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THE ARROW, THE HUNTER, AND THE STATE

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In the study of ancient spacecraft one is constantly running across references to a gadget that seems so minor and so mechanical that its great importance is easily overlooked as a key to the nature and origin of empire. It is the contention of this paper that the marked arrow supplies decisive evidence for describing the process by which hunters were able to impose a system of government on the world. The marked arrow not only supports the growing suspicion that the ancient societies of the great river valleys became conquering empires by virtue of a discipline forced on them from without, but goes on to show how such a transformation could take place. Whereas only farmers possess the industry and stability necessary to sustain a great state, the marked arrow indicates that it was nomad hunters of the steppe, with their expansive and aggressive ways, who first brought such a state into existence. Both elements, expansion and stability, must be combined if real empire—not merely adding of fields to fields on the one hand, or the quick plunder of a continent on the other, but a program and technique of permanent, universal rule—is to be achieved.

The present study undertakes to show how by using marked arrows in a peculiar way prehistoric hunters solved the problem of exercising dominion over vast and scattered areas, and then applied the same solution to the more difficult problem of welding peasant and nomad cultures into some sort of union, resulting in the great centralized state of historic times. Three basic questions only will be treated: what was the marked arrow; how it worked in exercising its control over the loosely-knit and widely-ranging tribes of the steppe; and how those tribes used it to coerce the unwilling tillers of the soil to cooperate in bringing forth the great state.

Modern observers have described how the native hunters of the northwestern coast of America secure their harpoons and arrows by putting marks of identification on them, thus guaranteeing both the return of the weapon to its owner and the right of the latter to possess the game which has slain it. In this as in other things these people have preserved the ways of that Magdalenian hunting culture of which their own has long


2 H. S. Fall, Altorussische Waffenbande (Chios, 1914), pp. 19-20.


the Indian and the Beduin,\textsuperscript{16} all eloquently expressing the humility of men about to entrust their lives and their fate to a power beyond their control.

The problem of the hunter is to utilize this strange power in his own interest. This requires recourse to the ingenious economy of the hunting-fetish, that go-between without whose aid a man can neither prevail against the game he chases nor enjoy lawful possession of it once taken.\textsuperscript{17} Among a variety of fetishes which achieve these ends, the mark placed upon a shaft is particularly useful, for not only does it establish legal claim to the kill, but it is "the soul of the arrow," directing the missile to its prey and endowing it with superhuman force.\textsuperscript{18} Both for identification and as hunting magic the sign on the arrow is a preeminently practical thing; it gets and it proves possession—a point on which hunters are extremely sensitive. Out of sight and beyond the hills, the smirry quarry is still the sacred property of him whose mark adorns the fatal arrow: why shouldn't such a useful claim to ownership apply to other things as well? By sticking his arrow in the ground beside any object the Vedda claims that object as his own. A natural transition carries the authority of the marked arrow into a wider economy of human affairs.

II

Throughout the ancient world a ruler was thought to command everything his arrow could touch. Thus whenever a ruler of the North would summon all his subjects to his presence, he would order an arrow, usually called a "war-arrow" (heros) to be "cut up" and sent out among them. Upon being touched by this arrow, every man had immediately to "follow the arrow" (sylia omum) to the royal presence or suffer banishment from the kingdom.\textsuperscript{19} The arrow itself, in fact, was thought to pursue the wretch who failed to heed the king's behest.\textsuperscript{20} The "cutting" of the arrow was the placing of the royal mark upon it, giving it the force of the king's seal.\textsuperscript{21} As often as not the arrow took the form of a simple rod (stein), bearing marks of authorization while the message was delivered by word of mouth, a technique recalling that of Australian and some American primitives in sending their message-sticks.\textsuperscript{22}

The summoning-arrow is common to the whole northern steppe, where exceedingly archaic forms of it are to be found, and where it has survived until recent times.\textsuperscript{23} Both as war-arrow and invitation-stick (depending on whether it is rejected or accepted) it appears among the American Indians, especially of the Northwest.\textsuperscript{24} But its most significant occurrence is found in altered but easily recognizable forms in the classical civilizations of the Old World.

