertainment, automatic machines, fun-fairs and all the other trappings for which Blackpool, Brighton, Southend and Margate are famous. To quote one person: "Why should I pay 64s. to visit an imitation of Southend when I can go to Southend itself for about five shillings?" Visitors have commented favourably on the free and easy holidays they have spent in Jersey without the high-pressure and mechanised entertainments of the popular English seaside places. There is an appreciation of the less crowded places and fares are partly responsible for maintaining a degree of exclusiveness.

It is interesting to compare fares to various holiday resorts for people living in London. The pre-war return fares to Jersey and Guernsey were as follows:—

	s. d.
3rd class rail, 1st class steamer	64 0
3rd class rail, 2nd class steamer	45 0

The present return fares (i.e. including war-time increases) for 3rd class rail travel from London are:—

	s. d.
To Brighton	10 0
Southsea	10 4
Southend	6 9
Margate	15 4
Bournemouth	22 1
Torquay	40 5

In peace time many cheap excursions were run to all these places. Blackpool and Morecambe can be substituted in respect of Midland towns.

Publicity for the islands has been excessively patchy. It has been done mainly by the railway companies. The majority of people questioned at random know, or have heard, of Jersey, few of Guernsey or Alderney, though Sark seems fairly well known. The Channel Islands as a group are less well known.

Day excursions by steamer around the islands, to Sark, Alderney and France were enjoyable when the weather was suitable. One family, however, who had spent their holidays in Jersey for a number of years, happened to go to St. Malo on a day excursion with the result that Brittany proved so attractive that subsequent holidays were spent at St. Briac.

Working on the premise that it is the desire of the Channel Islands authorities and the trading community to increase the tourist industry, it would be well to study very carefully the operation of the continental resorts. It would also be well to use existing natural amenities rather than to create artificial ones. Alderney, for instance, might offer fishing holidays; Guernsey, with its ideal harbour facilities, could be developed as a yachting centre. Sark offers its own peculiar attractions. Herm might cater for day trips from Guernsey and Jersey.

As all the islands will need to extend their business activities in every possible direction after the war if they are to regain their former prosperity, it will be generally agreed that the tourist industry must be developed and maintained. To do this, visitors must feel satisfied with their holiday in the islands and not only return year after year but, by their recommendation, become the best advertising medium the Channel Islands can have. In the long run it may be found even better in effect to limit the number of visitors rather than over-crowd or spoil the trade by providing makeshift accommodation and inferior service.

THE TOURIST INDUSTRY IN JERSEY

Before any planning for the future of the tourist industry is considered, it is important first that there be a fuller realisation of the advantages which the island, as distinct from individuals, has derived from the industry in the past; secondly, it is essential to show what the industry lacked.

Whilst Guernsey's problems were different from those of Jersey, much of what is said for the future of Jersey can have some application to the sister island. One difference in the past was that, whereas Jersey's staple export (new potatoes) finished at about the end of June to be followed by a more modest export of tomatoes later in the year, Guernsey produced a variety of crops in succession, and had an export trade practically throughout the whole year. If in Guernsey one crop was not very profitable, the odds were that others would be. In Jersey, however, disease in one crop often meant disease in the other. So Jersey's eggs would have been very much in one basket had it not been for the tourist industry. This second industry was, in a sense, complementary to agriculture, and there is none other which can give greater value to the qualities of the island scene. If it be said that the scene had sometimes suffered in the process this was a consequence of the fact that the government in Jersey had not taken powers for the preservation of island beauty.

THE ADVANTAGES

It was only the volume of the tourist traffic which enabled the railway companies to maintain a first-rate passenger service to the islands throughout the whole year. Without this traffic, the heaviest weight of which fell into about ten weeks in the summer, a passenger and mails service of the standard given all the year round was not an economic proposition. Thus the packed steamers of July and August were the insurance of the service for the period in which

passenger lists were small, consisting sometimes of only a few commercial travellers. The air service was another gain encouraged by the tourist traffic. These *travelling* conveniences, which the islander only occasionally travelling could use at will, put the position of the islands as regards mails and newspapers on very much the same footing as that of any English provincial town. In 1939 the early editions of the London morning papers were on the breakfast table. Ten years before the habit was to have the English dailies delivered about noon on the following day. The good communications with England can be said to have helped to make life better for all residents in the island.

For every passenger landed by air or by steamer harbour revenues received tax at the rate of 1s. 6d. per head which was included in the passenger fare. If we take the number of visitors from the United Kingdom and allow that one-third of them made one-day excursions to France we see that a large number "landed" in the island—some of them once and some of them twice. In addition, each steamer paid for its own harbour facilities. The harbour finances were in a most healthy condition, which became better as the number of tourists grew.

Collectively, tourists consumed large quantities of liqueurs, wines, spirits and beers, and they smoked much tobacco and cigarettes bought in the island and dutiable there. Allowing, in addition, for what each passenger was permitted to take from the island into the United Kingdom free of United Kingdom duty, the revenue derived by the States from this source was considerable.

The island manufacture of "*eau de cologne*," a commodity subject to local excise duty, had its existence supported almost entirely by the tourist traffic.

Anyone doubting the value to the island of this industry should try to recall the scenes in the shopping centres of the town, particularly on Thursdays and Fridays before the Saturday departures. Practically everything which was sold then had been imported under tariffs or subject to duties, another source of revenue to the exchequer. Large-scale imports of the types of luxury goods sold would not have been made but for the market which the tourist industry created.

Tourists contributed largely to entertainments tax revenue. The nightly dances at West Park Pavilion, the cinemas and the summer events at Springfield brought in to the local treasury a large share of the total from this source. The summer was the hey-day of indirect taxation revenue.

The States derived another source of income from the grant of hotel licences. For example, the first-class hotel paid £100 a year. Relatively few hotels were licensed in the first class, but there were many in the second and lower classes with seasonal licences only. Relatively large amounts were paid also by West Park Pavilion, West's, the Opera House and the Forum for licensed trade facilities which were needed mostly in the tourist season.

Among other advantages the island community gained from the tourist industry was the building of West Park Pavilion and many good class hotels in different parts of the island. The building or reconstruction of these provided employment and created a demand for goods and services.

The island budget is introduced in November. The financial year ends in December. The budget was based on an estimated surplus, which was always considerably lower than the surplus actually realised. Examining the effect, in the making of this surplus, of (i) a better than anticipated agricultural season and (ii) an increase in the number of tourists, we find:—

- (i) As he was by nature thrifty, the farmer would probably put something aside out of his year's profits, and his income would increase by the

amount of interest earned. If he departed from this habit he might, if he used his increased spending power locally, contribute more towards local indirect taxation, also his spending would lead to increased tradesmen's profits which would increase their income tax. The potato merchant will probably also have had higher profits assessable for income tax, but the farmer, not being assessed on profits, will not have had an increased tax liability as a result of his higher prosperity.

- (ii) In contrast we find as the result of an increased tourist traffic:—
 - (a) increased harbour revenues and consequent surplus (not included in the island budget surplus);
 - (b) larger yields to the general revenue from every form of indirect tax to which tourists contributed;
 - (c) increased spending power of all hotel keepers and others whose businesses benefited directly or indirectly from the tourist traffic;
 - (d) increased liability to income tax of all trades and traders whose profits had been increased.

The tourist traffic provided a market for locally produced milk when the available quantities were greatest, and also enabled a lot of island produce, potatoes, tomatoes, salads, butter, poultry, eggs, lobsters, etc., to find a ready market. Here the producer often got the retail prices.

Consider the effect of the building of a new hotel in any parish. In St. Saviour, for example, two big establishments had been built. These were each rated for thousands of quarters of parochial and occupiers' rate. As parish expenditure was relatively unaffected by these particular developments, an all-round reduction in the rate was possible and every ratepayer benefited.

The existence of the tourist industry made openings for employment in many types of local enterprise. Between one tourist season and another there was usually some building development on foot which provided work at a time when there was no export trade and when no work was available on the farms or in the merchants' stores. The work thus provided kept numbers off the Poor Law, there being no unemployment insurance. This helped to keep taxation low.

All inhabitants of the island enjoyed indirect benefits from the tourist industry. For example:—

(a) Without the direct and indirect contributions coming into the States treasury from the tourist industry, it would have been necessary, in order to produce the same aggregate revenue, to tax the islanders more. There was very little public expenditure in connection with the tourist industry. If there had been no tourist industry the total of States expenditure (to which the levels of taxation were set) could hardly have been reduced. If the tourist industry's contributions had not been made the money would have had to be found elsewhere. Was there not, perhaps, some relationship between the much smaller tourist industry in Guernsey and the higher rate of direct taxation constantly borne by the inhabitants of that island as compared with that borne in Jersey? The respective rates of income tax were:—

1939—Jersey	6d. in £.
Guernsey	1s. 9d. in £.
1940—Jersey	9d. in £.
Guernsey	1s. 6d. to 5s. in £ graduated.

It is not suggested, of course, that the whole of the differences in rates of direct taxation were a consequence of a lower indirect revenue caused by the very much smaller tourist industry in Guernsey.

(b) The provision of shops, hotels, dance halls and cinemas, and the visits of first-class repertory companies (such as the Malvern Players) for thirteen-week seasons, and of concert parties, brought some definite cultural benefits which all sections of island life enjoyed. When the tourist season had ended, all kinds of local clubs opened their seasons of social life which went on right through winter and spring. Without the establishments which were built for tourists such activities might still have gone on, but the standard would have been much lower. As it was, life was made fuller and more agreeable for all the islanders in the winter and spring when industries were quiet. On public occasions, such as the visits of celebrities and of ships of H.M. Navy, suitable places were available for entertainment. The island was always then praised for having such splendid amenities. These were there because the tourist traffic had justified them, and for no other reason.

One often heard the criticism that certain hotel keepers were alleged to keep all the spending power of visitors inside the establishment. Another was that hotel keepers made direct imports and so cut out the local trader. In regard to these it can be said that the law on the sale of spirituous liquors controlled, to a small extent, what could be sold in licensed premises. On the other objection there may have been a few instances, but in the background there always lay the check implicit in the parish meeting of *principaux* which voted upon the granting of the hotel keeper's licence. The meeting was likely to be unsympathetic if the licensee did not help to support the island trader.

A report of the Jersey Chamber of Commerce in February 1938 on a matter which might have involved increased direct taxation was submitted to the States. The enquiry into official figures which had preceded this report showed that direct taxation revenue was contributed as follows:—

By taxpayers who might at any time leave the island, e.g.				
residents of United Kingdom origin	..	..	..	65%
By others	..	..	..	35%

In the 35 per cent. group much the greater part was contributed by non-agricultural interests.

With the possible exception of four parishes (St. John, St. Martin, St. Mary and St. Ouen), the farmers paid a smaller share of the rates than the other sections of the community. The contribution from agriculture as a whole to indirect taxation is considered to have been less than that from the tourist industry and its connections. On the best authority it has been estimated that each tourist's contribution to the general revenues of the States was about fifteen shillings (apart from harbour revenues), and this in the short period of his stay.

The general standard of living in the island tended to move up with the rise of the island as a tourist and residential resort rather than as the result of agricultural developments. During twenty years, the annual export value of all agricultural and horticultural products, including cattle, had varied from £550,000 to £1,350,000. The lower figure occurred in the year prior to the Ministry of Agriculture's banning of importations of produce from France because of the danger from the Colorado beetle. Thus the rise in agricultural values was, to some extent, due to a fortuitous circumstance the removal of which might, other things being equal, cause values to decline towards the lower figure again. It is necessary to have an alternative industry against such an eventuality. The rise in tourist arrivals to 105,000 in 1938 was due to the normal rate of progress in the industry notwithstanding the quite slipshod development. Given what should follow from a well organised development, nothing like the peak had been reached.

Over a period of approximately twenty years, the average annual figure by which Jersey's imports had exceeded exports was more than one and a quarter million pounds. How was this gap closed? The external investments, pensions, annuities and allowances (of residents mainly) from outside the island yielded a sum of £800,000 nett annually. Tourist trade accounted for the remaining half a million (approximately)* within the short period of the visitor season. The maintenance of the island's standard of living depended upon the large gap between export and import values being closed, although admittedly imports were higher as a result of the tourist trade than they otherwise would have been. Had the gap not been closed an unbalanced economy would soon have brought distress to the island.

SOME IDEAS FOR DEVELOPMENT

First, we must visualise the condition in which it happened that the industry had had so little controlled development. It can be said that its value to the island was appreciated only by three States' departments, namely Tourism, Finance and Harbours, and that, in general, the legislature did not encourage it. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the fact—inevitable from the constitution of the assembly—that, broadly speaking, three out of four of the members of the States came from rural (agricultural) parishes. More amenities of a permanent value will need to be provided in future because so little has been done previously.

The several benefits referred to earlier were not the consequence of encouragement or planning. The strides made were due first to the enterprise of those engaged in the industry, and secondly to a recognition by holiday-makers of the amenities, scenery, bathing and sunshine which Nature had provided.

Further development of the tourist industry should seek to lengthen the season. This might be done:—

- (a) by concentrating publicity on the earlier and later sunny weather which is usually to be enjoyed;
- (b) by providing suitable amenities to compensate the early and late holiday-makers for not having midsummer weather to enjoy; and
- (c) by getting the agreement of hotel keepers to "out of season" charges.

As to (a) there will be in future, as a result of more general "holidays with pay" in Britain, a much larger potential holiday traffic than before. With the prospect of staggered holidays, a resort which has slightly better weather to offer will be sought by very large numbers. Advertising is the medium to tell where that resort is. Fortunately, meteorology was the one subject in which perfect island statistics were kept.

As to (b) there will need to be some engendering of a spirit akin to that shown in the United Kingdom by the "stay at home" holidays movement, which has considerably improved local authority entertainment organisation.

As to (c) there is no doubt of the co-operation of proprietors, given the other conditions.

Prior to 1940, the island was a popular resort very largely on the grounds of its natural amenities. If, however, there was a succession of wet days, and between May and September there would be many, the holiday-makers had in the day time little choice between staying in their own hotels, walking aimlessly

* The half a million pounds mentioned is interesting by comparison with the ten years' (1928-1937) average annual value of potato exports of £556,908, and with the ten years' (1924-1933) average of £556,041.

in the streets or going to a bar. At such times they were disappointed, and would say "If only there was somewhere to go, away from the hotel, to listen to a band or string orchestra, we might forget the weather."

Enquiries were often received about facilities for large conferences. Then, the need was a large conference hall. National conferences of important bodies take place around Whitsun or in September. If the island could have taken one national conference at Whitsun and another in September the tourist traffic would have increased by a good percentage and this at suitable times.

Probably the amenities shown to be lacking, and the conference hall mentioned are one problem. It is not suggested that it would be a function of the new organisation, mentioned below, to provide it, but a "winter garden" seems to be the solution as this could serve both needs. The capital cost could be borne by the States which might derive an annual income through letting the premises on a lease to a development authority. Such a centre would become the hub of island cultural life, and thus benefit islanders as well as tourists.

Jersey had no really good military band, although the musicians were there. It had good symphony and light orchestras. To encourage all these, grants might be available from the income of the development authority suggested below. Moderately-sized accommodation for a concert party near the sea might be made available. Just before the war plans for a suitable concert hall at West Park were prepared.

Before the war English yacht owners were known to be discouraged by organisations advising them not to visit the island because the facilities were regarded as poor. The tidal difficulties must be recognised, but the position might be improved by making St. Aubin and Gorey harbours more suitable. If these were used only as ports of call by yachts going to Brittany or from France to England, that would benefit at least these districts. It might well be more advantageous in the long run that merely nominal harbour charges should be made.

Tourists always used buses and motor coaches to see the island. To ensure the best conditions of internal travel one ought to consider whether all transport for public hire (other than hackney cabs) should not be publicly owned.

Among other desirable amenities the following are suggested—

- (a) A children's nursery at Havre-des-Pas and at West Park where parents on a visit to the island might leave young children, and be freed of them to see the island. Also paddling-pools for older children.
- (b) The construction of a new West Park bathing pool.
- (c) An interest to be taken in the well-being of recreation grounds, such as that at Grève d'Azette.
- (d) The provision of increased numbers of shelters, seats, signposts and public conveniences around the coast and in the country.
- (e) The proper upkeep of existing cliff paths and their extension where possible. Headland and cliff wardens to be used to deal with furze fires and to prevent the dumping of rubbish.
- (f) Access to all headlands and beaches to be opened up.
- (g) The Jersey National Trust to be helped.
- (h) Beach wardens to give warning against dangerous bathing places and to keep the beaches clean.
- (i) The creation and upkeep of better flower displays in public gardens and parks. What was accomplished at Samarès Manor showed what kind of gardens the island might produce under well qualified supervision.

- (j) The provision of youth hostels. The Youth Hostels' Association would be the best medium to deal with this.
- (k) The island talent available, as seen in the Green Room Club and at dancing displays, might be used directly in connection with the tourist industry. Steps could be taken to establish an open-air theatre, using perhaps the lower part of Plaisance. An annual pageant based on some incident in island history might be staged. The Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (C.E.M.A.) might be invited to send shows to the island.

