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A SHORT HISTORY OF
INTERNATIONAL INTERCOURSE

A SHORT HISTORY *of* INTERNATIONAL INTERCOURSE

BY

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PREFACE

PERHAPS the best way of explaining what this book deals with is to say why it was written. The main reason is that there is no history which shows how far civilised life has arisen out of the peaceful co-operation between different peoples. Social history has now very largely replaced the old political history of battles and kings ; but it has two defects. First, it is nationalistic, so that the contributions to civilised life made by other races than ours seem to be only " foreign influences," acting upon a development which is predominantly local. This causes a false perspective, for the main current of civilisation has never run for long through one people or in one locality. Civilised life, like its components science, music, painting, commerce, and " manners," is international if taken as a whole, although the people of one locality or another take the lead at any one time and in any one component of civilisation. Secondly, social history tends to be too much a matter of " economics " ; but commerce, manufacture and " wealth " are merely instruments, quite meaningless if unconnected with the sciences and the arts. The history of civilisation is mainly a history of man's outlook and man's emotions, not of man's possessions.

It is a history of peace, because peace is the

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name for the common cause of all this growth, namely the transfer of ideas from one race to another. The flower of civilisation grows in one locality or another ; but it is fertilised by those who travel in body or mind. The history of peace is not, indeed, the whole of human history. Wars and revolutions are important and have sometimes promoted liberty or secured order. They are omitted here only because they have been so often and so completely dealt with elsewhere.

The history of peace is the history of the intercourse of nations and, therefore, it is the history of the arts and the sciences and the interchange of goods and services called commerce, none of which can be explained by a history which deals mainly with war and opposition between peoples. But, of course, such a history, if it leads to any conclusion, is based upon certain assumptions ; and it is worth while to know what those assumptions are. We assume, then, that a civilised man in a civilised society is one with a full use of many capacities for emotion and thought, in pleasant and exciting company. A "dull dog" in a Rolls-Royce is not sufficiently distinct from an anthropoid ape to be called civilised. But this implies further assumptions. We assume, therefore, that a civilised man will have an ear for music and an eye for the plastic arts and a wit for literature. If a man does not notice any difference in himself when he sees a picture or hears a symphony, it would be much better for him not to look or listen, but to go off and make boots, or make money or make love—or anything else he can make. Again, we assume that a civilised man will have

an eagerness for new knowledge and will require evidence for his beliefs—that is, he will have the “scientific mind.” Finally, we assume the necessity of an increased power over nature; for we do not count that man wholly civilised who is cramped by material circumstances.

This book, however, is not an argument drawn from such assumptions. It is a description, by reference to certain examples, of the good influence which one nation has had on others. That influence is one of the most important facts of contemporary experience; and, if it is generally understood, the new generation may be able more easily to perceive what true patriotism implies. It is not the simple devotion to one country, but the service of our own country in the great deeds it has done and is now doing for the good of all nations.

The following preliminary sketch is intended to indicate the lines along which study in schools and research should develop, in order that history may become less local in interest and may be based upon a clearly conceived standard of civilised life.

C. DELISLE BURNS.

RAPALLO,
December, 1923.

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A Short History of International Intercourse

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS OF PEACE IN EUROPE

WHILE there is peace one man talks to another and both grow wiser, one sells his spare food in exchange for another's spare clothing and both grow richer and happier. When they are not at peace men use force and fraud to destroy or to impoverish other men. Peace, then, is the relation between individuals or groups of men, in which they co-operate for the advance of knowledge, for artistic production and for the improvement of their material circumstances; for all which purposes it is necessary that violence and fraud should cease.

The quarrels of individuals and the concerted violence between groups of men, called war, have been common enough; and they have made the history of humanity appear to be a record of blood and tears. But peaceful conditions have been secured within the frontiers of states and some advance has been made in securing peace for many years at a time even between different

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peoples. The record of all this achievement is political history. The use of peaceful conditions, however, is as important as the method by which they have been secured. Art, science and the amenities of life are the true explanations of the value set upon law and order and liberty ; and the record of the use of peace, therefore, is the true history of peace.

Our present arts, sciences and material resources have been very gradually and tentatively developed in the exchange of ideas between peoples. Thus barbarism has gradually given place to civilisation. The process can be traced back into the past for many thousand years, and it will probably continue after our day for at least as long a time. But there have been many crises and many failures in the effort to maintain peace and to use it. Sometimes when civilisation seemed secure, fraud and violence would become again dominant ; men would cease to sing and paint and build ; they would cease to think out the nature of the world they lived in, and would be compelled to undertake a painful struggle for bare existence. Thus the arts, the knowledge and the wealth of one age have often been lost to the next.

A thousand years ago in Europe a crisis had passed which had almost destroyed civilisation there. The Dark Ages, which are the years from about 500 A.D. to 1000 A.D., were coming to an end. For more than five centuries the Roman organisation of peace had disappeared ; and each succeeding generation in Western Europe lost a little more of the arts, the knowledge and the amenities of life which the old Roman civilisation

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had secured. In Constantinople and the near East more remained than elsewhere; and the towns of Italy and Southern France contained more Roman building than other parts of the West. The old Roman roads across Europe were the only means of communication, but they were gradually destroyed by years of neglect. The Roman peace was gone.

Imagine that we could look down from the sky and see a great part of Europe a thousand years ago. We should see, of course, the same mountains and rivers; but the whole land would be covered with forest or it would be wild and barren, except for some very small towns with cultivated fields round them and some villages near castles with still fewer fields. There would be nothing like the great city areas of to-day with their many miles of houses and streets, nothing like the acres of cultivated land; and, above all, the connections between the little centres of long ago would be rough clearings in the forest or the wild, not even such roads as we now have in the loneliest parts of Europe. The part of Europe where the clearings and the towns were most numerous would be Italy and Southern France; but in Spain too and along the Rhine we should see many settlements. England and Ireland would seem to us wilder and emptier of people than the continent of Europe; and Scotland, except for its southernmost part, would seem as empty as parts of Africa are to-day.