The herald of Zeus goes forth to summon his subjects armed with a golden wand that subdues all creatures with its touch. Hermes got this staff originally from Apollo, who brought it with him as an arrow from the land of the Hyperboreans, somewhere in the northern steppe.\textsuperscript{25} Hermes' specialty is rushing through the air by means of his messenger-staff, the Caduceus, which is warded at one end like an arrow, and pointed at the other; holding to this the god is able to fly through space, to the upper and lower worlds if need be, exactly as Abrasax, the Hyperborean shaman, flies over all the earth as Apollo's emissary when he graps the arrow that the god has given him as a sign of his authority.\textsuperscript{26} It is not necessary to multiply parallels to show that in the earliest stratum of Greek legend we have a typical summons-arrow, wending its way from the far north to impose law and civilization on the world in the name of Zeus.\textsuperscript{27} The first message of Rome to Carthage was a symbolic caduceus and javelin (haustae simulacrum) inviting the Carthaginians to submit or be subdued by force (Cellius, Notitia X, 27).


\textsuperscript{17} Verbalen und Wichtigkeit, op. cit., p. 47. The term "stein" (rod) was readily "in accurat sensum," Wernsbach, op. cit., p. 96.

\textsuperscript{18} Wernsbach, op. cit., pp. 63-68. German Reiterschwerter survived into the late Middle Ages, Göttert, Astro, p. 248; v. Stammestumme und Massenmischung, p. 279.

\textsuperscript{19} Herodotus, Historiae (624-296), p. 352; Comenius, Emblèmes d'Or (624), p. 215.

\textsuperscript{20} Ed. Solin, Graeterer Wunderbuch der Graeterischen Sprache in Alterthümerei (Berlin, 1827), Vol. III, p. 323; p. 65, p. 175; p. 204; p. 175.

\textsuperscript{21} See W. H. Stolpe, Kulturgeschichte der Abendland (Berlin, 1876), p. 175.

\textsuperscript{22} In his paper "The Cut of the Hermes Staff," pp. 303-306; Vide. W. H. Stolpe, Kulturgeschichte der Abendland (Berlin, 1876), p. 175.

\textsuperscript{23} Aeneas, Memoriae (300-390), p. 248 (1510-1529), for the Greek expressions, see G. Ultsch, Das Geben und Nehmen (Berlin, 1850), p. 46.
In Israel the Lord, calling upon a city to declare its allegiance to him, sends his rod to it, and a herald (a man of thunder), seeing the name on the rod, calls out to the people: "Hear ye the rod and the one who hath appointed it!" That this rod was an arrow will presently become apparent. An impressive demonstration of the authority of the summons-arrow is the firmly and widely spread site of the four world-arrows. The Obit-Treg-Grason saga states a number of times (c.102, 104, 222) that summons-arrows were sent "in the four directions." For the oldest and greatest festival of India, the Asvamedha, the King must send messengers in the four directions to order "all who have been conquered by his arrows" to appear before him. The common use of the summons-arrow in Aryan India makes the meaning of the rite clear. At the creation of the world, according to Zuni doctrine, four marked arrows, "the word-painted arrows of destiny," were carried "to the regions of men, four in number," an event resembling a yearly ritual of the Kwakuitl of the Northwest. A variant of this is the shooting of arrows in the four directions, as in the Ghost-dance of the Sioux, where four sacred arrows were shot into the air towards the cardinal points to symbolize the conquest of the earth by the tribe. A like practice is attributed in Jewish legend to the Emperor Traus and to Nimrod who, from Jerusalem and Babylon respectively, shot arrows in the four directions and claimed dominion over all that lay within their range. The rite appears also in Indo-Iranian creation myths, and in the Sumerian story of Adad and the Zu-bird. In the Old World and the New it is also common to depict the swastika with its four arms formed of marked arrows—plainly the four world-arrows.

Related to the world-arrows is the world-wide practice of making a sanctuary by marking off an area on the ground with the point of an arrow, dividing it into four sections by a cross with its arms to the cardinal points. The Germanic custom of claiming land by shooting a fiery arrow over it may be related to the oldest land-measurement in India, which was the range of a throwing-stick or "measurement by arrow-casts," later supplanted by measurement in bow-lengths. The apporitionment of land by the drawing of arrow-lots was common to the Assyrians and the ancient Norse (whence the expression "list and sort"), and recalls the common medieval custom of transferring the ownership of land by mere by the conveyance of a staff or arrow. A marked arrow passed among the guests at a royal banquet in the North announced the transmission of a man's estate to his heir (Flateybjok, 164).