The idea of "summer schools" for teachers in vacation periods should be supported. Victoria College might accommodate some of them, and Jersey might set out to specialise in English for students from France, and in French for students from England. Physical culture and swimming are other subjects for which excellent "summer school" facilities are available without capital expenditure having to be incurred.

When the part played in golf by Vardon, Ray, the Boomers and the Gaudins, all of whom came from Jersey, is remembered, it may be doubted whether this was ever turned to full account as an asset for the tourist industry. Jersey has two very good and delightfully situated 18-hole courses, and if these were lengthened it might be possible to organise an "open" each year, having one year an "amateur" championship and the next a "professional" one, and alternating the play between the two courses. It could be played off in the spring or autumn. The direct advantages would be to draw golfing enthusiasts to the island, and possibly help to make it again a nursery for native professionals.

Other suggestions put forward for discussion in regard to the future control and development of the tourist industry include:—

- (i) The States to continue to appoint a Tourist Committee with the duty of supervising the conduct of premises catering for visitors which accommodate more than a certain number.
- (ii) The appointment of a separate authority, say, a Tourist Development Corporation, created by the States, the States appointing the governors or directors. This authority should be given wide powers so that it might foster the industry in any desirable way. The work of such a body, supported by an assured and increasing income, would have cumulative effects and be of lasting benefit.
- (iii) To ensure an adequate income for this authority, and to charge the industry with the cost of its own development, a "Taxe de Séjour" to be introduced, applicable for instance to tourists staying at premises licensed under the law on the sale of spirituous liquors and to those coming within the scope of the Tourist Committee. Those staying at small boarding and farm houses might be exempted. If the rate of tax was, say, five per cent., and we calculated on 50,000 visitors annually paying an average hotel bill of four pounds—a very low figure—an amount of £10,000 would on this basis be available to the development authority.

Such a method would be an improvement on the conditions of 1940. Then the Tourist Committee (3 jurats, 3 rectors, 3 connétables and 3 députés) could have no plans ahead of the current year as it never could have a financial vote beyond the current budget period. It was always nervous of its vote, fearing either a refusal or a reduction. It could not, therefore, plan for the future.

On the question of "co-operation" between the islands, the possibilities will depend on the larger islands keeping pace with each other in developments. If they both acted on the suggestion of the preceding paragraph there would be

much progress in each island. One question arises: Is joint publicity of the "Channel Islands" as distinct from separate publicity of Jersey and Guernsey, possible? Until a few years ago the Isle of Wight resorts advertised separately. Now they do so together, and ask the public to visit "Isle of Wight resorts—Cowes, Ventnor, etc." But between these places there is no separating sea. This is a very great difference. Again, Jersey, having handled annually so many thousands of visitors more than Guernsey, has a bigger "public" in the United Kingdom. That public would probably read "Channel Islands" to mean Jersey. Two positive suggestions are therefore made. Before 1940 Jersey turned down each year thousands of tourists who had applied for accommodation too late. There was thus an overflow of which Guernsey might have been given the benefit had there been some machinery for co-operation. On the assumption that each island sets out to foster the tourist industry they might, in the first instance, co-operate in these two ways:—

- (i) All publicity abroad, i.e. outside the United Kingdom, to be on joint lines or co-ordinated; e.g. "Visit the Channel Islands—Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney and Sark." This arrangement to extend to all kinds of publications, press adverts., radio talks, films, etc. It should be made clear that Alderney and Sark were less easily accessible.
- (ii) To keep in close touch, especially in regard to the busy months, Guernsey advising Jersey of the accommodation which it has available, since Jersey is certain in normal times to receive more applications than it can satisfy.

Other methods of co-operation would develop from this modest start.

To most of the ideas in this article objections of cost can be raised. One answer to these is that, apart from the fact that public works which will be essential to the absorption of labour and in terms of real cost will be cheaper than paying unemployment relief, all the cost might be charged to the tourist industry. To foster public amenities is a modern conception of good government. Again, many of the developments outlined are desirable to provide a quick recovery in the island's prosperity. It is recognised that there is wealth in the soil and that the staple industry will be the working of the soil. To develop other industries involving factory buildings would alter the face of the island. Is it not better to have a properly developed tourist industry? It may be asked where an increased tourist traffic could be housed, remembering that at the peak of 1939 the available accommodation was exhausted. The answer lies in the development of suitable sites. Under controlled development, hotels could be constructed either on ground which is not under agricultural production, or on sites cleared of old property. This would avoid the danger of a further shrinkage of ground under cultivation, and would substitute for old property good modern property of much higher rateable value.

Complementary to any positive effort to develop the tourist industry, the States should legislate for the protection of beauty spots. Guernsey has had some experience of the working of modest legislation on this subject, opposition to which seems to have disappeared.

It is certain that, for years to come, thousands of people from Great Britain, from the nations of the Commonwealth and from America will want to visit the islands. Realising this, we should plan to welcome them and prepare for their coming by providing several of the amenities known to have been desired before. One would like to see the future of the tourist industry so married to agriculture that farmhouse holidays would become available as the rule instead

of the exception. And it is in the farmhouse that island life can be touched closest and the tongue of Wace still be heard. There is no doubt that Jersey, whilst preserving its own special character (which means an avoidance of the more popular amenities of the ordinary coast resort) can rise again and win a new and larger host of admirers in the world.

VII. SOME OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING

THE FEARFUL UPHEAVAL OF WAR HAS BROUGHT ABOUT A CESSATION OF THE normal building operations in the islands, and the enemy occupation has brought about violent changes, many of which have been accompanied by great hardship. Yet, if we have the will, we can reap some lasting benefits from the situation.

It is generally agreed that we may expect considerable changes in the external appearance of the larger islands but these changes need not daunt us if we have a vision of the possibilities thus offered. The defence works of the enemy will eventually be cleared away and there will be an opportunity of "starting anew" on different but better lines—an opportunity such as may never occur again in the history of the islands.

A halt has been called to the type of development which we were allowing to proceed. Let us examine that development and see if we think it is worthy of the islands which are so lavishly endowed by nature in respect of beauty and climate, and which are so rich in historical associations.

PRE-WAR CONDITIONS

The increase in the visitor trade and in the number of residents had resulted in the towns becoming more and more crowded. The hotels and boarding houses were tending to become larger and higher (and noisier) and the outskirts of the towns were a jumble of buildings apparently sited at random. Every plot of land in the urban areas—often food-producing ground—had become of high value and, until very recent years, could be built over to the fullest extent without let or hindrance, thus creating in many cases the slums of the future: an addition to the earlier slums which, to our shame, were still allowed to exist.

Inside the towns the traffic problem had become acute by reason of a great increase in the number of buses, coaches and private cars. One can recall the terrific "jams" in St. Helier, for instance, when on occasion in summer the whole of the traffic in the centre of the town was paralysed for a short time and the air was filled with noise and the exhaust fumes of an almost solid mass of vehicles.

The towns of St. Helier and St. Peter Port had in the last ten years before the war been "on the march," eating up beautiful country and foreshore. Just visualise for a moment a journey along the coast road from St. Helier to Grouville, in Jersey: the picturesque coastline and the sea were visible only in brief glimpses between buildings, many of which were of a shoddy nature.

Let us take our minds back just a few years before the commencement of the uncontrolled building boom. The parishes of the islands were then separate communities, each with a well-defined centre created by church, chapel, school, shop, and usually a hotel. There were here the ingredients of a true community life. But instead of these villages developing into larger but compact communities around these centres the development had been along the roads, usually the main roads. In many cases the outward "march" from the villages had

joined the outward "march" from the capitals of St. Helier and St. Peter Port, with the result that for long stretches of the roads a view of the countryside was denied.

Apart, however, from the destruction of beauty and the waste of land involved in this form of development, serious traffic difficulties were created by the increase in bus traffic to serve the houses and by the obstruction of the roads by waiting vans and cars.

One reason for this undesirable form of development was that by building alongside the existing roads, builders (too often of the "speculative" type) were saved the cost of road construction, drains, etc., and were thus able to sell their houses at a more competitive figure, entirely without consideration for amenities.

It cannot really be thought desirable to live on the sides of a motor highway with the accompanying noise and noxious exhaust fumes, to say nothing of the danger to life and limb, particularly in the case of children.

All these unsatisfactory conditions have been brought about by building without any sort of "master" plan and with virtually no control. We must arrest this type of development, which was destroying before our very eyes so much that was beautiful and unique. It was unplanned development and quite unworthy of the islands.

THE NEED FOR A PLAN

Let us think for a moment about the problems that we have to solve in our own lives. Consider, for example, our gardens. We want a show of flowers all the year round, but we must have vegetables all the year round too. Can it be done? Some quiet hours with a seed catalogue and a plan provide the answer. Or, again, we wish to live comfortably throughout the year, to educate our children properly, and to save sufficient money for a good annual holiday. Here, again, we sit down and plan the use of our resources. In each of these cases we have a limited amount of material and many things to do with it. But we manage to achieve them all by "thinking things out" beforehand.

In the islands we have just the same sort of problem: we have a limited amount of space and much to fit into it. We have to meet the needs of the population—shelter, food, recreation and the amenities of life generally. Added to this we have to supply the needs of the main industries (agriculture and the cattle trade) and the visitor traffic. It is clear that a great deal of thought must be given to this question if we are to use to the best advantage the limited amount of land available.

It is considered that one of the first essentials after liberation is the preparation of a "master plan" for each island. Taking the long view, planning pays. Money expended on the preservation or the re-adornment of the islands' beauty is money well invested—we can no longer afford not to plan.

Islanders should be encouraged to take an active and intelligent interest in planning, the aim being to plan *with* the people rather than *for* the people. Public opinion on all matters connected with planning and reconstruction could be fostered by the formation of groups representative of all sections of the community, each group having representation upon a "Reconstruction Advisory Committee" which, as the title implies, would be in a position to speak to the States on behalf of the people. This system is now working very satisfactorily in many cities and towns in this country and local authorities pay tribute to the value of the work being done by such committees.

As a preliminary to planning, a thorough and all-embracing survey should be undertaken as soon as possible after liberation. The object of this survey

would be to furnish detailed information as to existing conditions—a "civic diagnosis," as it were.

The following are some of the principal headings under which the results of the research might be grouped:—

- Numbers, ages and occupations of the normal population;
- Location of food-producing land;
- Location of uncultivated land, woods, open spaces, parks, etc.;
- Location of industry, shopping facilities, etc.;
- Transport facilities;
- Public services;
- Location of schools and educational facilities;
- Location of hospital and medical facilities;
- Location of religious, recreational and entertainment facilities;
- Numbers and types of houses;
- Location of slums and overcrowded areas;
- Location of hotels and boarding establishments;
- Location of traffic congestions and road accident "spots";
- Etc.

This survey completed and the inferences noted, long-term plans could be laid down for each of the islands. They should clearly define essentials but should be flexible and capable of variations as conditions alter and new needs arise.

One of the main objectives of these island plans should be the enhancement of the unique natural features of the islands; an attempt, too, should be made to retrieve their distinctive characteristics which were rapidly being obscured by the ill-considered development proceeding in the immediate pre-war era.

The plan for each island should, where applicable, define limits to the size of the towns and villages, should establish green belts around the towns, should prohibit "ribbon" development. It should delineate the main traffic routes and should define the areas to be reserved for agriculture, afforestation, recreation, etc. The plan should form the foundation of a long-term building programme and should indicate the various types of buildings that will be required in particular areas and the standard of amenities, etc., to be provided.

The following general observations and suggestions are offered in a desire to stimulate thought on the matter:—

Roads.—The islands are exceptionally well served by their road systems, which possibly have been extended and improved by the enemy. Some improvement, however, is desirable in the towns, particularly in St. Helier, where for years there has been an urgent need for a good "through road" running east to west. Generally, road junctions were in need of improvement—there were too many "blind" corners.

There was in pre-war days a tendency to allow too much coach traffic and certain sections of the roads of the islands might with considerable advantage be closed to heavy traffic; and, indeed, to motor traffic generally. Well designed shelters for waiting bus passengers should be provided at appropriate points. Consideration, too, might be given to the design of street lamps, name plates, litter boxes and "street furniture" generally.

Railways.—The reported construction of new railways and the reinstatement of abandoned lines may offer possibilities which should not be overlooked. These railways, if retained in part, would considerably relieve the road traffic which, in Jersey for instance, was increasing at an alarming rate. The railways could provide very useful services for both passengers and produce by means

of well designed diesel-propelled or electric vehicles, and could offer a great attraction to resident and holiday-maker alike were certain sections to be developed on "model railway" lines.

COASTLINES

The coastline of Jersey should be rendered more accessible to residents and holiday-makers and large tracts of land, much of it wild, situated on the coast and now in private ownership might be acquired by the Government of the island for the use and enjoyment of the communities. An appeal might be made to the owners of such property to place it in the hands of National Trusts.

It is possible that for military reasons the enemy may have demolished certain of the buildings situated on the coasts of the islands. If this is so, some of these buildings might with advantage not be rebuilt, so as to allow of improved access to the beaches, many of which were becoming well-nigh inaccessible to the public by reason of over-building. The indiscriminate erection of shacks should not be allowed. There is undoubtedly a need for the provision of bathing and week-end huts, but these should be built in well designed groups, such as one sees in some of the more enlightened English resorts.

There should be an ample provision of footpaths on the coastline. Guernsey, Alderney and Sark were well provided for in this respect and a good start had been made in Jersey through the efforts of the National Trust, but everywhere more footpaths are desirable.

PICTURESQUE BUILDINGS

Some of the picturesque old fortifications, if not ruined by the works of the enemy, might be developed as pleasantries. It is thought that Elizabeth Castle in Jersey and Castle Cornet in Guernsey have great possibilities in this direction as they have interesting historical features, which might be emphasised, and they command fascinating views. Café facilities might be provided and, in the case of Elizabeth Castle, a service of boats at high tide. The character and appearance of the buildings should, however, be strictly preserved.

The martello towers and forts should be preserved and ought not to be allowed to pass into private ownership for conversion into dwelling-houses. All charming groups of old buildings, such as those below Mont Orgueil in Jersey, should be preserved and any alterations necessary to bring them up to date should be made without spoiling their external character.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ISLANDS

The traditional architecture of the islands is distinctive and full of charm and might be allowed to exercise more influence on contemporary building than heretofore. It is recalled that as late as 1933 the towns had largely retained their distinctive character. There was a definite "Island" style in the buildings and many of the smaller shops, for instance, were quite delightful. The often misguided passion for "improvement" has swept away many of these old buildings and they have been replaced, in some instances, by dull, characterless structures, often of unsuitable materials; those buildings erected by the "chain stores" being perhaps amongst the worst examples.

BUILDING MATERIALS

It is to be deplored that the beautiful granites were not latterly more extensively used for building purposes, but the cost of "working" has largely precluded their general use. The installation of suitable machinery and the development of a new building technique might allow of the use of considerably more granite as a facing material and this possibility is now being investigated.

The colour of buildings, whatever the style of architecture—and there is room for all styles—is of great importance and there might well be some form of control in this respect, so as to avoid the spoiling of lovely stretches of coast or country by the erection of buildings which are inharmonious with their surroundings by nature of their material or colouring. Let us by all means use gay colours on the buildings of the towns, and particularly on buildings designed for pleasure; nothing is more refreshing and stimulating than good "clean" colour applied to small areas of buildings, such as doors, windows, etc.

THE TOWNS

The towns are attractive when viewed from the sea, particularly St. Peter Port, but they could be very much improved by "opening-up." The creation of miniature parkways ("green fingers") leading into the towns from the outskirts might be considered desirable and much could be achieved by the creation of vistas. There should be a generous provision of open spaces, of which a splendid example is The Parade in St. Helier—a fine piece of the town planning of General Don's time.

The main streets in the towns ought to be replanned as streets and not piecemeal. Plans should be prepared so that all new buildings as they are erected form part of a definite scheme. In this way can be achieved in course of time fine streets really worthy of the islands. Certain streets might be colonnaded and would be a boon in high summer and on wet days. Some shopping streets might be entirely closed to all but pedestrian traffic, the approach by car or goods vehicle being by way of side or back streets. Shoppers would then be able to wander at will from shop to shop, on paved or partially lawned open spaces, planted with trees, and furnished with seats, etc. (Jersey people will recall how on Saturday evenings the populace "took possession" of King Street—evidence of the need for a promenade in the centre of the town.)

The somewhat "continental" atmosphere of the towns might be enhanced by the establishment of open-air cafés and by the introduction of fountains, flowering trees, shrubs and flowers. Many of the rather dreary streets (many of them, alas, of recent creation) might be improved out of knowledge by the judicious planting of flowering trees, a feature which many of us have come to admire in English towns.

Really adequate parking facilities should be provided so as to keep the streets clear of stationary vehicles, but these car parks must be close to the shopping streets. There is a great deal of waste land in the centre of St. Helier, for instance, in the shape of derelict gardens and yards behind business premises, which could well be used for this purpose.