In the Europe of that time the people living in one clearing of the forests knew that there were many other towns and villages and castles;

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but they saw very few strangers, for travel was difficult and they received very little from other lands—perhaps at most some spices and jewels for the richer folk. In some parts life went smoothly enough, with occasional quarrels of neighbours ; but in other parts there was a continual fear of marauding bands of armed men. Sometimes these fears were realised. A few hundred armed men would come along through the wild, burn houses, kill or take cattle, kill people who could not hide in time, and either pass on to other settlements doing the same or settle down and compel the people of the place to serve them or their leader. This sort of confusion had been going on so long that people took it for granted ; but there was a tradition, largely passed from mouth to mouth, for very few could read, that once upon a time there had been peace. Five hundred years before, as we now know, there were wealthy cities, good roads across Europe, a system of law, and order kept by a single army with many local divisions. The Europeans of a thousand years ago, however, only knew vaguely what had happened. Ten generations had passed away since the confusion had begun. Where there had been wealthy towns and beautiful villas, whose owners discussed art and science, there were now only ruins and mud huts, lived in by ignorant and frightened people, who never knew when they would be set upon and have all their food and houses burnt.

Everyone who had time to think at all, however, knew that what had been lost was the gift of the city of Rome : and so Rome became a sacred name

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for them, although it was thought of more as a fairy-tale city than as we now know it. Rome as they imagined it was a wonderful place whence Emperors had ruled the world and where later many Christian martyrs had perished. In it was the Pope, who bore the prestige of the Emperors and of St. Peter. But of course few were aware of what was actually going on there. Rome at this time was a ruin, and many of the Popes were ruffians. One, Benedict IX (1033-1046), a boy of ten when made Pope, sold the Papacy to a relative when he was twenty-one, and tried to marry a lady; but when the lady refused him he repudiated the sale, set up as Pope again and, as meantime an opponent of his family had proclaimed himself Pope, there were three Popes in Rome. This shows the confusion of the time. But the ideal Rome survived; and men believed in what they invented. On Christmas Day in the year 800 A.D., in the old St. Peter's in Rome, the Pope had crowned Charlemagne, the most powerful and intelligent of the marauders, as Emperor Augustus; and thus began the great dream which came later to be called the Holy Roman Empire, through which men hoped that the peace Rome had first given might be brought back to the distracted world.

Two hundred years, however, after the crowning of Charlemagne, the confusion still continued. Settlements were beginning to be formed and there was no longer so general a movement of marauding bands; but the settlements were so small and their relations to one another so uncertain, that the arts and the sciences could hardly yet begin,

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and there was little material wealth. In the whole area now called France, for example, there were then more than ten thousand independent rulers. None of these could be controlled by anyone else. Under each ruler there were different local customs ; and each local ruler exacted special tolls from travelling merchants, if any came his way. The amount of peace obtainable differed greatly in different countries. There was more in Italy than in France ; more in France than in Germany. But in spite of the very great difficulties and dangers men began to build up civilisation again. They exchanged what they could spare and a few ventured to take goods to distant markets. The dangers of the time can be seen in that old Saxon law against selling second-hand clothes, for a merchant with such clothes to sell was readily suspected of having murdered the man who had worn the clothes. But in spite of all dangers commerce increased, and with the increase of commerce came an increase of knowledge and of the arts. Even at this early date similar designs can be traced in the pottery and jewels of distant peoples.

The greatest, however, of all the influences in the intercourse of peoples was the memory of the old Rome, made definite and given new meaning everywhere, not by the mere dream of a Holy Roman Empire but by the Church. The different settlements were connected because in each of them there would be a man, or a few men, who could read and write, and who spoke a language known all over Europe. These were the clergy ; and the language they read and wrote and spoke

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was a kind of Latin, the old Roman language, which seemed thus to be the spirit of the wonderful city of Rome living on when Roman power was gone. But besides the clergy—bishops and priests—there were to be found near some towns, or in settlements by themselves in the wild, groups of men or of women called monks or nuns, some of whom also could read and write and speak Latin.

Groups of men had been going out of the towns into the wilds for five hundred years before the time of which we are speaking. When confusion was at its worst, and slaughter, disease and famine were everywhere, an Italian named Benedict, afterwards known as St. Benedict, gathered round him in the wild hills of Italy the first monks of Western Europe. They were called later Benedictines, and they took for their motto the one word "Peace." Legend tells how St. Benedict, already famous, had been interviewed by one of the great marauders, named Baduila; but the Saint reproached the warrior and said: "You do evil. You make war." Afterwards groups of women too went out together like the men, to live in the wilds. At Monte Casino, in the Swiss and northern Italian hills, at St. Germain near Paris, at St. Mary's, Westminster, at St. Mary's, York, and at Whitby and many other places, the monks and nuns lived and worked. These monks and nuns made two great advances in civilisation. First, they read and copied some of the manuscripts they found remaining from the older civilisation; and secondly, they cleared and cultivated with their own hands parts of the wild

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They were not, indeed, good judges of what to copy; and some of them destroyed good knowledge to copy out nonsense. But even to-day there are people who prefer to copy a moral platitude rather than a scientific statement, and when the early monks were at work no one else was looking at a book. Again, their labour was outside the turmoil and therefore often useless to their contemporaries; but they first showed that work could be done by free men, and that such work might be ennobling. The older civilisation had thought manual labour degrading and had left it to slaves; but the monks and nuns proved that labour in the fields or at the crafts refined the spirit. Unfortunately the monks and nuns were often quarrelsome or mentally unstable. They were all obsessed with the idea that marriage was a moral degradation and they were afraid of their own natural feelings. They were celibates, because they thought the passions were the devil's traps; and they made the very old mistake of thinking that the more a man could do without the better he was. In an age of savage violence and innumerable fears, however, they first showed the uses of peace.