The ancient and universal concept that God governs the universe and keeps order in it by an arrow, the swift messenger of his wrath that searches out and slays any who would challenge his authority, can only have had its rise in a real summons-arrow, for everywhere this heavenly arrow—the thunderbolt—is held to take the tangible, actual form of a prehistoric stone-headed arrow. It is the arrow of the summo deus, held on loan by an earthly king as a gage of divine support, that everywhere gives the latter his earthly power and authority, just as the marked arrow of the individual hunter, as a fetich or grant of supernatural power, gives him might and dominion far beyond his own puny capacity.

The dread offices of the marked arrow were not reserved to kings alone. Throughout the northern steppe it was the custom to require all who came to the king's assembly to bring arrows with them, and to present these personally to the king. From these arrows a ceremony was taken, each man submitting but a single shaft, which represented him and bore his mark, for "both in the Old World and the New, the arrow came to stand as the token and symbol of a man." To arrows thus used may be applied, for want of a better term, the name "census-arrow."
The census-arrow is found among the Scythians (Herodotus IV, 81), Tartars, Persians, Georgians, Norsemen, and American Indians, and it survived in recognizable form in India, Egypt, and the Far East. But like the summons-arrow, it is most frequently met in altered but unmistakable form among nations that had long given up the hunter’s way of life.

One of the oldest Jewish-Christian legends tells how all the men of Israel were required to attend a great assembly, bringing each his staff, to be handed over to the High Priest and used in a lottery for the distribution of bribes. In the Koranic version of the same story (Sura III, 39), it is not simply a staff, however, but an arrow that every man must present, and this conforms not only with the primitive Beduin usage, but also with the original Jewish custom. For in Israel it was necessary for every man at a national assembly to be represented by a “rod” with his name on it (Num. 17:23); every tribe was a rod as well (Num. 3:13-29), the tribal rods being “each one inscribed with the name of the tribe” (I Clement, Ep. 4:3).

Now the purpose of these rods, Gaster has pointed out, was to determine allotments of bribe and the act was performed by throwing rods into the air and reading their message by the manner of their fall; this, Gaster observes (Hastings Encycl. IV, 806C), is “tanta- mont” to the shooting of arrows. It is in fact the commonest form of arrow divination, and seems to have come back to an older dart or throwing-stick which is commonly identified and interchangeable with the arrow in archaic divinatory practices. Gaster’s interpretation is substantiated when one turns to the northern steppe to find ancient Scythian, Turkish, Finnish, Mongol, and Ossete tribes regulating their land-and-bridge-lotteries by the actual shooting of arrows which were marked, like the rods of Israel, with the contestants’ names. Related practices are found throughout the North. Thus the winning of Penelope has supplied Homer with a prize nugget, which Finizio has traced back to the northern steppe.

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11 Nansen, p. 102; Malory, The Book of Malory, Vol. IV (1900-1), p. 365; Cellos, Game of the North American Indians, pp. 221 ff. (p. 387 ff.)
16 Caes. Flor. Historiae, I, 4; 1.16-4-0.
has pointed out the survival of the arrow-lottery from those tribal meals of the Arab at which all the meat was first thrown in a heap and then distributed by portions to each man as his arrow was drawn and his name called out. Various hunting tribes of the eastern and western hemispheres have the same custom, while the Greek and Roman testes follow the pattern: the testes were regarded as lost and distributed by lot, each hunter receiving the right to share in a feast to which he was supposed to have contributed some prize of the hunt. Marked arrows could, like the Hebrew rods, represent tribes as well as individuals at the feasts. Each of the fifty-two Tartar tribes in the time of Genghis Khan would bring an arrow marked with its name to the great assembly, where each man would be chosen King of the whole nation by a double lottery, first of tribal arrows, then of shafts bearing the names of individuals belonging to whichever tribe won the first drawing (Jainville, St. L., 93, 475-8). Bundles of fifty-two rods, bearing individual and tribal markings, also represented the full membership of Indian tribes in assembly: Culin says these rods were once arrows. Bundles of seven divination arrows standing for the combined states of the Osage recall like tribal bundles of the Scythians, Alans, Slavs, and ancient Germans (who also chose their leaders by drawing willow lots), and these have been compared in turn with the Persian baresma and the Roman fasces, a bundle of twelve rods (the rods of Israel were likewise tied in a symbolic bundle of twelve, I. Clem. Ep. 43), standing originally for twelve Etruscan tribes (RE VI, 2002). The cosmic numbers twelve, seven, fifty-two, have astral and divinatory significance and suggest the modern card-deck, which Culin holds is derived from a "quiver made up of the different arrows of the individuals of a tribe ... ." This communal aspect of the marked arrow was always fundamental to its nature, since arrow-marking was ever as much a bid for public recognition as for divine support.