HOUSING

Slums must of course be abolished, but great care should be taken in the location of houses built to replace such property. Houses should not be scattered at random but should be planned in well-considered groups. Part of the need for additional housing—particularly in view of the small land area available—might be met by the provision of carefully designed blocks of flats, of sound-proof construction, and located on spacious sites which should be laid out as communal gardens. It is, however, generally agreed that flats are not ideal for the housing of families with young children: for older people and single persons they offer certain advantages, particularly if restaurant facilities are provided.

INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS

Although it is quite possible to achieve form and beauty in the design of industrial structures such as gas and electricity works, granite crushers and industrial buildings generally, this is rare, and consequently many neighbourhoods are defaced by the very obvious presence of such concerns, particularly where they are located on the foreshore, or on skylines. Some of these structures will have been camouflaged—or "painted out of the landscape"—as a war measure and a serious plea is made for the permanent retention of this camouflage and its application, if necessary by legislation, to all structures of this type. In this connection, the possibility of planting screens of trees around industrial buildings should be considered.

STREET NAMES

The occupation of the islands by the enemy and the almost certain renaming of many streets should furnish a unique opportunity of reviving some of the delightful long-lost names in *patois* or French. The changes of address consequent on the upheaval of the last few years and the possible confiscation by the enemy of metal die-sinkings should remove some of the complications usually attendant upon such changes.

RAILINGS

Quite probably the enemy will have removed railings from parks, private gardens, etc. We see in England how pleasantly the towns have been "opened up" by the removal of railings and we might suggest that, where removed in the islands, fences should not be refixed, except where absolutely necessary, and then only in an attractive style.

LIGHTING

Well designed night-lighting can fulfil a definite function and this is most effective in the form of flood-lighting. The type of "festoon" lighting which was installed on the Esplanade in St. Helier shortly before the war was even then out of date. It was wrongly placed on the sea side of the road because the glare of light prevented the enjoyment of the beautiful night skies and, if only on that account, it ought not to be reinstated.

ADVERTISING

It is suggested that all forms of outdoor advertising should be strictly controlled as nothing can more effectively destroy local character than lack of discrimination in this respect. A stamp duty on hoardings, etc., could advantageously be imposed. "Chain" stores should not be allowed to display their standard shop-fronts and signs, but should be compelled to design them to suit the locality (the more enlightened towns in England are now insisting on this courtesy).

Prior to the war the towns of St. Helier and St. Peter Port were rapidly being vulgarised by the introduction of coloured lighting, advertising various commodities, etc. The imposition of restraint or even prohibition might be desirable if better manners are not forthcoming from those who are responsible for the erection of these "features"; at best they are somewhat distracting affairs, they are wasteful of electric current and are not necessary to attract the desirable type of resident and holiday-maker.

PREVENTION OF LITTER

It might be advisable to suggest the imposition of penalties for the scattering

of litter; this is done in many parts of England and has undoubtedly prevented beauty spots from being spoiled by the thoughtless.

TELEPHONE AND ELECTRIC CABLES

Where possible cables ought to be laid underground. They should never be erected on the edge of cliffs nor on the outer edge of roads skirting the cliffs and leading down into bays, as at Bonne Nuit Bay, Jersey, where a superb view has been spoiled by the ill-considered placing of electric cables and poles. Where it is necessary to utilise overhead cables, they should be sited with due consideration for appearances.

AFFORESTATION

It is doubtless generally agreed that there has been too much cutting and lopping of trees in the islands, and the position may now be infinitely worse in some localities, owing to war conditions. Tree-lovers will recall with regret the felling of many of the magnificent pine trees growing on the slopes behind St. Brelades Bay in Jersey, so as to provide building sites. This was wanton destruction of fine timber which was a feature of the Bay, and a "master plan" could prevent a repetition of this sort of tragedy, as any required building sites would be located with a view to the preservation of natural beauty.

In the case of buildings ill-placed on cliff-tops or skylines much could be achieved by the judicious planting of trees on a somewhat lower level. The trees would eventually screen the buildings but would still allow the occupants to enjoy the view, which would be enhanced by looking over or through the trees.

The National Trust in Jersey and the Society of the "Men of the Trees" were doing good work in influencing public opinion as to the value of trees, and many individuals were beautifying their properties by planting flowering trees and shrubs. There should, however, be a States policy on this matter, which is vital both aesthetically and climatically.

CONCLUSION

There is an ever-growing appreciation of natural landscape beauty and an ever-increasing desire to enjoy unspoilt stretches of coastline and to live in beautiful surroundings.

We know by experience of the islands how blind and regardless of consequences the uncontrolled development of the land can be. There may be a genuine desire to attract visitors and residents, but the indiscriminate building of hotels, holiday camps and houses in the most attractive portions of the islands has in too many cases almost irrevocably ruined the very beauty which was the original attraction.

But although much of the beauty of the islands has unhappily been destroyed or spoiled by the ill-considered development of recent years (and we have hints of further spoliation by the enemy), much that is beautiful still remains, and it is not too late to think about and, after liberation, to suggest in the proper quarters, the urgent need for the preparation of plans for future development. Development or "full-utilisation" does not mean commercialisation. It is quite possible to develop the islands to the fullest extent without losing their distinctive character.

We should all endeavour to absorb all that is best in the current ideas on planning (in the broadest sense) and to be prepared after the liberation of the islands to play our full part for the achievement of order and comeliness in the islands we love so well.

VIII. LAND UTILISATION

IT IS CONSIDERED THAT THE FUTURE PROSPERITY AND WELL-BEING OF THE Channel (or Norman) Islands depend in order of priority upon:—

- (a) A healthy agriculture.
- (b) The British "rentier" resident.
- (c) The tourist industry.

It is not the intention of this paper to study these three requirements in great detail, but rather to consider what steps are necessary in order to secure a sound policy in the preservation and use of land as the basis of a flourishing agriculture and an attractive and pleasant setting for the resident. The general objectives may be particularised as follows:—

- (a) The preservation of natural scenery and of places of beauty or of historic or other interest.
- (b) To remedy the errors of the past thirty years and to make good the ravages of the German occupation.
- (c) Intelligent planning and direction in order to add to the islands' amenities and to meet the needs of a modern community.

AGRICULTURE

The islands' agriculture depends upon three factors:—

- (a) The continued fertility of the soil.
- (b) The preservation of the best agricultural land.
- (c) The open English market, as there is no market for the sale of the islands' produce on the French mainland.

The fertility of the soil, apart from any deterioration immediately caused by the present war, was in progress of being seriously impaired by thoughtless deforestation, whilst the scrabble of the speculative builder and the thoughtlessness of private individuals have denied the islands of the use for agricultural purposes of hundreds of vergées of the best agricultural land.

To combat these distressing and disruptive features, the two main needs appear to be:—

- (a) The enlightenment of the farming community and other landowners on the real value of trees to a community for the retention of the fertility of the soil, for the preservation of the climate and for aesthetic reasons. The retention of old, and the planting of new, trees may well involve some decrease in the total crop output for a few years, but this short-term effect must be accepted in the light of the long-term benefit.
- (b) The introduction of legislation to ensure that no further agricultural land is utilised for building, and that certain land may even be reclaimed for agriculture. If complete "sterilisation" should prove impracticable, then, at the very least, measures should be taken to secure the maintenance of economic farm units, and to direct building on to the less productive land or to sites already developed beyond hope of restoration.

COASTS

The coastlines represent one of the islands' most precious assets, and provision for their preservation and enjoyment is desirable. This preservation, in effect,

involves the protection of all land between the coastal roads and the sea and it implies three things:—

- (a) Proper conservation of, and access to, the coastal areas for the benefit of the community at large. In some extreme cases as, e.g. previously established public utilities, there may be interests with over-riding claims but, in general, it may be stated that the public use of the foreshore should be accompanied by public ownership of the means of access thereto. Development on the seaward side of coastal roads should be prohibited.
- (b) Tenants of *Communes*, which so frequently border the sea-shore, e.g. Les Marais (Grouville) or Crapédoit (Samareès) in Jersey, should not be permitted to lease out portions of their *Commune* (originally theirs for purposes of stacking vraic, grazing livestock and so on) for the erection of beach huts or other semi-permanent structures. It will be of importance too to ensure that beach huts now removed by the Germans shall not be replaced, except perhaps in certain well-defined zones, and shall be subject to restrictions as to colour and design.
- (c) The establishment and continued maintenance of coastal pathways, e.g. on the south coast of Guernsey or the north of Jersey (see also paragraphs below on Footpaths). This involves catering, in some places, for the needs of those who should be encouraged to enjoy the coastal scenery, e.g. the provision of architecturally designed shelters and cafés merging into the landscape. Public conveniences may also be needed. Many sections of the coast should, however, be left entirely in the wild and natural state; indeed, one aim must be to ensure the preservation of places whose historical or natural beauty remains undisturbed by modern progress.

FOOTPATHS

Proper access to the countryside as well as to the coast can be secured by the preservation of existing footpaths, by the restoration, where still traceable, of the old *perquages* or sanctuary pathways, and by the creation of new paths, so that a network of footpaths would enable a walker to cover a distance of, say, ten miles without ever having to pass along a busy road.

A Footpath Commission, responsible to an appropriate Committee of the States, might well be established for the purposes of:—

- (i) surveying all existing paths;
- (ii) seeking disused rights of way and investigating disputed cases and giving its decisions; the claimant, either a private individual or an association such as La Société Guernesiaise, having a right of appeal equally with any landowner;
- (iii) recommending the opening of further paths;
- (iv) giving publicity to their proceedings.

These footpaths should be maintained by the States, or by the appropriate parochial authority under the general supervision and direction of the States, instead of, as in the past, being dependent upon the funds and the vigilance of public-spirited bodies or individuals such as, for example, the National Trust for Jersey.

The paths should be clearly signposted. Marking by coloured bands after the fashion of the continental mainland is suggested.

The existence of large estates covering coastal areas should not be allowed to constitute a bar to this proposed right-of-access for pedestrians. The privilege is unlikely to be abused.

INDUSTRIES

The coastal areas should be banned to any fresh forms of industrial development or continued extractive industry, as e.g. quarrying.

The sites of existing installations, as e.g. the knackers' yard at Les Mouriers, Jersey, should be carefully reviewed, and any new industries should be sited with the greatest care and with very full regard to the possible effect upon existing amenities. This will, for example, apply with particular force to the siting of hotels and holiday camps. Our islands are small, so small, in fact, that the needs of the tourist industry can be adequately and fairly met by limiting further construction of hotels, etc., to urban areas and to only a very few selected rural areas.

In the case of quarries, gravel pits and brick fields—the only island extractive industries, but ones which cause a disproportionate disfiguration of the landscape—those responsible for the working should be required to "rehabilitate" the sites for agricultural or other suitable use as soon as they have been worked out. The example of slag-heap planting carried out with success in different parts of England may usefully be considered.

ROADS

It is considered that all road widening or other development schemes should be required by law to include provision for the replacement of trees necessarily felled, and for planting of others. Where possible *banques* and hedges should be retained or replaced, in keeping, perhaps, with accepted aesthetic design.

In country districts, where so much road widening is initiated in a desire to help and safeguard pedestrians but suffers from the faulty appreciation of traffic problems and their true remedies, the object might well be achieved by constructing footpaths along the field side of existing hedges and *banques*.

Wholesale and so often unnecessary road widening, generally attempted *à la fronde* and at very great expense, may often be avoided by the introduction of occasional "passing-locks" at intervals along the roads.

The felling of so-called "dangerous" trees should not be permitted until the simple expedient of whitewash or other warning has been tried and found wanting.

Roads should be attractively and plainly signposted (it is unnecessary to copy the design of A.A. signs), and the old island place names with their historical attraction should be used instead of such names as "Cuckoo Lane," "Marina Avenue," "Millards Corner"—all in Jersey, but Guernsey, too, has produced its own unhappy and dull anglicizations.

WOODS AND VALLEYS

Apart from coastal preservation, there are certain types of inland scenery in all the islands which demand protection, e.g. the wild-pear wood at Les Quennevais, Jersey, the mill valleys in Guernsey, all the trees in Alderney.

PLANNING

Each island should be zoned in order to define clearly:—

- (i) coastal belts;
- (ii) agricultural and rural areas;

- (iii) towns (all of which can be said to have reached their maximum permissible size);
- (iv) nature reserves.

The powers of any States' Committee on Planning or Land Utilisation should rest chiefly upon control and regulation, supported by well defined powers of compulsory acquisition, for instance on the basis of market values obtaining, say, in March 1939. Valuation in all cases is easily computable from the Island Registres and Listes du Rat.

There should be a complete ban on speculative building as such, and particularly on any attempt by island or non-island interests to "cash in" on the islands' post-war housing difficulties. Continued work for the established local building industry would be available in the redevelopment (under States' control but carried out by private enterprise) of the congested and unhealthy areas which already exist. It may be thought desirable to establish a register of builders, on which no builder may be placed unless he possesses adequate qualifications, and to grant builders' licences accordingly.

There should be continued maintenance and extension of the green fingers running into the towns, e.g. Les Vaux and La Vallée des Vaux in Jersey. A valuable lung in the town of St. Helier could, for example, be provided by the creation of public gardens and walks on the slopes of Fort Regent backing on to Hill Street.

TREES

The States' Experimental Farm in Jersey and its possible equivalent in Guernsey will have to make a careful study of arboriculture suited to the islands' conditions and needs.

All large-scale building and reconstruction plans should include a plan for planting suitable trees—both a long-term policy of slow growing hard woods and a short-term one in order to cover the open scars of the occupation with fast growing cherry, poplar and the like. Trees when planted would be most easily cared for by the parochial authorities, assisted and guided by the States' experts.

It is clear that in the past too little attention or thought has been given to the really important problems of afforestation, problems vital to agricultural communities the world over if they wish to escape the fate of the "Dust Bowl." Tree planting and tree welfare should, therefore, receive the continual attention of the States.

GENERAL

The post-liberation period provides a golden opportunity to undertake these tasks since much physical reconstruction will have to be carried out.

Money, particularly island money, expended in recreating the beauties and the homes of the islands is money invested permanently and worthily for our own future and the future of our children. To the extent that island labour and island materials will be used, such reconstruction will promote employment and therefore economic activity at a time, perhaps, when the staple peace-time industries will not yet be fully re-established. It can be best and most economically handled under the central direction and guidance of the States of each island.

Owing to the limited amount of space available in the islands, land and its proper use are so important that the interests of the community as a whole

should come before the interests or wishes of the minority. So long, however, as owners are allowed to do whatever they please with their land, physical planning is not possible—or at least it cannot be properly carried out. Not infrequently, the community eventually has to bear the burden of rectifying the results of neglecting the public aspects of the use of private property. The time has now arrived when we should regard our land, its beauties and its productivity as a matter of public concern and as our trust for those who are to follow after us. If we are to do this effectively we must accept town and country planning as a necessary part of wise government.

The public "control" considered desirable is, in a sense, an extension of that already existing. It may be recalled that land in the islands is not held in absolute ownership. All land is situated on a *Fief* with contingent, though remote, risks of escheat. Also property is now frequently subject to restrictive covenants in regard to light, trees, sanitation, construction, dangerous or immoral user, etc. Powers already exist for the compulsory acquisition of property required for road widening. Also, under the Code of 1771, a landowner in Jersey can compel those of his neighbours whose trees border the southern sides of his fields to lop their trees down to a maximum height of ten feet. And there are other restrictions already in force.

The principles governing town and country planning have received very careful study in the United Kingdom—admittedly backward in these respects—during the past few years, and full advantage should be taken of the conclusions reached by the Uthwatt and Scott Committees set up by the Government in 1941, whose valuable reports are published by H.M. Stationery Office. These have been admirably summarised in a recently published "Penguin" book entitled "Country and Town," 9d.

Whatever form legislation for Planning may take, the aims should be constructive, not obstructive. The composition and the functions of any Committee appointed to administer the legislation and the qualifications of its officers should be matters for careful consideration so as to ensure a common-sense approach and wise administration which will win the confidence and support of the public.

IX. EDUCATION

I. SOME THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN JERSEY*

I SHOULD LIKE TO REMIND YOU OF A FEW GENERAL PRINCIPLES WHICH, IN MY opinion, must be borne in mind in organising and administering any system of education anywhere and at any time. And when I say "general principles," please do not for a moment think of me as a university don, approaching the subject from Olympian heights and developing a pattern laid up in a distant heaven. I speak as a realist and hard-headed Norman to equally realist and hard-headed Normans—and my only purpose is to give you very briefly and concisely the benefit of my practical experience and observation.

I want to impress upon you the difference between the "forest" and the "trees." Education is one vast process and that is the "forest"; that is the thing that matters. Then what are the "trees"? In most cases the "trees" are just labels; at most, questions of secondary importance—of method and technique and curriculum. Only, unfortunately, people will forget this, and talk about them as if they were an end in themselves, a sort of patent medicine or brand of cigarettes—standardised products. And this leads to the most terrible form of muddled thinking and fallacious argument. For instance, people will discuss the merits of public schools, secondary schools, various kinds of freak schools, co-educational, vocational and others, as if they were Heinz's fifty-seven varieties—entirely oblivious of the fact that there is no particular virtue in any one of these types in itself. They are not stable or standardised. I know a few good public schools; I know a great many bad ones; and that is true of most other kinds of school.