The clergy did not altogether like the monks and nuns; but they and the people generally held monks and nuns in honour. The monks and nuns, on the other hand, thought the bishops and priests were too much concerned with the ordinary business of keeping order and collecting money. Many of the priests were married and could hardly be distinguished from the peasants and craftsmen, except that they carried out

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traditional ceremonies. The bishops were chiefly concerned with giving advice to kings or local lords, or with governing for themselves the people of their dioceses. In some parts it would not be possible to distinguish a bishop from any neighbouring prince or lord of a castle, except that the bishop was more educated and thought of himself as a part in a great system whose centre was Rome. The learned said :—

O Rome illustrious ! Of the world Emperess !
Over all cities, thou queen in thy goodness.

And simpler folk said, “ All roads lead to Rome ” ; for such roads as there were, now mere tracks, were the remnants of the old Roman roads. But, of course, very few ventured on these roads. The bond was the Roman language. This common language and the little learning there was, and the popular support of bishops and priests, monks and nuns, rested on the universal beliefs and practices which were the religion of Europe in those days. The beliefs were very simple and the practices very complicated, as usually happens among men who cannot read or write, who do not know anything about what we call mathematics or geography or science, and who spend most of their energy in getting food and clothes.

Everyone in Europe then believed that the earth was a fixed flat place with a centre at Jerusalem. The outer edge had such strange places as England—called Anglia, says the geographer, because it was in the angle of the world ; and there was a barren waste of land towards the east and south, and a barren ocean to the west.

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Over this little world they believed there were several crystal spheres with the stars stuck in them like jewels, one special sphere being reserved for the sun and another for the moon. In the topmost sphere was heaven, where many of the dead had joined a vast company of non-human beings who lived there happily for ever, under the rule of God. But God was three persons, one of whom had come through the spheres to the centre of all things on the earth. In the churches and picture-books God was shown either as three men exactly alike sitting on the same throne, or as two men, one old and one young, with a dove to represent the third person.

Underneath the earth men believed there was hell, where God sent those who were wicked, after they were dead; and in hell too there were non-human beings suffering among tortures. The earth, then, was simply a crust between heaven and hell, on which men lived for fifty or sixty years, during which time they had to perform certain ceremonies to avoid danger and to secure happiness. The chief of these ceremonies was the Mass; and Christ and the Saints, in whose honour many festivals were kept, were watching to help.

All this shows that, although men were divided by distance and the wild, they had the same sort of outlook on life, whether they lived in the north of England or in the south of Italy, in Spain or in Germany. This means that they could be moved by the same sort of religious appeal; and when life looked very black religious men made efforts to bring peace. For example, in the eleventh

century the chroniclers tell us that in part of France the ruin and starvation was so complete that groups of men and women used to go about crying out to all, "Peace! Peace!" Again, a few bishops managed to make men promise not to fight from Thursday to Monday. This was called the Truce of God, and was first proclaimed in 1041. It was at any rate an acknowledgment that there was something wrong about violence and theft of other men's goods; but the promise not to fight was not very well kept.

Another story which shows the sort of world it was is this. Near Bordeaux a woodman once went out of his little village to cut wood in the forest, and he there saw a vision of the Virgin Mary. She told him to make little waxen images of the Lamb of God, and to form a society which would wear these and pray and work for peace. The society was formed, and it was joined by bishops and priests as well as people. They called themselves the Brethren of Peace. But they too seem to have had very little effect.

The firmer foundations of the peace we now have were laid by men who banded themselves together to resist any marauders, or by one strong man in a locality who with his followers kept the control of his district in his own hands and therefore kept out any rivals. Men were willing to make sacrifices of their labour or their individual power in order to feel safer. Sometimes this made matters worse, if the local lord was selfish and greedy; but on the whole men learned to act together, and it was less easy for any ruffians to take what they wanted or to attack other settle-

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ments. By this means the areas outside the little settlements became safer. The fields extended, more settlements were made, and different towns and villages were brought under the power of one lord. Thus peace was beginning to cover larger areas and to include more men, women and children. The townsfolk built walls round their town and kept a look-out over the fields outside, where they grew their food. In the wilder parts, on hills or at the crossing of trade-routes, castles were built and ruled by local lords; and the number of wandering marauders became less. So men had time to grow more corn, to trade in wool, and to improve their skill as smiths and saddlers. Peace was spreading. The largest areas in Europe in which there was peace were the great Dukedoms—Burgundy, Normandy and the kingdoms Sicily and England. Within these areas men were able to grow food and live more quietly; and, of course, most men were agriculturists. There was little trade, and the making of clothes was done at home; but some pottery, wine, silk, and spices were brought from foreign lands.

The Dark Ages had passed, but men were still frightened. They thought the end of the world was near; and the only real peace they expected was that of another world. They did not recognise what had been achieved. They were at the beginning of a new era and they thought they were at the very end of time; for history to them appeared not as a progress but as a decadence from a more glorious past. The history of the world, written at that time by a monk called Peter Comestor, does not even trouble to relate

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the confusion after the downfall of Rome. The immediate past seemed only a period of waiting for the end, a Last Judgment in which the earth would be transformed and the living would join the dead in another life.