III

The rise of the great state depended, as Moris has recently pointed out, among other things on the development of writing, by which art alone a ruler can extend his word of command indefinitely in time and space. Such control at a distance was the very function of the marked arrow, and Hilprecht has given strong arguments for deriving the earliest written documents, archaic cylinder seals, from "the hollow shaft of an arrow, marked with symbols and figures." If Hilprecht's theory failed of general acceptance, it was because no one could see how the arrow fitted into the picture. In view of the uses of the marked arrow by hunters, however, that should be fairly clear, especially if one considers a few related facts that may be briefly listed.

1. The earliest gods of writing, Nebi, Cadmus, Hermes, etc., were arrow gods.

2. Some systems of writing of mysterious origin, such as Ogam, Runes, and hieroglyphics, first appear as arrow-marking.

3. In the Far East, according to Culin (Nat. Mus. Rep. 1896, 887), "the ancestry of the book may be traced to the bundle of engraved or painted arrow-derived slips used in divination."

4. The cylinder-seal and the arrow are interchangeable not only as tokens but actually as weapons (an utterly incongruous equation in itself), the seal serving as an arrow-missile, and the marked arrow serving as a seal.

5. The first writing, the first seals, and the marked arrow, all spring from the same basic need: if, as Herodotus maintains, the idea of property that produced the seals and writing is as old as humanity itself, may

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41 H. V. Hilprecht, The Babylonian Epigraphy of the Univ. of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1889), Vol. I, pp. 94, 95. W. W. Wharton, The Seal-Cylinders of Western Asia (Washington, 1915), pp. 34, 35. If the cylinder seal was derived from a cylinder arrow (E. Herford, Archæol. Memoirs of the N. Amer. Ind., Vol. V, 1897, 223), the marked on the cuneiform arrow, such an example would be of some advantage.
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A hundred names might be substituted for that of Nimrod. Japheth, the common ancestor of the people of the northern steppe (Gen. X, 21), as Japhet challenged the rule of Zeus and was smitten by the thunderbolt, even as was his son Prometheus, and for that matter all the other giants. It needs only little research to learn that the crime and the punishment of Nimrod was repeated in the case of Aesculapius, his father Apollo (the Admetus story), the Hyperborean Orison, Sisyphus, Salmonesus, the Emperor Julian (who was smitten by St. Mercurius, the arrow of God), Romulus Silvius, Oros and Ephialtes, Nebuchadrezzar (as legendary son of Nimrod), Leporeus, Botes, the Cyclopes, Gog and Magog, Esau, Goliath and his brother, who had an archery contest with David (Talmud, Sanhed. 95a), Eurotoros, Philoctetes, Heracles and even Odysseus. The "Cannibal Hymn" from pre-Dynastic Egypt describes the deceased Pharaoh as a Mad Hunter who seeks the government of the universe and throws all things into disorder, just as the equally ancient Vulture Sile describes the great god Ningirsu as "a bearer of prey from the steppe," while praising him as the author and ruler of all.41

Folklorists have long identified these terrible hunters of the East with the ubiquitous Wild Huntsman, a great lord or lady who will do nothing but hunt, who holds his agrarian hands in utter contempt, and publicly announces that he prefers hunting to hunting. Invariably this monster is in the eyes of the peasant under a terrible curse, and he usually ends up by being turned to stone when God's bolt overtakes him.42 Yet his is the rule: "In the rural life of Europe," write Peake and Fleure, "the waste and hunting rights down to our time have typically belonged to the 'lords' in a very special and intimate way..." and they argue that this equation of hunting and ruling is the result of prehistoric invasions of Europe by hunting nomads from the Russo-Turkestan steppes.43 Such a conquest is not a unique event-in-history, however, but a characteristic one, as when in the eleventh century Saxen farmers found themselves saddled with the outrageous hunting-laws of an invading Norse aristocracy.44 It is the monarchical theme of Asiatic history right into the 19th century, when Khazakh, Kalmuk, and Jungar nomads moved in from the east to subject and "govern" the peasants exactly as they were oppressed and controlled by the Scythians in the days of Strabo (Geog. VII, iv, 6).