And where do we go from there? Quite simply and logically to my next point, which is that the fundamental and essential factors in education are not types of school or curriculum. The only two elements that enter into the question are the *teachers* and the *taught*. Clearly you can't do much about the taught; they are the product of their parents and environment, perhaps more or less modified by appropriate social legislation. But there is *one* thing you *can* do—and it is not being done in England at present, or rather it is being done so badly that it might just as well not be done at all—that is to classify and group your taught at an early stage so that they will receive the sort of education for which they are most fitted.

And what about the teachers? At this point may I be allowed a brief digression that is not quite as irrelevant as it may sound at first. I expect you have been saying to yourselves: "It's all very well to dismiss so airily existing types of school and reduce the question to these rather intangible abstractions—forest and trees, teachers and taught. But what does the man understand by education? If we knew that, then we could follow his argument and see what he was getting at." Well, the fashionable definition at the moment seems to be: education is the application of the right stimulus at the right moment. It is a neat little aphorism, but it begs the question completely. It is in fact a definition of paedogogy, of technique, and so belongs to the "trees" and not to the "forest" at all. I should prefer to say that education is a training in right thinking and right living. That covers the ground far more thoroughly, because right thinking provides for an intellectual discipline, and right living implies physical instruction, and both connote an ethical training.

That is the end of my digression, and it brings us straight back to the teacher. Almost the only generalisation I can make with any certainty after twenty-five

* Paper by Dr. L. A. Bisson, Reader in French Literature at Oxford University, read before The Jersey Society in London on the 16th October, 1943.

years is that a school is entirely and exclusively the product of its Head. He or she alone, by the force of personality and character and example rather than precept can radiate and diffuse and inculcate that *discipline* of right thinking, that *urge* to right living. That influence is exerted on staff and pupils alike; the right Head will instinctively select the right staff and bring out their best qualities; remove him and they will inevitably wilt and wither. I have come across those Heads in public schools; it was my privilege to serve under one of them. They exist equally in secondary schools, in technical and central and intermediate and elementary schools. It is they sometimes who blaze a new trail in what we call progressive schools, although more often the progressive school is the worst form of academic quackery. Now there are very few of these precious born Heads, and their active professional life may be short because it is impossible to burn with that flame, to dissipate that energy indefinitely. Therefore the important thing is to discover them, secure them, and pay them whatever they ask—they will be cheap at the price—and leave the rest to their initiative; trust their judgment implicitly in all things. Do believe me when I say with all my heart that this is so much more important than whether, for example, all little Jersey boys should be able to weave a lobster pot or recognise a palaeolithic flint, and all little Jersey girls know how to milk a Jersey cow and make a Jersey wonder.

Now you cannot expect an educational system which takes for its motto "Only the Best" to be self-supporting. In fact, no decent school can be run nowadays as a purely commercial venture—the overhead is too great. You must consider education as a long-term investment, an invisible asset, but an asset which will steadily appreciate and ultimately bring its reward in increased happiness, health, and even material prosperity. In any case, Jersey is, and I think always will be a wealthy community, and can afford to maintain a model educational system. Remember you have this inestimable advantage as a small community: your schools are limited in number, and so you stand a good chance of staffing them with the best teachers.

I am sure you would like me to say a word or two about the "trees," because of course they bear a certain relation to the "forest." I have no particular axe to grind, and I offer you my opinions in all humility. First, one or two general principles. Jersey is an autonomous dominion; preserve that independence in your education, and do not hitch your waggon slavishly to the English star. Evolve your own system adapted to your local needs and conditions. That is partly why I should like to see fostered in all the schools of the island a healthy local patriotism; every Jersey boy and girl should have a clear idea of how the island is governed, of the growth and development of its constitution, should take a pride in that constitution, should be made to realise that any one of them may one day be called upon to take a share in that government. In that connection, obviously steps should be taken to ensure that a reasonable proportion of the best Jerseymen should give their services to the island as teachers—clearly Jersey history, for example, can only be adequately taught by a Jerseyman. These teachers should have the best possible training to fit them for the duties they are to perform, and it should be an essential condition of that training that they should spend at least two or three of their formative years away from the island, either at a university or in foreign travel, or both.

Then, if we look at the actual educational ladder, beginning rather illogically at the top. It has been suggested that Jersey should embark on a university college. I have no hesitation in saying that, in my opinion, that would be a rash and undesirable experiment. I know of no sound argument that can be advanced in favour of founding a university college anywhere, and there is much

to be said for abolishing those that already exist in England. Apart from this, on general grounds, it seems to me superfluous to found a university institution in a community which has no academic, literary or cultural traditions of its own, and which already has an intimate link with Oxford, a link with centuries of tradition behind it and the advantage of taking people out of the island and bringing them into contact with an entirely new milieu. I wonder also whether you realise that such an institution, unlike a university, has no Royal Charter, may not conduct its own examinations or award its own degrees, but is obliged to prepare its students for the external London degree. A university college on the lines of an English one would be very costly to run; from the nature of things it could not be self-supporting, and would tend to be staffed with left-overs—people who were not good enough to get jobs at Oxford, Cambridge or the provincial universities, or even the English university colleges. Besides, there is still the factor of the taught to take into consideration, and I feel pretty certain that the people who cannot win an open scholarship at Oxford or Cambridge or a Channel Islands scholarship at Oxford would be much better employed in a non-academic field. Subsidise the really good people at the English universities as much as you like; only make sure first that they are really worth subsidising.

But the scheme for a university college is apparently linked in people's minds with some sort of archaeological institute which would carry on the work and tradition of the late Rector of Exeter College. It seems to me that there is much more justification for this, if it keeps strictly to that sphere, say on the lines of the British School at Athens and at Rome, for purely professional research, and is not allowed to become an amateur antiquarian society, which after all exists in the Société Jersiaise. It would be an expensive luxury, because it would not be worth running it at all without a first rate Director who was genuinely interested in and expert at the work—and he should certainly be a Jerseyman.

Personally, I believe that a good system of secondary education is infinitely more important than this question of higher education; and as I conveyed just now, if you have the right teachers, you may safely leave the details of that education to them. There are, however, one or two things I should like to add, although I know quite well that you will think I am being quite revoltingly reactionary. You have the nucleus of an excellent secondary school of the highest type in Victoria College; keep it; it has the tradition of nearly a century's existence, and, away behind that, of its original foundation by Charles II. That is something worth preserving. I don't attach much importance to curriculum, but I should be inclined to preserve it on fairly traditional lines, and that is essential if it is to be an avenue to the universities. It will, I hope, always remain a small school, not much above 300 boys, and I very much doubt whether a community the size of Jersey produces more than 300 boys at a time who are really worth a first class humanistic education. I hope the school will continue to offer the classics and science as alternative options. I am more and more convinced as time goes on of the usefulness of a good elementary knowledge of Latin, at any rate of a thorough grasp of the elements of Latin grammar and syntax. But there are only two reforms I feel strongly about in the sphere of the academic curriculum at the secondary stage. In the first place, twenty years of university teaching has convinced me that the study of literature and its critical appreciation is not for the adolescent, nor is it a subject in which they can be satisfactorily examined. By all means let them have access to a well-stocked library, and encourage them to use it; but do not attempt to initiate them into these wingy mysteries in the classroom. In place of this I should like

to see a genuine study of the English language by teachers who had specialised in the subject; I should like every boy and girl to be able to speak English grammatically and fluently, to write English with clearness and precision. The relative illiteracy of the products of the English educational system in this respect is a national disgrace, and I should be very glad to see Jersey lead the way.

In speaking of Victoria College I have purposely avoided using the term "public school," because it is a question-begging and misleading one, which seems to me to confuse questions of caste and method. One aspect of the great controversy which has been raging intermittently in *The Times* on this point for so long does concern us: that of boarding school *versus* day school. Here again, as far as Victoria College is concerned, my attitude is conservative. I should incline to keep the present dual system. My observation leads me to the view that ideally the children of a normal family grow up more naturally and lead a fuller, happier life in their own home, that the intelligent parent plays as important a part as the schoolmaster in education. But there are clearly arguments in favour of the boarding system for individual cases and circumstances. In this connection I might add that I think the growing practice among Jersey parents of sending their children to be educated at inferior boarding-schools in England in preference to Victoria College is strongly to be deprecated.

Naturally what I have said about Victoria College applies *mutatis mutandis* to the former Jersey Ladies' College, the corresponding secondary school for girls. I have already suggested that in all Jersey schools a certain proportion of the staff—not all—but a fairly constant proportion—should be Jerseymen and Jerseywomen. And here a word about women teachers. I think they should, in suitable instances, be encouraged to retain their posts after marriage, and that every facility should be given them to do this. There is no doubt that one of the most undesirable features of girls' schools is a staff of exclusively unmarried women.

Now it will obviously be necessary to provide other secondary schools of various kinds, the nature of which must depend in a great measure on the conditions prevailing at the time of reconstruction. And this brings us to the question of vocational and technical training. My observation of the English system has led me to these conclusions. On the whole academic education and vocational training do not mix very satisfactorily, and I believe in their complete separation. In other words, I have not much use for what are euphemistically called handicrafts and domestic science; neither has any positive educational value, and they tend to become trimmings, messy and amateurish; whereas there is a positive value in a regular apprenticeship in carpentry for a boy, just as a girl should even more be trained in housecraft. But here again that training should be the real thing, in her own home and by her own mother. The other great vice of present-day English education, which I hope you will avoid, is that there is far too much bad secondary education of a literary and humanistic type given by teachers who are incompetent to cope with it to children who are incapable of profiting by it.

I wish I could persuade you to abolish what is known as elementary education—the name and the thing—and substitute a universal continuous system of general education for the average child from infancy to school leaving age on purely democratic lines, selecting for the higher secondary training only the very limited number of children really suited for it—instead of kicking upstairs the fixed proportion of highly subsidised morons one tends to find in the English secondary school. It would also be a good thing if attendance at these schools was made compulsory. Then, at an appropriate moment, children who so desired or who showed special aptitude, could be drafted into a vocational centre or a

humanistic secondary school. If you are going to have vocational institutions, I hope they will be of a kind calculated to foster and maintain the agricultural traditions of the island. By all means have a good agricultural college—the best possible; the Jersey cow is so important that there should be a separate school dealing exclusively with cattle-breeding and dairy-farming. The future of Jersey lies or should lie in a return to the land, not in the tourist traffic. Do not, therefore, attempt to industrialise or mechanise the island more than is inevitable; avoid the technical school of engineering or applied science, which has small place in the Jersey scheme of things and can be acquired and taught better in England if necessary. I should prefer to see an attempt to revive Jersey fishing on an organised basis, and, in connection with that, some form of instruction in navigation and seamanship. The tradition that links Jersey with the sea must be the most ancient of all; all Jerseymen in a greater or less degree have it in their blood, and it is a pity that this tradition should be allowed to become extinct.

I have not said anything specifically about adult education. It is a difficult problem, and I do not think it has been tackled very successfully in England. There it was largely a nineteenth century movement, born of a desire to teach the working classes as much as it was thought good for them to know about art and literature and history. I am afraid the various university extension lecture systems still rather continue on these lines, with a few notable exceptions. My own feeling is that if you would only give people this better post-primary education I have advocated they could read for themselves, assuming they had access to adequate libraries. If, however, you feel you want organised tuition for adult workers, let me beg of you to put away any thought of night classes or lectures. No one can teach or be taught effectively at night. I have myself conducted these night classes at the Midland Institute in Birmingham, and I know just how mouldy and depressing it is for everyone concerned—to say nothing of the fact that both teacher and taught are usually weary and jaded after the day's work.

My general attitude may be summed up in the motto of a great Norman, none the less great because he had the misfortune to be born on the Continent and not in Jersey—Pierre Corneille: *Non tam nova quam meliora*—Not so much new things as better things.

II. SOME ASPECTS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN GUERNSEY

There are three types of state-aided schools in Guernsey: elementary, intermediate and secondary. Elementary and intermediate schools are under the control of the Guernsey Education Council. Each secondary school possesses its own committee of management and the medium of communication between these schools and the States is the Guernsey Education Council.

Guernsey has no reason to be ashamed of its system of elementary education. Arising from the evacuation of the elementary schools three points have given much satisfaction. First, the standard of attainment of these children is at least equal to that of the children in the United Kingdom. Secondly, its elementary school buildings compare favourably with those to be found in corresponding districts in Britain. And thirdly, Guernsey schools are provided with far more school equipment than schools in similar localities in the United Kingdom.

Since 1935 elementary education in Guernsey has been undergoing reorganisation in terms of the Hadow Report. In order to give effect to this reorganisation the island is divided into four districts.

Reorganisation on the basis of junior and senior schools has already been effected in districts 2 and 4. In district 2 St. Sampson's School houses the

senior boys and girls in separate departments. As a measure of economy, some infants are also housed in this school, but are distinct from the senior groups. In district 4 the senior school is St. Peter's and is a mixed school. The three junior schools which feed it are also mixed schools and to each of these schools is attached an infants' department.

The age groups of the children attending these schools are as follows:—

Infants 5-7 (if room is available, children under school age are admitted)

Juniors 7-11 plus

Seniors 11 plus-14.

In district 1 there are two elementary schools, Amherst and Vauvert. Each school possesses separate departments for boys, girls and infants. In district 3 St. Martin's School possesses three departments; St. Andrew's School possesses one, all ages, mixed department, and the Castel School has one department for boys and another for girls and infants. The children attending these schools range from 5 to 14 years of age.

The Guernsey Education Law of 1935 provides that the following subjects shall be taught in the elementary schools: Religious knowledge, the English and French languages, arithmetic, geography, history, writing, drawing, singing, physical training, needlework (girls) and woodwork (boys).

The Education Council is, however, empowered to provide for the teaching of additional subjects.

Religious knowledge, imparted by the teaching staff under the supervision of the Council, is limited to the reading and explanation of the Holy Bible and the teaching of the Lord's Prayer and of the Ten Commandments. But no child is required to attend lessons in religious knowledge if a wish to the contrary is expressed by a parent of such a child.

Provision is also made whereby ministers of all denominations may make application to attend the public elementary schools in order to impart knowledge of the religious beliefs of their respective denominations to children whose parents are members of those denominations.

The teaching of religious knowledge in voluntary schools (Roman Catholic elementary schools) is under the exclusive control of the representatives of the denomination which maintains those schools. Children, however, need not attend lessons in religious knowledge if their parents do not so desire. (It is interesting to note that quite a number of non-Catholic children attend these schools; the converse also applies in regard to non-Catholic elementary schools.)

In two schools (boys) elementary science is taught. At St. Peter's Senior School the boys are taught gardening, and land, on which a small greenhouse has been erected, was bought for this purpose. Gardening is also taught in other schools, but not to such an extent, as facilities are lacking.

Generally, it may be said that children leave the elementary schools for one of three reasons: to enter employment on attaining 14 years of age, to become fee-payers at the intermediate or secondary schools, or because they have gained scholarships at these schools.

In certain circumstances a child may be granted a "dispense," and is thereby permitted to leave school before he attains the school leaving age. On first leaving school many of these children receive very small wages; 3s. 6d. or 5s. a week for work in a shop is the commencing wage of many children.

Most children who leave the elementary schools to join the intermediate and secondary schools as fee-payers do so between the ages of 10 and 12. Periodically

the States determine the maximum number of scholarships that may be held at the intermediate and secondary schools. This seeming rigidity, whereby the number of scholarships awarded annually is dependent more on the number of vacancies than on the quality of the candidates, is largely offset by the flexibility of the scholarship system. Elementary school children may compete for scholarships between the ages of 10 and 12. A further opportunity is provided for children who have attained their 13th birthday but not their 14th. Intermediate school children of the same ages are permitted to compete for scholarships at the secondary schools. In addition, boys from the intermediate schools are awarded special scholarships to Elizabeth College (not more than four of these special scholarships may be held at present) if they have obtained their School Certificate and if it is considered that they will profit from higher education. Thus it will be appreciated that this system gives opportunity for considering the needs of the individual and makes ample provision for the child who develops late.

	Elizabeth College	Guernsey Ladies' College	States Intermediate Schools	
			Boys	Girls
Maximum number of scholars at present permitted . . .	55	12	40	40
Number of scholarships award- ed annually	12-15	2-3	10-12	10-12
Tenure of scholarships (years)	3	3	2	2
Possible extension of scholar- ships to age of	18	18	16	16

The entire expenses for tuition fees, examination fees and books of children gaining scholarships at the intermediate schools are met by the States. In the case of children gaining scholarships at the secondary schools, the States defray the first £25 and the balance is met by the parents.

Parents of scholars may apply for maintenance grants, which as a rule do not exceed £10 per annum, to meet the additional expenditure of providing their children with school uniforms and, in the case of scholars at the secondary schools, of meeting the difference between the scholarship grant and the actual cost of tuition fees, books, etc.