CHAPTER II

THE MIDDLE AGES

IN the next three hundred years, which are called the Middle Ages, what had been an experiment became an established system. Men learnt to expect contact with foreign lands ; travel became more secure ; ideas were more easily spread ; and more merchandise was taken in ships or on land routes. Men in all parts of Europe came to regard themselves as members of one family.

We who think in English must remind ourselves that the science and the art which made the beginnings of European civilisation were the products of Italy and France. The Latin peoples were very much more civilised than our German and Anglo-Saxon ancestors for the seven hundred years after the Dark Ages ; and so during the Middle Ages the organisation of peace largely depended upon the Italians and the French, although of course our ancestors were meanwhile inventing methods of law and government which were eventually to prove valuable to the whole world.

But the Italians, who led the way during the Middle Ages, depended for this advance very largely upon the survival of contacts with the older Roman civilisation in Italy and upon new

contacts with what Europeans now call "the East." The Arabian or Saracenic civilisation, with which the Italians came in contact, was itself in touch with the civilisation of India and China through commerce; and, still more important, it had absorbed some of the remnants of the old Greek-Roman civilisation in Syria and Northern Africa. Thus from the very beginning civilised life has depended upon the contacts between different races; and this is natural, because men of intelligence and fine emotion are few in any race and they develop much more rapidly by contact with the intelligent of other races than by conversation with the mediocrities of their own.

Among the clergy there would be some who travelled from place to place; a few merchants risked their goods, carrying them on horseback by the swampy and desolate clearings through the wild; and so new ideas began to be introduced. The most splendid results in those days were the great churches and cathedrals which began to be built in northern Italy and France and near the Rhine. Before that time churches were small. But a new age began with the building of the great Romanesque buildings such as the cathedral at Perigueux or the churches at Poitiers and Caen, which were signs that the foundations of peace had been laid. The style in which they were built shows how men in France had learnt from Italy, and Italy from Constantinople and the East. Their use was, of course, not as restricted as the modern use of churches; for they were vast meeting-halls for talk, for business, for

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ceremonial processions, for legal process and for teaching, as well as for what we should now recognise as religious purposes. Even in this first stage, therefore, of mediæval life the cathedral in the city and the church in the village was the centre of the highest interests of the local community and its link with the whole of the Christian world.

In and near Paris at the end of the twelfth century, however, some men broke away from the old building tradition and began, by the discovery of the pointed arch, the art we now call Gothic. This was practically the only case in which Italy did not lead the way during the Middle Ages ; for, once begun, the new art developed on its own lines. At first, the Gothic style was simple, as in the early part of Notre Dame in Paris, with narrow windows and sharply pointed arches. Then the arches were built wider and the windows decorated with geometrical tracery in the middle style called " rayonnant " ; and then a third stage was reached, with still flatter arches and most fantastic decoration and tracery, in the style called " flamboyant," which was most popular at the end of the fourteenth century. The new art, of course, affected not only churches but all public buildings and their decorations, as well as the minor arts of embroidery and jewellery. It is so peculiar to the Middle Ages that it seems to many to be the finest contribution made by those ages to the civilisation of the world ; and it is so clearly French in origin that what is typically mediæval is often selected from French rather than Italian history.

Gothic architecture spread from France to England, Germany and Spain. In Germany the same stages in the development of the art are to be found as in France ; but German Gothic tended always to be less restrained and more fantastic than French or English. It seems absurd, for example, to build a spire like that of Freiburg, which is more like a lace cap than a roof. England, too, learnt from France. One of the dukes, the Duke of Normandy, wanted to increase his wealth and power ; and he, therefore, made a sudden marauding raid upon England and established his followers there. The invaders found it best to keep everything quiet in their new position ; and thus the Duke and his followers became great bulwarks of peace. The result was good ; for new ideas and more foreign scholars and craftsmen came to England, and we can trace the settlement in the structure of the great cathedrals which were built soon after the Norman invasion. Durham Cathedral carries on the common civilisation which we have seen in the building of the earliest French cathedrals. Similar stages of development followed, for the so-called " Early English " in Salisbury was the direct result of the discovery of the pointed arch by the French ; the " decorated " style of Westminster Abbey was also influenced by the second stage of French Gothic ; but the " perpendicular " of the great churches in East Anglia is almost entirely English. Thus the influence of one nation on another began a new art, but did not prevent originality.

Gothic architecture may be taken as an example of the value of foreign influences in the civilisation

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of a people. It was French in origin and other nations learnt its principles from France. Frenchmen assisted in the building of some of the great mediæval churches of England, and travellers from other lands learnt in France to admire the new style.¹ An artistic triumph, however, forms in the mind of a true artist who perceives it not a tendency to imitate but a new impulse to create ; and therefore French influence did not mean French domination. The English, for example, saw the possibilities in the new Gothic principles and built, not copies but expressions of their own insight and genius. Thus England, Germany and Spain derived immense gain in the development of their own arts from the first steps learnt in France.