40. Livius, de origine gentium, 66, includes Odysseus among other demi-gods.
subjection to the reed." From the Chinese war-lord in the East to Saladin in the West the arrow—a real arrow and a marked one—is the ultimate symbol of authority, the hunter himself being originally but a message-bearer tied to an arrow. With that arrow go those techniques of empire which no farmers could have invented: even Rome borrowed her theory and practice of empire wholeloth from the East, where, so far as we know, the first man to achieve actual rule of the civilized world was no Egyptian or Babylonian (though they all dreamed of being Cosmocrator) but Khian, a nomad Hyksos from the steppes.

Symbols of rule and ownership at a lower level were those armorial bearings of the Middle Ages which, whether copied from the tribal insignia of the East or adapted from the earlier house-marks and landmarks of the West, were originally the arrow-marks of hunters. The aristocracy were hunters, whose arrogant and blasphemous metoio (usually proclaiming the bearer's power to harm if offended) and whose weird and unearthly disguises were designed to inspire paralyzing dread in the simple rustics who by the mere suspicion of preying to hunt on their own would incur penalties worse than death. Whenever the noble strain was threatened with extinction, it could always count on eager volunteers from the ranks of the bougeoisie to replenish the blood and maintain the hunting tradition: add to Froissart's testimony the English glue-manufacturer in his vast, dark "lodge," or the Russian baron, or German industrialist of the nineteenth century diligently cultivating the hunter's way of life in the midst of purely agrarian societies of great antiquity.


6 B. Thomas, Araba Felix (O. Y., 1923), p. 304, n. 3; Appendix, v. 175, 69; Destré, op. cit., p. 35. That the word of tenderness was originally an arrow-word is clear from AlHassin, Manuscript, 1908, n. 305, 204.


9}
The ways of the hunting nobility with all their social and political implications have been traced back to the great hunting parks of Asiatic monarchs.89 These "paradise-places" prove beyond any doubt that Kings must be Hunters. The ancients, East and West, visualized power, glory, and dominion as embodied in the person of the Cosmocrator, earthly counterpart of the Creator, enthroned in the midst of a vast assembly of birds and animals as well as of men and jinns. The picture of the Great King being acclaimed in a single mighty chorus by all living things assembled before his throne meets us full-blown in Sumerian creation hymns; it is reflected in accounts of Adam, Yima, Orpheus, Ninurta, and others as Lord of the Animals and King of the Golden Age; it is a favorite device of the Hellenistic creator and the daring theme of Jewish and Arabic commentators, whose Solomon sits in the midst of the demons and animals as ruler of the world; it produced the Physiologus and the Bestiaries, and provides the setting of Reynard the Fox and many a scene in Kalila and Dimnah, Babrius, and Aesop, and it begot the Medieval Parliament of Birds, which is not so far from Aristophanes. And wherever we are treated to this wonderful spectacle of the world-king and the assembly of the animals, whether in song, drama, fable, or sermon, it is made to serve as a commentary on government.90

But the grandiose concept of the universal ruler gathering all the birds and animals in his presence (the theme of the Reynard and hoopoe stories is that one creature alone fails to answer the summons) is no mere flight of fancy nor invention of allegory. Eye-witness accounts of the vast organized animal-parks of the Great Khan, the Mongol Emperors at Peking, and the Kings of Persia, Assyria, and Babylonia leave no doubt that the swaggering project was actually carried out as an adjunct of universal rule.91 The thing was adopted by the Hellenistic rulers along with their claims to divine authority, and copied from them (or taken over directly from Bagdad) by the Byzantine Emperors, who transmitted it in turn to the kings of Europe—throne and court everywhere follow the same pattern, which is that of Solomon enthroned in the midst of birds and animals.92

The royal parks of central Asia (the Chinese call the park the Paradise of the West, and the Babylonians placed it in the North, cf. Isaiah 14: 13-14) were no invention of royal vanity, for the system of preserving certain areas in which animals are sacrosanct (called by the Arabs javar) is a perfectly practical one. The actual assembly of the animals recalls the great tribal hunts or animal-drives of the past: Alboruni has described such a drive taking place in the immense royal park at Bagdad in the tenth century; it was ritual, of course, but when was the hunt not a ritual?93 It should be remembered that ritual animal drives, like the great dances of the Indians of the Southwest, are aimed at increasing and protecting the game as well as exploiting it.