That a child is awarded a scholarship to one of the secondary schools does not necessarily mean that that child possesses a greater degree of attainment than one who has been awarded a scholarship to one of the intermediate schools. Some children are not suited for the more academic instruction provided at the secondary schools. The parents are often the best judges of this. Some parents are unable to meet the additional expenditure and are not disposed to apply for a maintenance grant.

Bursaries at the secondary schools are awarded to elementary and intermediate students who desire to become teachers. If, when proceeding to a teachers' training college or a university a student needs financial assistance, the Education Council is empowered to make a loan, free of interest, of £25 per annum.

Although the Guernsey Education Law prescribes no standard for higher education (only the minimum standard is given), facilities for it are not lacking. The curricula of the States intermediate schools are designed to meet the require-

ments of children remaining at school until they attain the age of 16. Similarly, the curricula of Elizabeth College and the Guernsey Ladies' College provides for pupils remaining at these schools until the age of 18 is attained. The intermediate schools are what their name implies and may be described as midway between a senior central school and a secondary school. Both the Colleges are recognised secondary schools. All four schools are regarded as efficient by the Board of Education, are splendidly staffed, and do not lack equipment. Full use is made of the Ozanne Laboratory, and the modern gymnasium in the grounds of Elizabeth College is used both by the boys of that school and by the boys of the intermediate school. The curricula of the intermediate schools are, in the main, designed to prepare the children to undertake commercial and industrial careers in the island. The secondary schools lean more to the traditional academic curriculum, thus enabling their pupils to prepare for the universities and the professions.

The approximate average number of children belonging to a particular age group is 650. If the 15-year group is taken it will be found that 60 of them attend the intermediate schools and 40 attend the secondary schools; the remainder are in employment. Somewhat similar conditions are found in the 16 age group. In the 17 age group approximately 40 children may be found to be receiving education at the secondary schools. (Note: the foregoing figures may not be exact but it is believed they are sufficiently correct to serve as a basis for comparison.)

There are, in addition to the island or State-aided schools, a number of private schools. These schools have an attendance of approximately 500, compared with the 6,000 children attending the island schools. Control of private schools in their provision of education is exercised by the States Education Council. It cannot be said that, with the exception of Vauxbelets College, they play an important part in the educational system of the island.

The Education Council is not unmindful of the physical welfare of the children. An efficient school medical service has been instituted. Immediately prior to the evacuation a special scheme for the education of mentally defective children was about to be launched. A dental service was, it is believed, under consideration, and an admirable "milk-in-schools" scheme was in operation whereby children obtained milk either free or at a reduced charge. More and more help was being given to facilitate organised games, and many of the recreational and cultural competitions between Guernsey and Jersey children were aided by grants made by the Education Council.

Post-school education is not neglected and for many years continuation classes have been in existence which, under the inspiring leadership of the Director of Studies, are highly successful. The curriculum is inclined to have a commercial tendency, but the purely cultural aspect is never ignored. In fact, the curriculum has always been elastic and the choice of subjects is probably double that of twenty years ago. The Technical and Art Schools Committee undertake the organisation of lectures on horticulture, but these do not appear to command the support they deserve. No demand for lectures on agriculture appears to have been made. This is probably due to the fact that the Guernsey horticulturist and agriculturist is inclined to be empirical, with considerable success in the past.

In conclusion it may be said that the island's education system is a flexible instrument evolved to meet the needs of a small community. The policy of the Education Council is not static, neither does the Council appear to have any desire slavishly to follow the English system in its entirety. It cannot be said, however, that every islander is satisfied. Many desire to see an increase in the

number of children attending the intermediate and secondary schools. Some wish to see the introduction of an entrance examination to be taken by all prospective pupils of these schools. Others ask for additional aid to be granted to students desirous of entering the universities and training colleges. Advocates for the extension of manual training for boys and domestic science for girls exist. These are only some of the changes that are urged. The need for their adoption is, no doubt, always under consideration. Such criticisms as these are to be welcomed as symptomatic of a healthy community which, conscious of its past, is concerned for its future.

X. LABOUR CONDITIONS AND SOCIAL SERVICES

I. LABOUR CONDITIONS

JERSEY DEPENDED FOR ITS LIVELIHOOD AND ITS PROSPERITY LARGELY UPON THE cultivation and export of potatoes and tomatoes and the attraction of, and catering for, holiday visitors. The significance of these facts is that a large section of the working population depended mainly upon seasonal employment for its main source of income. In the winter months there was considerable under-employment and unemployment, but at no time did this reach the scale when it might have become a serious social menace.

Owing to the importance of the time factor, labour had to be imported into Jersey for the export and visitor seasons and so a considerable amount of money was paid in wages to workers who took a substantial portion of such wages out of the island with them at the end of their contracts.

Guernsey, with its specialised glasshouse culture, provided more constant employment for a larger number of workers than did the farms in Jersey. And whereas the number of workers in the growing industry in Guernsey tended to increase, the number of all-the-year-round farm workers in Jersey—apart from farmers and their families—tended to decrease, due to mechanisation and to a number of farms no longer keeping cattle. The number of these workers in Jersey had declined from about 2,800 in 1931 to less than 1,900 in 1939.

It can be said that, in general, the wage-earning class in both Jersey and Guernsey displayed apathy, not only concerning the improvement of working conditions but also in respect of the work of the States and the Parish Assemblies. The absence of any live political opinions, programmes or policies and the virtual impossibility for the ordinary wage-earner of obtaining direct representation were no doubt chiefly responsible for this. Guernsey tended to be, however, more progressive than Jersey. Englishmen were given more encouragement to take an active part in the politics of the island, and in 1939 a motion before the Guernsey States to pay loss of time to wage earners who may be elected to the States was only defeated by 23 votes to 21.

A large proportion of what was needed to provide food, clothing and shelter for the population of the islands had to be imported. Fish, meat, fruit, clothing and building materials were generally slightly more expensive than they were in England. Rents, electricity, gas and water were also dearer than the average cost in the United Kingdom. In spite of the cost of living (necessities) being higher than in England, wages were lower than English standards, with a longer working week generally prevailing. In England, the normal working week before the war was 47 to 48 hours. In the islands it was 52 to 54. Wage rates in both Jersey and Guernsey were more or less at the same level.

Trade unionism reached the Channel Islands only after the Great War. Very considerable progress had been made by the Transport and General Workers' Union in organising manual workers and negotiating with their employers for

them. It had got the principle of a week's holiday with pay soundly established in some industries and had also raised the wage standard in the building trade, docks, produce merchants' stores and some of the largest retail businesses. But the majority of workers showed no disposition to corporate effort for improving their lot. This was as true in sections of industry where wage earners had secured improved conditions, as the result of the effort of the trade union, as in other sections, where, owing to the lack of backing from the workers, little headway was possible. Up till 1940 it was very much more difficult to organise workers in the Channel Islands than in the United Kingdom. This was partly the result of the apathy already mentioned and partly the result of the fact that most people did not read newspapers of a type to give them a background for the formation of opinions of their own on political and social issues.

Distinguishing local factors exerted, of course, an over-riding influence on the attitude of the wage earners. Many of them hoped one day to become their own masters. There was often a close personal relationship between the employer and employee. The thrifty nature of the islanders had resulted in savings being handed down—without death duties—to the next generation, or sometimes in the inheritance of a house or a field, and this gave an independence of outlook and a respect for traditional behaviour. Many of the more ambitious young people emigrated from the islands only to return for holidays and on retirement. Family life was intimate and there was a multiplicity of societies and clubs catering for various pastimes which gave the means for self-expression.

Tastes were simple. Out-of-pocket expenses were light. A wage-earner had little or no travelling expenses. A man and his family could enjoy the seaside and the country without spending any money. Commercialised amusements were not very much sought after, but these were relatively cheap. Tobacco and beer were much cheaper than in England. Wear and tear on clothes was light. Taxes were light. The islands were naturally pleasant places to live in, there was a strong community sense and local life was permeated by that intimate interest in local happenings which generations-long residence in a small island promotes.

All these factors go far to explain why the people in the islands accepted with so little protest the lack of adequate social services, or even factory regulations, such as have been established in the United Kingdom and other countries for many years.

In the future there are likely to be a number of new factors. Islanders who have experienced the working conditions in the United Kingdom may not be prepared to accept again the standards which existed in the island. Men and women in the Services may well look for better working conditions and a measure of security. In any case, the further advance in social services which is expected to take place in the United Kingdom and the growth of "social" government everywhere can hardly leave the Channel Islands unaffected. Also, if the normal export markets become, for one reason or another, less remunerative than they were, can the islands offer alternative industry and employment to bring back prosperity? In such circumstances, could they support the population they had in 1940? Are the pre-war systems of government likely to lead to the establishment of labour standards and social services which the people are likely to desire?

II. SOCIAL SERVICES

Until the evacuation, Jersey's only "social service," using the term in the current sense, was its Social Assurance which was in effect a Workmen's Compensation Scheme. There was no unemployment or health insurance or old age, widows' or orphans' pensions. In 1938, however, the States of Jersey

adopted the recommendations of a Special Committee set up to devise an old age pensions scheme, but no legislation followed. The proposed scheme would have been contributory and compulsory for all workers earning less than £4 a week. A pension of £1 a week would have been paid to contributors upon reaching the age of 70—except single men or childless widowers—and there was provision for payments to the widows and orphan children of contributors.

Guernsey had its own contributory old age pensions scheme in operation.

Unemployed workers in Jersey and Guernsey who sought relief were treated as Parish poor. As far as possible, some form of public works was found to keep them occupied, but the wages paid were below ruling rates and in the nature of poor relief, the treatment meted out in Guernsey, however, being more generous than that in Jersey.

Friendly societies were active in both islands and there was a fair amount of industrial assurance.

Full health and release from the fear of want, in sickness, unemployment and old age, are the pre-requisites for full creative living. At no time in their history have the islands needed more than now to develop the full vigour and resourcefulness of the people. Much less in the future than in the past can they afford not to take positive measures for ensuring full health and full productive and consumption capacity.

Sooner or later, an extension of State-provided social services seems inevitable, and the reasons which have led to the acceptance, in principle, of the payment in Britain of children's allowances apply equally to the Channel Islands.

The provision of all such services is essentially a matter of internal organisation; of re-distribution or fuller mobilisation of resources. Money contributed or paid out is merely a transfer within the community. But the question naturally arises whether these social services can best be provided by the islands themselves—acting singly or in joint schemes—or by "contracting-in" with United Kingdom schemes, where these are acceptable to the islands.

In some respects the task of bringing about any particular form of social service may be considerably easier in the Channel Islands than in an industrial country where the effects of extreme conditions (which do not exist in Jersey or Guernsey) must be absorbed into, and depress, the general level. Against this, given the small number of beneficiaries in the islands and the relatively large administrative work which all social schemes involve, the cost of local administration may be unduly high. Also, in the early stages of any scheme heavy contingent liabilities must be faced, and there are obvious difficulties in establishing comparable rates of contributions and benefits when there are differences in wage standards, etc., as exist between the United Kingdom and the islands.

XI. MUSIC

SOUND IS NATURAL TO EVERY ANIMAL AND HUMAN BEING. WE MAY AFFIRM that it is one of the fundamental instincts, if only from the fact of its constant and continuous connection with the living creature from the cradle to the grave. In pain, in grief, in anticipation or in joy, all emotions are expressed in sound. The human mind has in the processes of its development classified certain sounds as noises, but others of a pleasant character as music. At a later period it made these sequential, until we achieved the melodic line, and later the harmonic combination. But, fundamentally, it gives the animal as much pleasure to express its joy at the prospect of a good meal as it does a farmer whistling or humming while he tills the soil, or, in a much more advanced stage,

to the choir performing a vocal work. The difference is merely that one is the studied development of the natural instinct, while the other is expressed in its fundamental form.

As humanity formed itself into various families and tribes these developed a certain individuality of expression which became an idiom and by which they were known. In a somewhat more advanced stage the same is true of the present, where each country has its own particular type of music, generally idiomatic, and certainly typical of the peoples inhabiting them and of the climates which they possess. This kind of individuality in the group accounts to a great extent for certain differences perceptible in varying degrees in small communities, and we have to bear this constantly in mind in thinking of the Channel Islands which, although so close to one another, each vary considerably in many respects. From a comparison none suffers; on the contrary it provides that distinctiveness which is an added charm.

The dearth of folk songs in the islands is a strange fact, resulting probably from their former close links with Normandy. Whatever the cause, the fact remains that the oldest types of songs found there are popular songs of northern France or developments of these.

To obtain any adequate idea of the place that music held in the lives of the Channel Islanders prior to the occupation by the Germans, the subject is best approached from an essentially amateur standpoint, because music was primarily treated as a social accomplishment, and as an aid to cultural development, although this frequently reached the borderline of professionalism.

The appreciation of music in the two islands of Jersey and Guernsey was very similar in outlook, though differing slightly sometimes in result; for instance, concerted work, choral and orchestral, which until a number of years ago held the greatest musical interest for the inhabitants of Jersey, gradually gave way to individual performance, whereas in Guernsey the standard of choral and orchestral work remained at a very high level.

There was, naturally, a considerable amount of concerted work of the lighter type in both islands, and theatrical and musical clubs of a very high standard flourished, the reason for this probably being the islanders' strong imitative sense. In the course of its activities the Jersey Green Room Club (still very active) produced practically all the works of Gilbert and Sullivan, and many others of a like type, as did also the Guernsey Society. These performances had a remarkable success. But, in Jersey, the Choral Society which a number of years ago was an excellent body of vocalists interested in the presentation of the more serious side of vocal music, gradually diminished in membership until it finally ceased to exist, and though several choral combinations grew from its collapse such as a male voice choir and glee singers, these eventually met the fate of the parent society without ever having succeeded in regaining the old standard.

In Guernsey more interest has been sustained in concerted vocal work, and mention must be made of the Guille-Allès Choral and Orchestral Association, a body which, by the performance of the great oratorios and secular musical compositions, did much to sustain the interest in, and love for, the best in music, in both performers and public during a period of more than thirty years. But eventually interest flagged, and although an effort was made to sustain the Association, it gradually died out. Since then, however, much has been done to revive interest in music and a number of talented musicians gave, and even during the occupation have been giving, frequent concerts of instrumental music. Before the war a Guernsey ladies' choir won a number of prizes at musical competitions in the south of England.

A few years before the outbreak of war, when all orchestral music was on the point of passing away in Jersey, a small States subsidy was granted after much discussion. It was administered by a special committee for the upkeep of a small and efficient orchestra, the official view being that it would add to the entertainment of visitors in the season. It is understood that, since the occupation of Jersey by the enemy, this orchestra has ceased to exist. A similar grant was made to local music by the Guernsey States, but there was less urgency for this as the support and assistance given by the public in Guernsey was on a much larger scale than in Jersey. This does not necessarily mean that musical interest as such was greater in one island than the other; indeed, an equal interest and keenness was apparent to the most casual observer.

The cause of the change in Jersey was primarily the wider introduction of modern amusements and facilities, the old "family music" becoming a thing of the past. The winter evening family gatherings round the communal hearth to make music were gradually superseded by journeys to St. Helier to go to the cinema, to dance, or to patronise whatever other amusement appealed most, and though the attendance at these amusements was not necessarily frequent, it took the place of the old "family musicals" which were such a constructive feature of our grandparents' days. This applies in varying degrees to both Jersey and Guernsey, but the incentive to other amusements was probably greater in Jersey where the attractions were more numerous.

On the other hand, individual work made great strides in latter years, and one of the vital causes of this was that schools took more interest in the educational value of music. Music was still regarded as an extra or additional subject, but with the acceptance of class work the development and popularity of the subject advanced, and as the greater part of the training was good, students reached a commendably high standard before they were of an age to be attracted by modern amusements. And it is true to say that the gramophone and wireless, which it was originally thought would sound the death knell of individual effort in music, did nothing of the kind in the islands, but proved an incentive and often provided examples worthy of emulation.

It is to be hoped that the day will come when music will not merely be permitted to exist in a school curriculum, but will become an essential and normal part of education, as have other subjects which began as charming but unessential accomplishments. Undoubtedly we have far to go before this is likely to happen, but it is by no means utopian in prospect. With the reform of education fast becoming a vital necessity (not merely in the Channel Islands but in other countries) it is quite probable that, if we are to retain and develop our artistic standards, music among other things will force itself upon the consciousness of those who have the vision to see and the responsibility for shaping the future.

Despite the disadvantages under which the islanders lived, they produced a remarkably high standard of musical performance; this has been noted on many occasions by eminent musicians. Well-known professors of the leading musical institutions have frequently said, without reservations, that the musical standard in the islands was as high, and frequently higher, than that in any other community of the same size on the mainland.

We must claim this to be very high praise when we remember that the islands are isolated geographically from England and France; therefore the experience of hearing the interpretation of good music by artists of international renown was denied to them, except on very rare occasions. For this they were dependent on the gramophone or wireless, a method which, to the earnest student, lacks the most vital thing of all—personality. There were, however, advantages in isolation for it is incontestable that to a student isolation is not merely desirable

but necessary. Thus what might have appeared to be a great disadvantage was really a boon to individual effort.