Mediæval architecture shows the influence of France, after the original impulse received from Italy and the remains of the ancient civilisation. But there were some influences in art and science and manners to which many nations contributed together. One of the greatest of these was monasticism, which had developed greatly since the Dark Ages. It is, indeed, hardly possible to understand the Middle Ages without entering in some way into the spirit of the monks and their successors, the friars. Some modern historians have dismissed them as ignorant, superstitious and indolent, largely because the best monks have left criticisms of themselves—which, indeed, is a sign of vitality ; but the defects of the monks were generally those of their contemporaries and their

¹ Thus William of Sens directed the building of Canterbury Cathedral, and the French "coronation" Cathedral of Rheims influenced the English coronation Abbey of Westminster.

excellence was their own. They did, indeed, accept beliefs and customs which are not ours; but they stood for the devotion of small communities to art, science and religion, within a society which was only too prone to overrate the importance of comfort, wealth, power, and the satisfaction of violent impulse. They were the means by which the best influences of one nation passed to another, and their abbeys, often now in ruins, are to be found all over Europe. The men and women who lived there, as St. Bernard wrote to the founder of Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire, "found in stones and trees what they could not learn from masters." The reformed Orders of Benedictines, the Cluniacs, Carthusians, and Cistercians, were succeeded in the early thirteenth century by a new movement when the Italian, St. Francis of Assisi, and the Spaniard, St. Dominic, founded the Grey Friars and the Black Friars. The friar did not retire into the wilderness but pursued the arts, the sciences and the accepted religious customs in the towns and universities. They carried on that interpretation of traditional beliefs which eventually gave rise to modern knowledge, for "the human spirit cannot forego its liberty; and if it is tied to a text, it escapes in the commentary."

One of the earliest experiences of the contact between nations in the new Europe which arose out of the Dark Ages was partly religious and partly military.

In the earlier part of the Middle Ages a succession of expeditions to the East, called the Crusades, were made by enthusiasts and adven-

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turers from all the parts of Europe, for the purpose of releasing the Holy Land from the power of Islam. These expeditions had some effect in introducing new ideas and new tastes ; for travel brought Crusaders into foreign countries and the strangeness of the Saracenic civilisation had some attractions even for the wooden-headed warriors who were attacking it. Ignorant and filthy knights learnt with astonishment that baths were possible ; they were able to compare silk with their own rough and evil-smelling wool ; they saw carpets and thought of their own floor-coverings of rushes and bones and mud ; and they found even upon arms and armour the delicate skill of Eastern craftsmen. Italian merchants soon took advantage of the openings for trade ; and thus new products were introduced into Europe, although the military and religious purposes of the Crusades were never achieved.

One Crusade, however, stands out as altogether destructive ; it was the Crusade, not against Muslims, but against Christians in the South of France. In Provence, where the old Roman tradition had most effect and where contact was easiest with the Arabs of Spain, civilisation had advanced rapidly. Wealth and ease had come to Toulouse, Albi and the other towns, while Italy was in confusion and northern France and England still barbarous. Poetry and music flourished ; and men began to think freely about their religious traditions. Narrow-minded clergymen and avaricious warriors looked with longing eyes at such fields to conquer. A Crusade was declared against the heretics ; and the people of Provence were

slaughtered, their towns burnt and their civilisation stamped out.

The Church had given to the peoples a common outlook on life, which has been described in the last chapter: but now clergy and monks were beginning to think out the details of what was believed. Thus *learning* developed what religion had suggested. The peoples were connected by the travel of scholars and, although books were scarce and few could read, in every land there were some who had been students abroad; and there were great centres of learning to which crowds of young men came from all the different nations. These were the Universities. The greatest were at Paris, Bologna, Padua, Montpellier, and Oxford: but they differed in the kind of learning which men sought in them. Bologna and Padua were chiefly places for studying the principles of law; Montpellier and, at an earlier date, Salerno were for medicine. Paris and Oxford were for theology, or what we should call philosophy, and the principles of science. Paris, in the middle of the thirteenth century, had about ten thousand students, wild young men of from fifteen to twenty-three, belonging to all nations, who lived from hand to mouth and attended lectures in Latin by many Masters of Art and Doctors. They had frequent street fights and even in lectures were disorderly, as one can see from a decree of the Masters that the students at lectures "must sit as quiet as girls." They had nothing to do in their spare time, and games were opposed at all mediæval schools; for example, the Masters of Oxford forbade the students to have "sticks

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with nets on them (like racquets !) and other indecent instruments." Although the French contributed most to the typical mediæval outlook as they did in the new Gothic architecture, the greatest teachers in Paris after Abelard were not Frenchmen. They were the Italian, Thomas of Aquino ; the Irishman or Scot, John Duns Scotus ; and the Englishman, William of Ockham. These were the leaders in the attempt to make a consistent science out of the traditional beliefs and the new knowledge.

Some of this new knowledge had come from books preserved or written by the Arabs in Spain. For four or five hundred years these Arabs had ruled part of Spain and they had constant communication with Arab states in Northern Africa and Western Asia. There was one great Arab civilisation which covered all the lands from Baghdad to Granada. Beautiful buildings, such as the Alhambra, still show how much progress had been made in peace under the Arabs, while the princes and lords of France and Germany and England were half savages. The Arabs were, of course, followers of Muhammed in religion ; and in those days the people of that religion were much more advanced in the sciences and the arts than the Christians of Western Europe. What the Christian universities knew of medicine and philosophy was learnt by means of Arabian books or Greek books preserved by the Arabs, translated in many cases by Jews. There was soon a vast literature of treatises and commentaries on medicine and law, scientific and historical information, philosophy and Christian doctrine, all of which were in

mediæval Latin. Books were written out by hand and were therefore few and expensive ; but anyone who could read at all read this common language and so acquired the common outlook of all Europe.