But when gone is thus protected, and when it is heds of ungulates that one is driving in the hunt, how close is hunting to herding? Jacob speaks of the tame gazelles that regularly turn up in the javar wherever animals and men meet on a peace footing. Nevertheless, hunting and not herding is the original motif, though the distinction between them is sometimes very fine.

V

Though the arrow rules the world its victory is not final. For ever against its claims must be set the equally valid and venerable claims of the Black Earth, the Mother of Gods and Men, incalculating the deep conviction that a man can possess only the earth be "quickens," all other ownership coming under the head of fraud. To those who work the soil, the holding of more land than one can exploit is wasteful and meaningless, an offense to God and an affront to Justice herself.94 The hunter's arrow, on the other hand, marked with his noble "crest," gives him within the limits of a preserve necessarily much faster than that of any farmer the divine right to possess and dominate whatever it can reach. And so the issue is drawn: to those who held broad lands, abundant more, the arrow was the high and holy symbol of possession; to those who cultivated those lands it was "looked upon ... as the appropriate missile of the robber, or of one who lurked in ambush."95 The antithesis is complete: there is no understanding between Abraham and Nimrod because each is sure the other is mad.

At present a man’s signature performs the offices formerly consigned to his seal and for which but a few generations back the actual possession of a staff or tally-stick was indispensable. Thus man has taken another step away from the arrow, but that is only incidental: even the most primitive alteration, the removal of head and feathering, changed the form of the thing almost beyond recognition. It is the function that remains intact. A mere mark or symbol still bestows proprietary right, operating through unlimited time and space, over anything on earth. This is no mere refinement of lawyer’s wit, nor is it a universal human concept: it is rather, as its lineage shows, the hunter’s peculiar idea of property and right.

Since the marked arrow has long since become an antiquarian oddity, it would be wrong to claim that it still divides the world into two camps as of old. Nevertheless there is no other teacher that can show so well how our world came to be a perennially divided one. The marked arrow demonstrates, what without it would be a mere surmise, that civilization is the issue of a forced union between two fundamentally hostile ways of life, a union which however productive of history has never been a happy one.

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RECRUITMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE CLASS
OF THE BRITISH CIVIL SERVICE

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THE EXIGENCIES of a world war forced many countries to venture into unexplored techniques of governmental processes not only in the political but also in the administrative field. The public service in Great Britain was no exception. It therefore seemed appropriate to examine in some particular the effects of World War II on a specific area of the British Civil Service. The top layer—the Administrative Class, which has long enjoyed an enviable reputation—was chosen for the purposes of this study.

The pre-war method of qualifying for this class is known to every student of personnel management. The class is divided into four grades: the undersecretaries, assistant secretaries, principals, and assistant principals. Recruitment, by a rigorous, competitive examination has traditionally been made at the bottom level—that of assistant principal. The pre-war procedure consisted of a comprehensive written examination on university subjects and an interview. The written examination had a total possible count of one thousand marks, of which three hundred were for general papers, compulsory for all, and seven hundred for optional papers upon subjects chosen by the candidate from a prescribed list. The interview had a possible count of three hundred. All candidates had to be between the ages of twenty and twenty-four, and all who were accepted were started at the assistant principal level. The entire responsibility for these examinations rested upon the Civil Service Commission.

With the outbreak of the war, the Commission was relieved of this responsibility, permanent recruitment (except in rare instances) was suspended, and responsibility for temporary recruitment was placed—at least in theory—in the Ministry of Labour and National Service. Because of the tremendous increase in the number of civil servants to be recruited, age limits were waived. Although most of the recruits to the Administrative Class were college graduates, they were drawn from all occupations. During the early part of the war, any central control that

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1 The London salaries for the Administrative Class, as published in the Civil Estimates 1949-50, are given below. Provincial salaries are somewhat lower. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assistant</td>
<td>£ 600 - £ 750</td>
<td>£ 600 - £ 850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>£ 900 - £ 1170</td>
<td>£ 900 - £ 1170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Secretary</td>
<td>£ 1350 - £ 1650</td>
<td>£ 1350 - £ 1650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Undersecretary</td>
<td>£ 1800</td>
<td>£ 1850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Above these are the permanent heads and deputy heads of the Departments, paid £ 1200 and £ 250 respectively. The normal starting salary for a recruit is £ 850. For further information, see the Cheifly Committee Report "Remuneration of the Higher Civil Service." Civil. 765. (1945)