The most useful incentives provided for the islands' musical development may be classified under two heads: examinations and festivals. Full advantage was taken of the facilities for examination provided by the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (the Royal Academy and Royal College). The Board sent examiners—very frequently professors of repute—to the islands three times a year to conduct examinations, and that this was much appreciated was evidenced by the large number of candidates who presented themselves for examination.

The annual competitive festival in Jersey and in Guernsey was known as Eisteddfod. It was the principal musical function of the year. Many of the classes were inter-insular and competition was very keen. Only good feeling and *camaraderie* existed between the islands on these occasions. At the present time we hear much as to the desirability or otherwise of competitive work in other fields, but Channel Islanders will, from these experiences, agree that, at least in the arts, healthy competition is a fruitful stimulus.

The Channel Islands Eisteddfodau were instituted first in Jersey by the late Dean Falle, whose enthusiasm guided the fortunes of the Jersey festivals until his death. All who sat on Eisteddfod committees with him will agree that the islanders owe him a great debt for the development of this idea which, originating as a few simple competitions extending over a day or so, reached the stage where prominent adjudicators were engaged in each subject and the festival ran well over a fortnight. It was fortunate that the same idea in Guernsey met with equal success, because it enabled both organisations to open various classes as inter-insular events. These classes consisted of solo performances, concerted work, both instrumental and vocal, elocution, dancing and handicraft. In these subjects there were open tests in many junior classes as well as senior, the difference being that the senior classes which were inter-insular were also open to professional entrants. A high standard of work was attained. Examinations and festivals served to stimulate and sustain interest during that very difficult period when the gramophone and wireless were becoming "domesticated" and accessible to all. As already mentioned, these were used as a medium of training as much as for amusement, and music in the islands survived to flourish though perhaps in a slightly varied form.

It is impossible to guess what the standard of music is in the Channel Islands at the present time. This art—like others in war time—may be passing through an almost negative period. On the other hand it is possible that the terrible boredom from which the islanders must be suffering has led them to find some outlet in musical work, and it is to be hoped that this is so.

The immediate post-war period is not so problematical from a musical point of view when we remember that the islands have been isolated from any knowledge of musical activities in England since the islands were occupied. In the face of this it would be desirable for a competent lecturer or lecturers to pay a visit to the islands as early as possible after their liberation to make the people familiar with musical developments since the summer of 1940. This should be followed immediately by a series of recitals by well-known artists from London who would bring to the islanders a fresh outlook on interpretation.

Good music should prove not only a steady influence but an invigoration to all islanders in the difficult but promising days ahead.

XII. ALDERNEY

GENERAL

ALDERNEY IS THE MOST NORTHERLY OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS. IT IS SEPARATED from the mainland of France by a narrow channel of water known as the Race (or Raz) of Alderney. The sea flows swiftly here and during the high spring tides sweeps through this channel at the rate of eight miles an hour. The distance from Alderney to the French coast—Cap La Hague—is about eight and a half miles, of which a little more than two miles exceeds twenty fathoms in depth.

The island is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles in width. It can be divided into two areas with very contrasting characteristics and scenery. In the south and the south-west there are the great granite cliffs with some green valleys and fertile land, while in the north-eastern part there are stretches of low-lying common and sandy beaches. The central part of the island is a plateau, varying in height from 250-300 feet above sea level. The land is flat to the edge of the southern and south-western cliffs, where it descends abruptly into the sea. On the northern and eastern sides it slopes gradually towards some fine rocky and sandy bays. The whole of the Alderney coast is rocky and the cliff scenery is very grand, being a succession of fine examples of perpendicular walls of granite, sandstone and gritstone. In common with the other islands of the archipelago, Alderney has many rocky islets off its coast, the most important being Burhou, Little Burhou, Ortac and Les Etats. About eight miles to the north-west there is another group of rocky islets, the Casquets, measuring about half a mile from north to south, and just over a mile from east to west. The Casquets' lighthouse is well known.

The capital, St. Anne, is situated in the centre of the island. It is a picturesque little country town, more French than English in character, with cobbled streets. The parish church, designed by Sir Gilbert G. Scott and dedicated to St. Anne, was built in 1850 by the Rev. John Le Mesurier, son of the last hereditary Governor of Alderney, and presented by him to the island. Many authorities consider that this is the finest church in the Channel Islands.

Like all the other Channel Islands, Alderney has many historic ties with England. Its position gave it considerable importance in the Anglo-French conflicts. Lord Palmerston converted the island into a fortress and a large breakwater intended to shelter the British fleet was built by the British Government. In recent times, Alderney, like the other Channel Islands, has lost its strategic value to Britain and it remains to be seen whether under the rapidly changing aspects of modern warfare the island may acquire again some strategic importance.

EVACUATION

In the face of the imminent occupation of the island by the German forces, the whole population of Alderney, then numbering about 1,400, was evacuated *en bloc* to Britain on June 23rd, 1940. The decision to leave the island was taken by the body of islanders under the initiative of the Judge, assisted by some States officials and others. The people willingly accepted the arrangements made with the British Government for their passage to Britain. They left their homes and all their possessions. It was a grim and sorely trying period for everyone. But by their decision to sacrifice everything they were free to come to take their full part in the common war effort against the enemy.

Though the islanders are now scattered throughout Britain they remain a community. Due to the dispersal of the members of the Court and of the

States of Alderney, a voluntary relief committee, composed of Alderney folk, was formed in London for the purpose of representing the Alderney people in Great Britain. So that this committee should have full power to act in the best interests of the people a postcard vote was taken from all adult refugees, resulting in a unanimous vote of approval of the composition of the Committee and full authority to act on the people's behalf. Other postcard votes have since been taken when required for special purposes. This scheme has proved to be most satisfactory in obtaining both the approval and the opinions of the Alderney refugees. On several occasions the members of the States have been consulted and their approval obtained for measures recommended by the Committee.

The temporary uprooting of the Government and the whole population of this self-governing community is undoubtedly a unique incident in the history of the British Empire.

Until 1825 Alderney was under a hereditary governor. Since then the government of the island has been vested in the Crown. Alderney is in the bailiwick of Guernsey for certain political, ecclesiastical and legal purposes, but has its own constitution, with its own States and its own courts. The principal officer in the island was the Judge.

The Alderney Court consisted of the Judge, the six Jurats, the Procureur du Roi, the Greffier, the Sheriff and the Sergeant. The Jurats were elected by ratepayers and held office up to the age of 70. The office is an honorary one and, as in Jersey and Guernsey, no legal qualifications were necessary. The offices of Judge, Procureur du Roi, Greffier (Clerk of the Court, of the States, and Registrar for the island), Sheriff and Sergeant are Crown appointments. The Court passed laws and ordinances and dealt with minor criminal offences and civil actions. Certain cases, after a preliminary investigation, were referred to the Royal Court in Guernsey.

The States comprised the Lieut-Governor of Guernsey—who either attended or was represented at all meetings—the Judge, the six Jurats, four Douzeniers, one Douzenier-delegate, three People's Deputies, the Procureur du Roi, the Greffier, the Sheriff and the Sergeant. The functions of the States included finance, collection of import dues, etc., the allocation of grants for the maintenance of public services and all other matters concerning the administration of the island.

The four Douzeniers were elected annually in January by the ratepayers. The Douzenier-delegate was appointed by the Douzaine to voice the opinion of the Douzaine in the States assembly. The People's Deputies were elected by popular vote, an elector's qualification being three years' residence and the attainment of twenty-one years of age. Deputies held office for three years; they were eligible for re-election and retired at 70 years of age.

The ratepayers elected twelve members who served the Douzaine for a period of six years, two retiring annually. Members were eligible for re-election and served until the age of 70. The senior Douzenier was known as the Dean and was chairman of all Douzaine meetings. The Procureur du Roi was *ex officio* member of the Douzaine.

The Court of Chief Pleas was composed of the Judge, the six Jurats, twelve Douzeniers, the Procureur du Roi, the Greffier, the Sheriff, the Sergeant and four Constables, the latter being elected triennially at the January sitting of the Court. The Court met twice a year—in January and at Michaelmas—for matters of public interest, e.g. public petitions, laws for trapping vermin, road tax questions, etc.

H.M. Receiver was appointed by the Crown. He represented the Crown Lands Department and was responsible for the appointments of harbour master, the engineer for the breakwater, and for the collection of harbour dues, tithes, etc.

FINANCE

Alderney had no Public Debt. The States finances were sound and, with the assent of the Jurats of Alderney, the Home Office and H.M. Treasury, the balances of the States banking accounts were frozen in June 1940. The monies held by the three local agencies of the English banks were brought to England.

The States imposed import dues on all imported wines, spirits and manufactured tobacco. Duties were also levied on various commodities which had not already been subjected to U.K. or Guernsey import duties. These had, however, only been in force for a little over a year and the revenue from this source was small.

The revenue was applied to the maintenance of public services—education, roads, sanitation, etc.

A poor rate and a road tax (the Equivalent) were also levied.

Alderney had no income tax.

AGRICULTURE AND CATTLE

The soil of Alderney is fertile and a variety of crops grow well, especially potatoes and lucerne roots. Cereals are not grown to any great extent. The arable land of Alderney has been well cultivated and considerable stretches of whin and bracken covered land have been reclaimed for cultivation and pasturage. During the years immediately preceding the evacuation there had been a considerable development in the potato growing industry and a few hundred tons of early potatoes were being exported to England from Alderney each year.

The island is famous for its cattle, which are considered to be among the oldest pure-bred stock, the purity of the breed having been carefully preserved by special laws prohibiting the import of foreign cattle. The colours usually seen vary from a light fawn to red with white markings. The Alderney cow is similar to the Guernsey but smaller. It is a good milker and the butter made from the milk is of a fine golden-yellow colour. The docile nature of the cattle is attributed to the personal care and attention they receive.

In 1940 the cattle from Alderney were removed to Guernsey.

It was found that the interests of the breeders in Alderney and in Guernsey were identical and they decided to join forces. Since then, although the Royal Alderney Agricultural Society retains its original title, it has become closely identified with the Royal Guernsey Agricultural Society. This has proved beneficial to many Alderney breeders and their cattle were exported to both England and the U.S.A. Exports were about 100 head each year.

At the annual show held by the Royal Alderney Agricultural Society, silver cups were competed for by the breeders, including two cups presented by H.M. King George V for the best Alderney bull and cow respectively. The States of Alderney made an annual grant for prizes at the States Bull Show held in April each year.

TRADE

Although the nearest of the Channel Islands to England, there was no regular direct communication between Alderney and England. Normally, passenger and ordinary goods traffic went via Guernsey.

The trade of Alderney was considerable for the size of the island. No detailed figures are available, but the major items of imports and exports were:—

Exports:

Potatoes	Cattle on hoof
Butter	Stone (granite)
Pork	Grit
Fish	

Imports:

Flour and grain products	Timber
Groceries	Cement and building materials
Clothing and manufactured articles	Fuel

The granite trade was in the hands of an English concern and had been greatly developed in the years before the war. The quarrying industry gave much employment to the islanders.

Unemployment was comparatively unknown in Alderney. Most of the people worked on the land or in the granite quarries. The standard of living for farm labourers, fishermen, and many other working men was poor in comparison with the larger islands of Jersey and Guernsey. The average wage paid was low. Rents were correspondingly low, but the general cost of living was on a par with that in England.

THE TOURIST INDUSTRY

In comparison with the other Channel Islands, Alderney was but little visited. This was due to its secluded position and the rather difficult sea journey via Guernsey. Altogether there were about 5,000 passengers each year including local traffic. The island did not cater for large numbers but there was a steady influx of visitors each summer. With its bracing climate, high percentage of sunshine, fine cliff and coastal scenery, excellent bathing and fishing, it offered the ideal quiet holiday. During the holiday season all the available accommodation was taken by people in search of peace and relaxation. The holiday traffic was a useful source of income and there is scope for judicious development.

EDUCATION

A voluntary system of education existed in Alderney until 1922 at St. Anne's Church School and at St. Anne's Convent School. The Church School was the gift of the late Rev. John Le Mesurier, son of the last hereditary governor of the island: and originally it was administered by the Judge, the Vicar and the Procureur du Roi, as governors. There was accommodation for about 100 children at each school. Nominal fees were charged and the general attendance under this voluntary system was very good, although boys were frequently removed from school at the early age of nine or ten years in order to work on the land. Private schools catered for the needs of some of the other children.

In 1922 the States of Alderney decided to introduce compulsory elementary education. Under the provisions of the Order in Council, the St. Anne's School was taken over by the States of Alderney, who became financially responsible for the provision of free education for all the children in the island. This school was directed by a States Education Committee which consisted of one Jurat, three members elected by the States Assembly, and three members of the general public elected at a parochial meeting. The Committee was required to arrange with the Board of Education for the annual inspection of the schools by one of H.M. inspectors.

During the period of compulsory education in Alderney the standard of education rose. Since June 1940 Alderney children have been dispersed to schools throughout Great Britain and many of the boys and girls have gained scholarships from the elementary to the higher grade and secondary schools.

THE FUTURE

Alderney has always desired closer links with Jersey and Guernsey, but poor communications were a severe handicap.

Alderney's problems will differ in some respects from those facing Jersey and Guernsey whose administrations are still functioning under German rule and where many of the adult population remained in the islands. In some respects the island's problems may be simpler but there can be no doubt that the full re-establishment of the economy and social life of the island will be a complex and difficult matter. The mode of life that existed up to the time of the evacuation is unlikely to return and the future will depend to a great extent upon much hard work and upon a spirit of co-operation among all islanders. Until the condition of the island, after the Germans have been driven out, is known, little can be done in the making of post-war plans. There have, however, been some valuable suggestions for future development including the following:—

- (a) The growing of seed potatoes for export to Jersey. This should be profitable as an industry and both islands should derive many advantages from any such scheme.
- (b) The development of a Channel Islands fishing industry on a co-operative basis. This suggestion is full of possibilities and, with modern boats and equipment there would be a wide field for development.
- (c) Alderney formerly bred a large number of pigs for home consumption and for export to the neighbouring islands. This industry should be developed considerably. The curing and smoking of bacon might be undertaken, mainly for export.
- (d) An air-service with England, Jersey and Guernsey would be beneficial and would promote the expansion of holiday traffic as well as trade and co-operation with Jersey and Guernsey.
- (e) Home industries such as wicker-basket making, etc.
- (f) The extraction of magnesium from sea water and of iodine from seaweed. The former, if possible, would require a very large and cheap supply of electricity.

The Alderney people are eagerly looking forward to the day when they can face the problems of re-establishing themselves in their island home. They believe that the British Government, having full knowledge of the circumstances leading up to the general evacuation in June 1940 and of the islanders' subsequent contribution to the war effort, will treat this little state and its people with justice, sympathy and understanding when the day of rehabilitation arrives.

XIII. SARK

SARK IS CENTRALLY PLACED IN THE CHANNEL ISLANDS, WITH JERSEY TO THE south, Alderney to the north and Guernsey, Herm and Jethou to the west. It is an almost flat-topped plateau, mainly of a rock called hornblende schist, but from this main mass there project headlands which are largely granite. La Pointe du Nez on the north has on its east side L'Eperquerie, the old landing place still used occasionally in recent years when the modern harbour is made dangerous in some easterly gales. Veins of softer rock run across this headland

and have been partially worn down in some cases; in other cases the sea has worn deep narrow caves (*Les Boutiques*) and one of these runs right through from east to west and a portion of the roof has fallen.

Little Sark, with the isolated rock of L'Etacq, projects southwards and a belt of softer rock has been worn away leaving only the narrow isthmus of La Coupée joining Little Sark to the main mass. The crest of this isthmus, 260 feet above sea level, has been made into a narrow road from which one may look down a precipice on the east side and a steep slope on the west.

Brecqhou projects westwards and is separated from the main mass by the tide race of the Moie du Gouliot, near which, on Sark itself, a system of caves under the headland has been worn by the sea.

The eastward projection has rock groups out to sea beyond the little beach which nestles under a rock mass, on the other side of which lies the Vallée du Creux. A tunnel was made through the rock mass by the de Carteret family's orders in the early days of their lordship of Sark and the beach became a landing place. A harbour has been built here in stages and a new tunnel has been bored through the rock mass just mentioned. A new landing place at the end of the Vallée du Creux had been in course of construction for some time before 1940.

Most of the island is bounded by cliffs and outstanding rocks, but some beautiful valleys lead down to picturesque bays, Dixcart, Le Grève de la Ville and Le Port du Moulin being specially notable. The valley sides go through a gay succession of blooms, with thorn, primroses and bluebells, foxgloves, ox-eyed daisies and camomile as spring and summer pass. In autumn the red-brown bracken of the cliffs stands against the rich blue of the Atlantic waters that at this season roll in towards the land. And when is the gorse not in bloom? Above the rock foundation of many cliffs a deep deposit of almost orange colour brightens the cliffside. This is known to geologists as brick-earth and is related to the loess laid down in the Ice Ages of the days of early man.