Pilgrimage was another means of bringing peoples together. In a single country like England crowds would go from all parts to such a shrine as that of St. Thomas at Canterbury, as we know from Chaucer's great poem, and this would bring together men and women from different towns who spoke more or less the same language and followed the same customs. But still more important for spreading new ideas were the meetings at the great international shrines of pilgrims from all countries. For example, towards the end of the Middle Ages about 300 pilgrims used to leave Venice at Easter in ships for the Holy Land : more went in the autumn, and of course many would go from Genoa and other smaller ports. This means that perhaps a thousand Europeans of all countries would visit Jerusalem every year. In Venice these " tourists " were so favoured by the Council, or Signoria, that official couriers were sent out to meet and assist pilgrims as they passed through. The ships which these bold pilgrims used were tiny, holding perhaps thirty passengers, who had to sleep on deck with whatever food they needed for the voyage.¹ Some would die on the voyage, and there was always a danger of being captured by pirates.

Similar risks were faced by those who took the sea route to the shrine of St. James at Compostella

¹ Cf. Stephen Graham's *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*.

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in Spain : but most of the great pilgrimages, of course, were along the land routes. Thousands visited Rome every year and, at times of " jubilee " or special festival, the numbers would increase. Many of all nations went to the shrine of the Virgin Mary at Rocamadour, where among other gifts of pilgrims one might see tresses of ladies' hair that " had been washen in wine to make them other in colour than God had made them." Thus by travel—sometimes for religion, sometimes for sight-seeing—many who were not scholars acquired the common outlook of all Europeans.

Together with the new outlook went the development of the towns. In 1000 A.D. Europe was a land of villages and castles, but by 1400 the cities and the towns dominated the situation by their culture and their commerce. Venice made the first advance in the new civilisation. Her people were secure among their lagoons from marauding bands and soon developed a sea trade with the East. In 1082 they had a trading port in Constantinople. They helped the Crusaders and managed to secure ports for themselves in Asia and on the Mediterranean islands. From the East their ships brought silk and cotton cloth, carpets and tapestry, spices, drugs and jewels : and to the East they shipped leather, wool, wine, and metal wares. Thus Venice was one of the chief centres from which peace spread. Every year six trading fleets of about five hundred ships each set out from Venice for the Black Sea, Syria and Egypt. Each ship carried a band of musicians ; and all the sailors bore arms. All the ships were

owned by the Government, but they carried goods for private merchants. One of the fleets, called the Flanders galleys, used to leave Venice for the northern ports, generally ending their voyage at Bruges. Some of them stopped for a while at Greenwich. They brought the finer manufactures of the East and of Italy to these northern countries ; and, no doubt, it was partly due to them that Flemish painting at the end of the Middle Ages began to rival that of the Italians. The Venetians left trade by the land routes to others and welcomed in Venice German merchants, for whom they provided a lodging and a warehouse. These Germans brought the furs and metal of the less civilised world, which Venetians then shipped to the rest of Italy and the East. Other Italian towns did the same sort of exchange. Genoa and Pisa were shipping cities ; but the Venetians fought and destroyed Genoese trade, and Pisa was attacked and ruined by Florence.

Florence is the type of city which developed not only commerce but manufacture. The needs of the village civilisation had been few, and every household made its own clothing and baked its own bread : but in the towns men began to specialise. Thus one family would make clothing and another bake bread and the goods would be sold. This was the time when the name of the trade was used by workers in that trade as their family name, for the whole family and not the man only worked at the trade. Thus it was quite true to say of a household that baked bread that it was Master or Mr. Baker, Mrs. Baker, and the little Bakers. So we have many other

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such family names: Taylor, Smith, Tanner, Fisher—and they exist in every language.

The next stage came when many families worked at the same trades, for they then grouped themselves into Gilds; and of these we have splendid examples in Florence. They were called *Arti* there, *Métiers* in France, Gilds in England, and *Gilde* in Germany. The skilled “masters” of these gilds developed the manufactures which in time became almost as important merchandise for sale abroad as the wool and leather and spices of an earlier time had been; and by the sale of these manufactures the taste of the less civilised parts of the world was improved.

When Italian towns had already been trading for many years, a group of cities in Germany organised the *Hansa*,¹ a league which did much to promote commerce and peace. The chief members of the League were Hamburg, Lubeck, Cologne, and Dantzic; and by the middle of the fourteenth century there were about one hundred cities in the League. The merchants of these cities bought raw materials, wax and furs in the Baltic and Russia; and brought them south by land to Venice and west by sea to Bruges. Thus Bruges became almost as great a centre of civilisation as Venice. The Venetian galleys there met the ships of the *Hansa* coming west; and at one time as many as thirty different nations came to exchange their products at Bruges, but in about a century the water-ways of Bruges began to silt up, and Antwerp took its place as an international centre.

¹ The word “*hansa*” is the old German for society or association.

Among the towns where traders from all nations met and from which they brought to their native lands not only foreign goods but new ideas and new tastes, were those which held periodical Fairs. A mediæval market was a place where men might buy and sell openly with safety, and the most important interchange of wool and manufactures took place at markets called "staples"; but Fairs were more important still. The oldest was the Fair of St. Denis at Paris and the greatest were the Fairs in Campagne. At Troyes, for example, the Fair lasted for six weeks every year, and at the Fair, as well as merchandise, were travelling singers, jugglers and dancers, and performing animals. This sort of Fair used to be held at Winchester in the fourteenth century for sixteen days every year.¹

The conveyance of goods, however, was obstructed during those times by the innumerable tolls which were demanded by powerful men living near the trade routes: this was in most cases mere robbery of merchants, since the feudal lords did nothing to improve the trade routes, and the tolls and the continual danger of marauding expeditions, as well as the roughness of the tracks used as roads, drove merchants to use ships by sea and river wherever possible. Thus the inland Fairs were gradually displaced by the seaports.

The English and the French, meantime, in spite of their simpler manner of life and defective culture as compared with that of the Italians, had formed units of government and a common civilisation

¹ The Fair of St. Giles at Oxford in September continues the mediæval tradition.

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on a larger scale than that of the Italian cities. Here they had an immense advantage, which was to show itself in the next age. For example, Bristol, Norwich, Colchester, and London, instead of fighting one another as Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence did, began to act upon the assumption that they had common interests superior in importance to the separate interests of each. The same happened in France. The Hansa of Germany was based upon the same principle ; but in France and England there was a central power, a king with a " king's peace," to stand for the common interest, and there was no such power in the Hansa. The Italian cities never felt during the Middle Ages any common interest, in spite of a common language and a common tradition ; and therefore they were unable to maintain at the close of that period the leading position in civilised life which they held in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

To see how far men had become civilised in the fourteenth century one would have to go not to London, nor even to Paris or Bruges, but to Venice and Florence. It would be a great mistake to think that commerce was the highest achievement and wealth the best proof of the civilisation of Italy ; for great painting and sculpture, music and literature had begun there. Giotto (1267-1337) represented the simplicity and the dramatic interests of the Middle Ages : a company of painters was formed at Florence in 1349 and one at Siena in 1355 : and the last glow of the mediæval sun is to be seen in the work of the Dominican friar, Angelico da Fiesole (1387-1455), who carried on

into the new age the old vision. The sculpture of Italy even in the thirteenth century was greatly influenced by remains of the old Roman civilisation. Music also was developed greatly in Italy; and popular musical contests were held in Florence and Venice. In 1364, Francesco Landino, a Florentine composer and organist, was crowned with a wreath of laurel at the musical congress at Venice.

In literature, too, Italy was leading. Her poets had learnt from the short-lived civilisation of Provence; and, of course, there were many beautiful poems and romances in French long before the Italian language was capable of expressing the finest emotions of Italy. But there is nothing of the same date comparable for delicacy and elevation with the "*Vita Nuova*" and the "*Divina Commedia*" of Dante. It is clear, however, that the Italians would never have developed their own art without foreign influences. Germany taught Venice the Gothic architecture which can still be seen overhanging her canals; and the musicians of Italy were greatly influenced by those of Flanders. The brilliancy of the civilisation of Italian cities was indeed international in its source; and Italy led because she was in fact the scene upon which the influences of all nations most continually met.

The minds of men were prepared at that time for peace to include at any rate all Christian nations. The common language of the learned, the common religion and the generally accepted view of life in all countries, had brought about everywhere a feeling of unity among Christian peoples. This

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was not simply the feeling of a select few ; it was common among folk who could neither read nor write, as we can still see in the decoration of the great cathedrals—Chartres and Amiens, Wells and Salisbury. On the west fronts of these are the tiers of statues which represent the whole of human history as the Middle Ages understood it. There are first Adam and Eve, parents of all men, and the heroes of the old Testament, then Apostles and Doctors of the Church, with Roman Emperors ; then the great kings and bishops of Christendom ; and then the end of all things, the last judgment and heaven and hell. In that story distinctions between Christian peoples were irrelevant and warriors of no account. Humanity was one family, whose greatest members were the Saints. That same history of peace was read in the stones of their churches by the people of every country in Europe.

But although the history of the world seemed to culminate in the Christianity of Europe, the more intelligent Europeans were well aware that there were vast, wealthy and cultured countries in the East. The traders of Venice and other Italian cities were naturally interested to discover where the beautiful carpets and cotton stuffs and the jewels and spices which they bought had come from ; and a few adventurous traders penetrated into the great Mongol or Tartar lands. They, of course, reported that the Christian view of the world, which all Europe took for granted, was quite unknown among powerful and highly civilised races ; and therefore the Popes supported missionaries, chiefly of the two Orders of Friars, some

of whom have left us very trustworthy accounts of Eastern lands. The account given by Brother John Carpini of the Friars Minor, who was in the East in 1245, was used, together with accounts by other friars, in the universal history written about 1250 by Vincent of Beauvais of the Preaching Friars.

The missionaries went often in the company of merchants ; but the merchants pressed on farther. One of the most striking of these travels was described by the Venetian, Marco Polo, in a book which was very widely read and thus was a great force in the education of Europe. He tells how for about twenty years (1275-1295) he was in China and the Far East. He notes the beauty of the carpets of Armenia and the high civilisation of China where coal from the hills, " black stone " he calls it, was used for heating. He says that every man of standing had a hot bath in his house, and even the poor of the capital went three times a week to the public baths. He describes the vast area of the Empire over which famine was prevented by the organisation of the food supply. The jewels and the gold caught his eye at the court of Kublai Khan. He went to Ceylon and India, where he noted the strange mixture of barbarism and culture ; and he reports with an obvious reference to the devil in Europe, that the statues of their gods are black and of their devils white. All over that vast area unknown to Europe he found thousands of trading ships and an elaborate commerce ; and his own voyages in the seas of the East naturally fired the imagination of seamen in Europe to try to reach lands of such wealth and such strange sights.

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About the middle of the fourteenth century the accepted beliefs and customs of the Middle Ages were becoming unsettled. The ablest intellects suggested that the traditional beliefs were quite different in character from the conclusions arrived at by reasoning about everyday facts: but of course very few understood what that meant and still fewer what it implied. Keen thinkers, however, also began to criticise adversely the Papacy and the defects of the clergy; and this had an effect much more generally felt than more scientific speculations. But no one yet knew that these were the first rumblings of a great storm.