A few traces of prehistoric peoples have been found but we have nothing to indicate that Sark was of such importance in those days as were Jersey and Guernsey, in both of which great stone monuments still remain, and were once much more numerous. We touch something a little more definite in the evidence found in the eighteenth century concerning metal and coins found on the island and probably connected with the Visigoths of the fifth century. Soon after that period the missionary movements of the preachers of Celtic Christianity, usually called the Celtic saints, brought St. Magloire to Sark. He was a nephew of St. Samson of Dol and he lived long in Sark, dying there in the early years of the seventh century. This is one of the chief facts concerning the Celtic phase of the islands for, apparently, Samson only visited Guernsey and Helier was a solitary anchorite in Jersey, but a monastic school grew around the foundation of St. Magloire and his remains buried in the chapel. A story of the ninth century tells of a Breton king, Nominoë, who, by subterfuge, got the saint's body away and founded the priory of St. Magloire de Lehon near Dinan. Whatever may be the truth in this matter, we reach here the phase of Norman influence with the Bishop of Coutances claiming the islands for his diocese, the abbeys of Mont St. Michel, Nant and Cherbourg taking possession. The monastery declined and the chapel was later served by one monk only. But the ravages of Danes and Norsemen had almost desolated the island. Trenches near Le Grand Fort and Le Chateau (Hogs Back), with adjacent finds of weapons, ornaments and pottery, may be the work of these sea rovers.

In the tenth century Sark was treated as a special appendage of the dukes of Normandy. Duke William Longsword divided Guernsey between the viscounts

of St. Sauveur and Bayeux. The latter forfeited his lands to the former for rebellion, but, under Duke Robert the Magnificent (Robert le Diable), they were given to the Abbey of Mont St. Michel. William the Conqueror made peace with the Bayeux family, gave them back their lands, and gave Sark and Alderney to the Abbey instead. Soon afterwards, in return for a loan, William allocated the islands to the diocese of Coutances in which they remained until the end of the Middle Ages. The monastic school of Celtic days never revived but the chapel remained and came in the twelfth century under the Abbey of Montebourg, which was supposed to keep the mill in order. Protestant zeal seems to have demolished the last remnants of the chapel in the seventeenth century, but the site of the monastery is commemorated in the farm name of Le Moinerie, at the top of the valley leading down to the Port du Moulin, so called from the old water-mill built near where the little stream takes a leap down towards the shore.

By this time the temporal possession of Sark was in the hands of the de Vernon family, and from revenue records it has been thought that Sark was prosperous with a manorial organisation and perhaps as many as 400 people. When Philippe Auguste defeated King John, Pierre des Préaux, heir by marriage of the de Vernon, submitted to the victor but omitted to mention the Channel Islands in his submission. John also omitted the islands from a list of possessions of Norman barons, and they saw several changes of fortune in his reign, but from 1218 for some time Sark was a noble fief of the d'Aubigny family under the kings of England, who recognised and maintained the special customs of the Channel Islands, Henry III granting them the right to import and export freely. Conger, dried on the Eperquerie, were an article of trade.

In 1309 a dispute over chapel and mill was won by the Abbey of Montebourg though the bishop of Avranches had two-thirds of the island's tithes. The appearance of the name of the bishop of Avranches in documents relating to the islands, which were in the diocese of Coutances, is an interesting indication of the complications of rights and tenures. The fact that ecclesiastically the islands were connected with Normandy for centuries after the political link was broken is a notable illustration of medieval schemes; it survived until national self-consciousness gained strength in the struggles of Elizabeth's reign. The political link with England brought trouble to the islands, as they were just off the French coast, and Sark seems to have suffered so much that it was deserted. The Pope Sixtus IV agreed with King Edward IV of England that the islands should be declared neutral, and those who violated them were to be excommunicated, but the day for such schemes was past and the Middle Ages nearly over. An attack on Sark in 1549 by a group of pirates from France was successful until, a few years later, Flemings descended on the island asking for leave to bury a dead comrade in consecrated ground. The Flemings were searched for weapons but the coffin was left inviolate. When the Flemings were alone in the chapel with the coffin at night they opened the coffin, which was full of weapons, and killed the pirates in their sleep. It was evident that, in the interests of the islands, Sark must be guarded.

Here, a characteristic new development began. It brought in an administrative system under the English Crown, but a system based on the old feudalism which was passing away elsewhere.

Helier de Carteret, lord of the manor of St. Ouen in Jersey, came in 1563 with his wife to the little isle which apparently the Flemings had deserted, and their story tells of Marguerite de Carteret using the chapel as a shelter. Helier then went to London and negotiated for Sark as one-twentieth of a Fief Haubert.

This was granted (1565) for a payment of £40, an annual rental of fifty shillings and a guarantee that there would be 40 farmers settled on the island and able to defend it. So Sark started a manorial history when many other places were losing that tradition, and the story of the Sark manor and the adaptation of its government to more modern needs without sweeping away the old scheme is what gives a general interest to a survey of the Sark constitution.

Before proceeding to that subject it will be worth while to outline the story of the community and its lords. The island-manor remained under the de Carteret family until 1714, when it changed hands several times and finally passed, in 1731, to Madame le Pelley of Guernsey. The de Carteret Seigneurs had lived mostly in Jersey. The le Pelleys came to live in Sark. In 1820 Peter le Pelley laid the foundation stone of the present church, the old manor house became the vicarage, and a new Seigneurie was built at La Perronerie above Le Port du Moulin. A few years later the le Pelley family unfortunately ventured into silver-mining in Little Sark and they had to sell out to the Collings family in 1852. These changes have brought little alteration in the constitution since it settled itself towards the end of the seventeenth century, after many discussions, both internally and with Guernsey.

The Elizabethan settlement brought in 45 or 46 families and Helier de Carteret also kept a certain amount of land outside his demesne in his own hands, to be sold as occasion required. The families seem to have come from both Jersey and Guernsey and the constitution has traces of both sources; the dialect of the people is related more particularly to that of St. Ouen in Jersey, the home of the de Carterets. At first, farms were divided among heirs, and fields were bought and sold, but soon the law forbade the division of property or the sale of portions of a farm or the raising of new mortgages; there being already some in favour of the Seigneur these were maintained. In the event of the sale of a whole farm the price must be posted up at the church door, and any relative within certain degrees can buy it back within a year and a day at the price notified, if the sale took it out of the family. In inheritance all land goes, undivided, to the eldest son, or failing a son, to the eldest daughter; but it has sometimes happened that by agreement a father who owns two or more farms may sell one to a trustee who may resell it at once to a second son or daughter. The Seigneur receives one-thirteenth of the sale price, and his consent is necessary for a sale to be legal; but a second sale within a year and a day is free from the one-thirteenth. In the case of a death without heirs of at least the seventh degree of kindred, the farm reverts to him. He also receives certain payments in money or in kind from all the farm owners, unless, as has happened in several cases, they have been redeemed for cash. A tithe on all grain crops, wool, lambs and pigs and apples is collected by the Seigneur and goes towards the Vicar's salary. In theory every farm owner must either live on it and work the farm, or in the old days must have seen to it that there was on the farm a man competent to take part in the defence of the island. This provision has been almost forgotten. The farm house must be maintained in good repair under theoretical penalty of forfeiture. Farmers may lease a field for a term of years and the tenant may be allowed to build a house on the leased land, but house and land return to the owner at the end of the lease. Thus, by long lease, conditions approaching those of a sale do come into existence, and they have become commoner since newcomers have taken to living in Sark.

Of the farms in Sark, the 40 chief ones bring special rights and duties to their owners. They are the only voting members of the Chefs Plaids or Chief Pleas, the local legislature. If one man owns more than one farm he has a vote in

respect of each. In the early twentieth century four of the 40 farms were owned by the Seigneur, so he had four votes as a member of the Chief Pleas; he has a veto but no vote or right to speak as Seigneur; he must attend the Chief Pleas or send a plenipotentiary. All voters must attend under penalty of a fine, but, if a woman is a voter by right of ownership, she must send a male proxy, though Mme. le Pelley attended as Seigneur in 1779. The Chief Pleas sits under the presidency of a Senéchal, who is nominated by the Seigneur and sworn in before the Royal Court of Guernsey, after which he cannot be removed save for gross misdemeanour, and no case of this is on record. He can, however, resign freely at any time. After a vote has been taken on any subject in the Chief Pleas, and it is taken by roll-call, the Senéchal asks the Seigneur or his representative for his approval, and, this once given by word of mouth, the matter is concluded. Though the Seigneur cannot take part in deliberations, he can do this if he owns one of the 40 farms which have votes.

The Chief Pleas is supposed to meet three times in the year for one day on each occasion. The meeting after Michaelmas elects certain committees and an official and fixes the budget; the other meetings have sometimes been cancelled, but on other occasions extra meetings have been called. In the case of a dispute between the Seigneur and the Chief Pleas, the Royal Court of Guernsey would hear the matter and the final appeal would be to the Privy Council. In view of all the expenses involved and of the very special need for a *modus vivendi* in a small community of 600 souls, disputes have nearly always been settled in the island which is thus virtually autonomous.

We must now briefly review the chief officers of this little state. The Seigneur has bought or inherited his seigniorial rights, and he may sell them, but only as a whole and to a British subject. He is in no sense landlord of the island, but has the right to the tithe on crops, to one-thirteenth of the sale price of a farm, to a tax, in money or in kind, originally for the vicar's salary, as well as to the reversion where an owner dies without heirs within certain degrees of kinship. He has also certain dues laid on the farms when they were originally granted and sometimes subsequently modified. He has the right to hunt on all land in the island but his right to use ferrets in rabbiting on farms that are not his own has been denied. One Seigneur was brought to Court for disorderly conduct and was duly found guilty by his own Senéchal. The Seigneur has complete mineral rights and this was the undoing of the le Pelley family as already noted; these mineral rights do not exempt him from payment for leasing the necessary land surface for a mining installation. The Sark mill belongs to him, and no one else has the right to build a mill, save for his own use. But grain may be taken to Guernsey to be milled, and in recent years not only flour, but loaves too, have come largely from Guernsey. He sanctions buildings and demolitions and is said to have the right to enforce the keeping of buildings in repair. His former right to seaweed, cast up or cut, to be used as manure, has long since passed to the island farmers. When there was a militia force he was its chief. He has to meet the expenses of a court of justice four times a year if needed. He is a member of the harbour committee and of the education committee and appoints certain officers as will be stated below.

The Senéchal presides over the Chief Pleas and is sole judge in the Sark court, but only minor cases are settled there; larger matters are taken on appeal, to the Royal Court of Guernsey which has legally trained officers. He has been but in theory need not be, one of the forty voters, but he votes only as one of the forty. If he cannot attend the Chief Pleas he must be represented by a deputy who has been sworn in before him. He is a member of all the chief committees and usually negotiates with the outside world on behalf of the island.

The Greffier or Recorder is nominated by the Seigneur, like the Senéchal, and, like him also, cannot be dismissed but can resign. He attends the Chief Pleas but votes only if he is one of the forty, which has probably always been the case. He writes up the minutes with the help of the Senéchal, and keeps record of all cases brought before the Court.

The Prevôt or Sheriff is nominated like the Senéchal and Greffier and has the same position in the Chief Pleas. He has to act as King's Attorney in case of need, has to make distress in cases of debt, and has to see that the Senéchal's verdicts in Court are executed; he acts as gaoler and must at need take prisoners to the Royal Court of Guernsey. He inspects the public houses and the liquor imported.

A Vingtenier is appointed by the Chief Pleas at Michaelmas and he becomes Connétable one year later, holding each office for twelve months. It is interesting to note that the title Vingtenier, borrowed from Jersey, has survived though its meaning has somewhat changed. The Vingtenier is often the son of one of the forty. These two officers are charged with maintaining the peace and arresting for crime. The Connétable sits in the Chief Pleas but does not vote unless he belongs to the forty; he is responsible for road repairs and used to exact labour from the inhabitants, but paid labour has been used to some extent at least, though La Coupée was long a special case for "corvée," and the requirement of two days' free labour on the roads by each able-bodied man is still in operation. The Connétable levies the taxes authorised by the Chief Pleas and, to assess the amounts for each taxpayer, he has the advice of a committee called the Douzaine (a Guernsey term), of which the Senéchal is a member. The twelve Deputies composing the Douzaine are elected once a year at the Chief Pleas. Each must be proposed and seconded by one of the forty tenants and must be island born.

The chief tax is levied on property and the amount is fixed year by year, but it is rivalled in importance by the landing tax of fivepence (of late years increased to one shilling) on strangers, and of twopence per ton on the boats bringing them to Sark. Sark imports goods only through Guernsey and, after many changes, it was decided that Sark should receive from Guernsey one-eightieth of the revenue the latter received from import dues on liquor and tobacco, a good deal of these dutiable goods being consumed in Sark by visitors. In 1826 Sark asked the Etats of Guernsey to pay the island's debts by printing banknotes and accepting as compensation Sark's proportion of the customs dues just mentioned for fifteen years. Loans have been arranged from time to time, especially for harbour works.

The Chief Pleas elects triennially overseers of poor relief, for which a special tax is levied, but these officers merely carry out the decisions of the Chief Pleas which discusses individual cases. It employs and dismisses the schoolmaster and the island has had compulsory education since 1872 at least. The Education Committee includes the Seigneur and the Senéchal. The schoolmaster's salary comes from a special tax supplemented from revenue. One of the last of the le Pelley seigneurs left a legacy which has maintained a girls' school, however meagrely.

The story of religion in the island is curious. When the de Carteret family organised the community the Reformation had taken place and a French Protestant, Cosmè Brevin, came to be minister in Sark. He was succeeded by his son Elie, who maintained the Calvinistic tradition until his death in 1674, though the de Carteret family were Cavalier and Anglican. Conformity to Anglican practice was not congenial, and, in the late eighteenth century, after

John Wesley's visit to Guernsey, Methodism took hold in Sark. Sometimes a preacher has been stationed in Sark for one or more years, sometimes preachers have braved the crossing from Guernsey and used a room arranged at one time in the gallery of the chapel that was built in due course, sometimes also an inhabitant of Sark has been recognised as a lay preacher. Guernsey Methodism has the oversight of its offshoot in Sark. The Anglican vicar is nominated by the Seigneur but cannot be removed save through discipline under the Dean of Guernsey; and his election must be approved by the Bishop of Winchester. Early in this century the vicar received £100 per annum and a house which had been the old manor house. The Seigneur is also supposed to keep the church in repair and one seigneur sold pews to the forty chief farms to be inherited with the farms. The Chief Pleas has on occasion helped to meet church expenses, but there is typically a strong opposition to this, and it is almost certainly derived from the opposition of the Calvinism taught to the people by the Brevins. The Seigneurs have been Anglicans, but the quarrels between Seigneur and vicar at the end of the last century were disgraceful.

The little community in its isolation long maintained a fairly high degree of self-sufficiency, with much exchange of services and little money. There was little the islanders could sell outside, so they must buy little. But summer visitors have brought a great change. There were recently three hotels, which were transformed farms, and some other farms became boarding houses or let apartments. Some monied visitors stayed on, leased a plot of land and built a house. Wheat growing diminished and more flour was imported, recently loaves too. The Sark cattle have been admitted to the Guernsey Herd Book and this is an asset for the farms. Fishermen gather lobsters, sea-crawfish and crabs for the hotels and boarding houses, and they row the visitors between the mail boat and the pier head at low tide for a fixed charge. In these ways more money has come in, and a few families have continued to send some of their children to school in Guernsey; but all such arrangements are difficult in a community facing with small resources the modern world and its dealings in huge sums. Several ancient laws are still sturdily in operation. For instance, no horse and cart may travel the roads on Sundays except for the direct purpose of church-going, and motor cars are not allowed on the island.

Sark presents an interesting example of partial adaptation of old arrangements to modern needs, a lord of the manor unable to speak in the assembly unless he himself owns some of the farms which carry votes, a legislature without elections that yet has some claims to speak for the people though the cottagers have no spokesman or vote, officials who in some cases have a great deal of work and responsibility, but who are unpaid save for small fees against expenses of journeys to Guernsey and a few other matters. The old manorial system was still very much alive in 1939; it may need patching after the war, but one may hope there will not be a too great break with the past.

XIV. DEMOCRACY IN THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

THIS WAR, LIKE THE LAST, IS BEING FOUGHT UNDER THE BANNER OF DEMOCRACY and for the freedom of the small peoples. Since 1918 democracy has been again on trial. By some it has been condemned, but there can be no doubt that if there is to be hope for all to enjoy in the future the freedom which is our birthright, democracy must be restored and reaffirmed in its fullness by those countries which have acclaimed it as their aim in peace through victory in war.

When we consider our problems in the Channel Islands and try to see them in the light of what has happened elsewhere, when we try to reach new goals

of happiness and prosperity, we shall do well to give some thought to the problems of democracy as they appear in our island communities.

The term "problems of democracy" is used deliberately, because democracy presents many unresolved problems. Not only is the art of government itself one of the most difficult which faces modern society but, of all forms of government, the democratic form is the most complex. This is so, partly because there is often a confusion between the objects of democracy and the forms in which it is clothed, and partly because there is an underlying conflict between undue individual self-interest—which has sometimes been regarded as a by-product of democracy—and the interest of the community at large.

Democracy has many definitions. Lincoln's well-known one "Government of the people, for the people, by the people," gives us a broad indication of the direction in which modern political democracy takes us but does not help us very much with the immediate problem: how to bring it about in a particular setting. It is, however, one of the great advantages which the people in each of the Channel Islands enjoy, that as small, self-governing communities they are able the more easily to understand their system of government. And it needs to be remembered that government is nothing more and nothing less than the rules by which the living together of people in society is determined.

Democracy is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. Many of the clichés which have invaded the political vocabulary of the "democratic" countries are inadequate or meaningless unless their application provides the conditions under which the individual can develop his innate qualities, enjoy opportunity and freedom to satisfy his reasoned desires to be a useful and creative member of society, and to attain full self-realisation. He should be able to pursue, without hindrance, his quest for the things that go to make the good life.

The history of modern democratic government is a fascinating one, filled with all the glories and tragedies, the high hopes, the bitter disappointments, the humanity and the inhumanity, of man. The nineteenth century, heralded by the American and French revolutions, was its hey-day. Its advance was virtually unchecked until our own days. But a superficial interpretation of democracy and an easy belief in its permanence brought its nemesis. Since the last war democracy has been challenged. It will not cease to be challenged when this war is won. Modern society contains forces which oppose as well as promote democratic development. Conscious and continuous effort to achieve the promise which a truly democratic society holds is the only sure way of making this, in the true sense, the "century of the common man." That conscious effort must be guided and inspired by knowledge and understanding of the structure of society, of the forces which shape it and of the part which the responsible citizen can play in redefining the democratic ideal and determining the quality of the social environment in which he lives.

Unsuspecting and unprepared, the Channel Islands have been plunged violently into the maelstrom of world war. All the islanders, whether they left the islands or remained, have been living under entirely new and different sets of conditions. New experiences—bitter or fruitful—have been gained. New perspectives have been set. Thousands of islanders have, for the first time, seen something of English life and of its industrial communities. Many have experienced some of the social benefits which the struggle for democracy has earned. Some will have seen the working of English local government at first hand. Those who have suffered under the occupation will have seen their public rights ruthlessly over-ridden, their law-making made subservient to an alien rule, and their cherished freedom and independence trampled upon. All will have become

newly conscious of the economic and political factors which enter into the workings of government. All will have reflected upon, and made comparison with, the things they formerly knew in the islands. This wider understanding will help us to see more clearly than before the distinguishing characteristics of the constitutional and political setting of the Channel Islands in its negative, as well as in its positive, aspects.

In making comparisons with Great Britain, for instance, we notice the absence in the Channel Islands of any organised political parties, of any concentrations of wealth or of economic power, of the social problems that blind industrial development has created; also the absence of any sectional press or propaganda. On the other hand we see the strong, if declining, influence of the churches—particularly the non-conformist churches—which is now hardly a factor in English political life. We notice the definite forms of patriarchal or oligarchic rule to which the majority of islanders are strongly attached. We see the historic office of Jurat still combining judicial, legislative and administrative functions. We see some instances of political privilege attaching to property, the indirect election of public representatives, appointment for life to offices of a representative character, obstacles in the path of entering public life or reaching its summits, and the premium enjoyed by the status quo. Underlying all these we recognise, however, the transformed relics of the then democratic institutions of the Calvinistic church, the gradual dissolving of feudal rights, the slow evolution of the islands' institutions towards modern standards and, according to our individual lights, we assess the value or the disservice of tradition. We see a keen pride taken by the islanders in the islands' existing institutions, simultaneously with a limited interest in the history and development of those institutions, and, in the past, a still more limited interest in affairs outside the islands. And it is in keeping with the aloofness of the islands from the political ferment in Europe that intellectual movements in France in recent years averse to democracy, have found no echo in the Channel Islands.

We must, however, look at the living substance. Does the net product constitute an efficient organism for meeting the needs of the society it serves? Is it adaptable to changing needs? Are people satisfied with it? Does it serve the conscious and reasoned desires of the majority? Do people understand the nature of the changes needed to meet these desires? Is there a determination to realise these changes? Is the majority frustrated in bringing them about? In short, is the will of the people effectively reflected in the legislatures?

It can fairly be argued that in recent years there has been no recognisable, strong evidence of a general desire for any radical changes in the present forms of government in any of the islands. The islanders are more concerned with the spirit in which their Governments work than in the institutions themselves. It can also be argued that if there had been a general desire for changes, further changes could, through orderly processes, have eventually been brought about. And it could be pointed out that each of the islands has consistently enjoyed, down the centuries, social discipline and an orderly, happy and uninterrupted constitutional government, without serious unrest or internal strife. No tyrant has ever held sway. And the islands have shown great adaptability to changing economic conditions and have prospered throughout modern times. It can quite rightly be said, too, that each island community well understands its constitution, that its members are fully conscious of their rights and responsibilities and that the islands were as contented, united, free and flourishing as any community to be found anywhere. Even the determined reformer will grant all this ungrudgingly.

In seeking the reasons for this satisfaction with existing forms of government

we fall back again, as we always do in most matters concerning the Channel Islands, on their peculiarities. In the management of their day-to-day affairs wisdom is more valuable than the theories of the political philosopher. Small communities furnish what larger communities cannot offer. There is a personal relationship between the rulers and the ruled, in place of the impersonal relationship between the representative and a mass electorate. There is easy access to representatives and high officials and an intimacy in current affairs in place of contacts between political groupings and the uncertain assessment of a nebulous "public opinion." There is a natural sympathy of outlook and feeling between every section of the community; an intimacy of assent in place of class divisions and rivalries and competition for the rewards and spoils of office. There is a habit of tolerance and a lack of arbitrariness; a climate of personal liberty and a minimum of bureaucracy. Where the islands are oligarchic it is in a setting of responsibility benevolently assumed. And what is of great importance, the government and politics of the islands are characterised by the tradition of voluntary service and the whole of the community life is permeated with opportunity at various levels for honorary public service and with a genuine desire to make the voluntary system work. It can be said that the islands enjoy a high degree of social democracy without a full democratic political setting.

In small communities, institutions other than political ones exert a strong influence in shaping society and diminish the emphasis on political forms. All Channel Islanders are familiar with the great following of the non-conformist churches and the influence this has upon results of major elections when voters tend to favour a candidate of the same persuasion as their own. Indeed, it can be said that the religious sense of the islanders as a whole not only makes for cohesion but inhibits any violent social changes. Again, a candidate directly connected with agriculture tends to secure the agricultural vote. Or again, a member of an old or established island family is likely to be preferred to a new resident in the islands. Throughout, the traditional pattern persists and dies hard. But there is never a wide gap between the official view and the non-official. Discussion and persuasion are intimate; they are never lacking. In this sense the islands breathe out the spirit of true democracy.

Can it be said, however, that the political and social systems, as they stood in 1939, then satisfied modern standards of living and will satisfy the natural aspirations which wider experiences and the rising standard of education are creating? If not, how can the systems be modified to do so?

These are crucial questions which the future will bring. It is a fact that the islands are lacking in measures of social relief and security which have been current in many countries in and outside Europe for some decades, often in countries far less blessed by nature and circumstances than are the islands. On the other hand, it is true that the need for such social measures has not been so great in the islands as elsewhere, that intra-family help has hitherto been widely practised and that a sturdy independence of character has probably checked any general desire to introduce social security measures obtaining among industrialised communities with their characteristic impersonal relations. But it cannot be denied that poverty and hardship have been a frequent accompaniment of sickness, enforced retirement and old age. Charity through the "poor law" carries with it a stigma which, if it has been responsible in the past for small or diminishing calls for such help, is inconsistent with modern democratic conceptions of the dignity of the individual and of the responsibilities of society.

The temper of the legislatures in the past—and we may assume that this reflected the will of the majority as far as this had been formulated—seems to

have been one of benevolent paternalism with no pressure for the granting of social rights. To a great extent that paternalism can be attributed to the constitution of the islands' legislative bodies, the very heart of each island society.

In another article reference is made to the difficulties in the Channel Islands of bringing about any organisation of the wage-earners, arising, it is thought, from the lack of any sectional political consciousness. This non-sectionalism is partly responsible for the relative backwardness of state-provided social services. On the other hand, this non-sectionalism means unity, necessary now as never before. To this unity is joined the spirit of voluntary service to the community which down the centuries has characterised the islands' legislative and administrative systems. This is a priceless asset which should not only be preserved but extended into new fields of community work. The re-shaping of our institutions on more democratic lines would give fuller opportunity for this spirit to find expression and to flourish. New forms of service will be needed but the substance and the inspiration should be retained.

The democracy which we, in the islands, already practice and the extension of it which we must patiently seek to bring about by well-considered adjustments, will be of a different pattern from that elsewhere, just as that in Britain—which like ours has its own feudal survivals—in Switzerland, in the U.S.A. and, until recently, in France, all differ in form and emphasis. We must choose our own path of democratic development according to our peculiar ways and traditions, determined to face realities and not abstractions. We can avoid some of the weaknesses inherent in democracy elsewhere if we build on the solid foundations of our respect for traditional forms, a strong community consciousness and an understanding of the worth of co-operation. Mingling "*la lucidité et l'audace*" we can move far on the road of political progress towards yet greater freedom and happiness.

CONCLUSION

MANY ASPECTS OF THE LIFE OF THE ISLANDS HAVE BEEN TOUCHED UPON IN this book, but it is not claimed that the picture presented is in any way complete. For example, nothing has been said about the proud history of the militias of the islands, or of the military future of the islands. No attempt has been made to consider the complicated legal issues that are likely to present themselves after the liberation of the islands. Nor has any detailed study been made of the financial problems which must arise. Nothing has been written about the psychological effects of the Nazi occupation and rule. The residue of suffering which the enemy will leave behind, and which will bear hardly on the lives of many for years to come, has not been discussed. In the absence of precise and authoritative information on these subjects no good purpose would be served in giving expression to individual ideas and feelings about them.

We must, nevertheless, prepare ourselves to face the results of four years of Nazi rule, momentarily masked though these may be by the excitement and joy of liberation and reunion. The islands and islanders must have already suffered much. The further progress of the war and the process of liberation may impose still greater suffering before the islands can regain their former freedom. Adjustment to the conditions that must ensue in a war-torn Europe and in a world painfully groping towards better ways of living together in amity, instead of in fear and suspicion and under the threat of war, will not be quick or easy.

Yet we may be confident that the individuality and traditions of the islands will not weaken or disappear, though the day-to-day outlook may be in some respects changed. The Channel Islands have always had that great and inalienable heritage of self-government, to which other communities, far larger and potentially greater than they, aspire. And as the Nazi occupation of the islands has automatically involved the loss of local autonomy and their time-honoured freedom, so will their liberation carry with it the promise of an early restoration of their cherished liberties and independence.

The studies in this book have shown the patterns of community which have partly been created by the islanders themselves and have partly evolved from the changes in external and internal conditions experienced in the course of time. Their design and inspiration have been constant throughout. Loyalty to the Crown, a sturdy independence of character, a strong attachment to self-government, a remarkable capacity for adaptation to changing economic conditions: these great virtues, sharpened, even, by the experience of war, will again provide the foundations upon which the edifice of the future happiness and prosperity of the islands can safely rest.

TOTAL POPULATION OF CHANNEL ISLANDS AT EACH CENSUS

	<i>Jersey</i>	<i>Guernsey and adjacent Islands</i>	<i>Total</i>
1831	36,582	26,128 ..	62,710
1841	46,544	28,521 ..	73,065
1851	57,020	33,719 ..	90,739
1861	55,613	35,365 ..	90,978
1871	56,627	33,969 ..	90,596
1881	52,455	35,257 ..	87,712
1891	54,518	37,716 ..	92,234
1901	52,636	43,042 ..	95,678
1911	51,903	45,001 ..	96,904
1921	49,519	40,529 ..	90,048
1931	50,455	42,606* ..	93,061

Density per square mile

in 1931 1,124 .. 1,659

Notes.—*Includes Alderney .. 1,506

Sark 571

Herm 53

Jethou 2

A census taken in Guernsey after the evacuation in 1940 showed the population then—presumably local population only—to be 23,981.

TRADE WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM*

	1937 £	1936 £	1935 £
U.K. Exports to the Channel Islands	5,481,891	5,101,658	4,942,093
U.K. Re-exports to the Channel Islands	1,019,388	1,011,093	1,000,187
Total	6,501,279	6,112,751	5,942,280
U.K. Imports from the Channel Islands	4,451,459	4,324,849	4,383,973
Balance of trade in favour of U.K.†	£2,049,820	£1,787,902	£1,558,307

* Figures issued by the Department of Overseas Trade, London, and extracted from the Jersey Chamber of Commerce Report dated March 1938. There is only a very small trade with France and other countries.

† The average of the three years is £1,798,676 a year. This represents the Islands' "invisible exports" and is made up chiefly of pensions, etc., received by residents, interest on investments outside the islands, and the money spent by tourists in the islands,

JERSEY

EXPORTS.	1937	1936	1935
Total tonnage .. .	149,742	144,205	174,980
Declared value (approx. only)	£2,034,203	£1,921,913	£2,196,350
Main items include			
Potatoes .. .	59,401	61,104	88,186
Tomatoes .. .	29,281	22,607	27,281
Fruit and Garden Produce	315	337	174
Scrap Iron and Metals ..	2,223	1,595	1,040
Granite .. .	53,576	53,614	53,265
Tar	220,488	223,468	207,244
Cattle .. .	1,310	1,138	1,107
IMPORTS.	1937	1936	1935
Total Tonnage .. .	191,170	197,087	188,928
Declared value (approx. only)	£3,539,350	£3,574,112	£3,432,018
Items include the following:—			
Flour .. .	4,832	5,166	5,168
Fruit, Nuts, etc. .. .	2,552	2,280	2,048
Meat .. .	2,333	2,654	2,432
*Mixed Groceries .. .	4,792	4,700	4,200
Potatoes .. .	2,043	2,653	1,879
Sugar .. .	2,109	1,908	1,525
Beans, Peas, Bran and Cattle Foods .. .	6,709	7,080	6,234
Hay .. .	4,032	4,410	2,246
Maize .. .	1,056	815	918
Oats .. .	903	565	711
Straw .. .	6,464	6,036	5,863
Cement and Limestone	12,739	16,376	14,375
Manures .. .	16,548	14,656	15,146
Coal .. .	75,005	78,180	76,452
Motor Spirit .. .	8,840	7,892	9,735
Paraffin .. .	13,622	14,264	16,860
Fuel Oils .. .	16,432	16,770	12,759
Timber .. .	759,231	934,329	764,760

* Owing to different classification, this figure is not strictly comparable with imports into Guernsey given under the same heading.

Extracted from *Evening Post Almanack* and from *Annual Reports of the Jersey Chamber of Commerce*.

GUERNSEY

EXPORTS (other than to Alderney and Sark)

	1938	1937	1928	1913
Total Tonnage ..	157,040	142,577	224,044	477,038
Declared Value ..		Not available		
Main items include	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Tons</i>
Tomatoes ..	34,964	31,629	25,069	13,517
Flowers ..	3,721	4,091	3,205	2,378
Grapes ..	688	743	1,281	2,083
Other Fruit ..	56	67	90	59
Bulbs ..	425	406	409	315
Vegetables ..	526	785	602	1,341
Potatoes ..	1,330	1,498	538	1,227
Scrap Metal ..	2,074	1,186	421	373
Tar ..	852	475	462	461
Stone ..	110,737	100,162	188,438	453,947
	<i>Head</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Head</i>
Cattle ..	628	613	761	1,044

IMPORTS. No total figures available. Items include the following:—

	1938	1937
	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Tons</i>
Flour ..	3,712	3,680
Fruit and Nuts ..	1,464	1,545
Meat ..	1,800	1,743
Mixed Groceries ..	4,655	4,470
Potatoes ..	1,900	1,772
Sugar ..	1,687	1,621
Bran and all Cattle Foods ..	3,539	3,898
Hay and Chaff ..	346	43
Maize ..	639	779
Oats ..	276	503
Straw ..	619	575
Wheat ..	920	878
Cement, Lime, etc. ..	9,172	8,448
Castings, Ranges, Cookers, Tubes ..	3,311	4,566
Greenhouse Glass ..	1,306	2,496
Agricultural Lime ..	1,415	1,076
Manures and Fertilisers ..	5,152	5,584
Timber and Joinery ..	10,532*	10,166*
Wood for Boxmaking ..	12,086*	14,476†
Anthracite ..	138,130	134,717
Coal ..	51,671†	56,536
	<i>Galls.</i>	<i>Galls.</i>
Motor Spirit ..	1,803,078	1,650,601
Paraffin ..	328,491	485,877
Fuel Oil ..	521,914	477,417

* Measurement tons.

† Of this quantity 10,437 tons were used for horticultural purposes.

Extracted from Press Directory and Almanack.