Quite unconnected with intellectual changes were the social changes which followed upon a succession of great plagues: but the effects combined with the unsettlement in men's minds to make the whole mediæval system unstable. Increasing commerce had made the towns more populous and the contacts of peoples more frequent; and in the fourteenth century one of the most terrible universal plagues was the result. This was known in England as the Black Death. The disease seems to have come along the trade routes from the East. Constantinople and Cairo had it about 1346; and in 1347 it reached Sicily, Southern France and Venice, in which city 100,000 are said to have died within a few weeks. In January 1348 it appeared in Avignon, and the Pope, whose Court was established there, consecrated the Rhone in order that the bodies of the dead might be thrown into it, as the churchyards were full. In the April of 1348 the plague was at Florence, in Spain and in some parts of

Germany. In August it reached the west of England and in November it was in London. The great trading cities, Norwich and Yarmouth, were affected at the same time ; and in 1349 it spread to Scandinavia and the trading cities of North Germany. The moral and intellectual effects were greatest in Italy, which was by far the most civilised European country at that time ; and the most effective description is given in the opening of Boccaccio's *Decamerone*. " In Florence," he says, " men avoided one another ; some flung themselves into the wildest excesses ; sometimes the stench of the dead body would be the first news that someone in the house had perished ; the body would be flung into the street." In other parts men were terrified into religious flagellation of themselves ; in others they thought the Jews had caused the pestilence and therefore hundreds of Jews were tortured and killed. Such disturbances and the decrease of population due to continual plagues caused the serfs and villeins of the countryside, still the greater part of the inhabitants of northern countries, to make new claims. They began to feel resentment at doing so much for so little. Risings followed, especially in France and England ; but they were forcibly suppressed. The signs, however, all pointed to the passing away of the old manner of life.

The fifteenth century was a time of intellectual and social confusion ; and one can distinguish among the men then living two distinct types. There were the timid and distracted, who were terrified by the disappearance of traditional ways of life and by the dangers of the world ; and there

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were the keen-witted, bold, sometimes reckless men and women, who would strike out on any new path and risk danger. The former have left an impression of themselves in the churches and tombs of the century, where the fear of death is so often prominent, and in the books of devotion and fantastic sermons of the time. To the latter belongs the history of progress which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE RENAISSANCE

THE next step in the advance of intercourse between peoples had been made before most men in Europe had grasped what had happened. It was a change in the outlook on life and the world. "The floor of heaven, inlaid with stars, had sunk back into immeasurable space and the firm earth itself, unfixed from its foundations, was seen to be but an atom in the awful vastness of the universe." And yet this earth now held what was most interesting and exciting to the men of a restless and adventurous age. Scholars began to look at what was outside books and immediately perceived that books were only means for seeing what was outside; worse still for the old traditions, it was perceived that you could tell a good book from a bad one by asking what each told you of the world that is under your nose. And then it was discovered that books could be multiplied by printing. "The sun of the Middle Ages set behind—the printing press!"

This great advance the world owes to the Germans of the Rhine valley. About 1400, wood blocks with pictures and writing together were used to reproduce single pages of popular books,

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and within the next fifty years someone, or perhaps several people, had learnt how to make blocks for each letter separately, so that each could be used many times. Then the letters were made of metal and real printing began. One of the chief inventors was Gutenberg, who was working, with a partner named Fust and some craftsmen, at Mainz in 1455. For some reason these first printers separated and went to different lands; thus carrying from Mainz to Cologne and Strasburg and to Italy and France the new art. In 1467 two German printers set up a press at Rome, and in 1469 there were printers in Venice, some from Germany and one at least from France. In 1468 a book published in Rome says that "Germany is to be for ever honoured as the inventress of this greatest utility." In 1470 there was printing in Paris, and in 1473 an Englishman, William Caxton, was learning the art in a printer's workshop in Bruges. In 1477 Caxton left Belgium and set up a printing workshop at Westminster.

Thus "the wonderful new art" spread from land to land with the travelling craftsmen. Of course those who had made their living by copying by hand were much opposed to the new methods, and in some places the printers suffered violence. But the advantages of having many more and therefore cheaper books was obvious, especially at a time when enthusiasm for knowledge had spread outside the universities and was felt by "men of the world." At first the books printed were the Bible, the Latin classics and some traditional mediæval works: but printing soon

made it possible to spread traveller's stories and new ideas in new treatises.

This is an instance of one of the most important facts in the history of peace—the movement of craftsmen from one country to another by which knowledge of methods of manufacture and new ideas have been spread. Thus during the Middle Ages Saracen weavers came to work at Venice; Flemish weavers taught the English how to make cloth at home instead of exporting raw wool; painters and illuminators introduced new styles of decoration. With these we should connect the Italian bankers who settled in more northern countries in the Middle Ages and taught simpler people how one could use money, which was rare then and is always a much more difficult tool to use well than knives and forks. The movement of craftsmen greatly increased after the Renaissance. Kings and princes paid large sums to foreign artists to induce them to leave their native lands. Thus François I of France brought artists from Italy to Paris, and began the great development in the arts of living which made France take the lead in the civilisation of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Charles II of England also, when returning from exile, brought with him Verrio the painter and other foreign artists, including an Italian cook. But the accidental results of the action of kings were often of still greater importance: for example, the edict of Nantes caused many Protestant or Huguenot French craftsmen to settle in England and Holland. Thus the linen industry was introduced into

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Great Britain and Ireland ; and in the eighteenth century Huguenots began calico printing at Richmond in Surrey, silk weaving at Spitalfields and chintz printing at Bow. But of all the effects of the travel of craftsmen none has proved to be more important for civilisation than printing.

It could hardly have been imagined, however, at that time that the increase of intercourse due to printing would prove so important as we now know it has become. The enthusiasm of the age was concentrated chiefly on the movement in Italy which was even then looked upon as a re-birth of civilisation. The discovery of the ancient civilisation of Greece and Rome was indeed just as truly the finding of a world as the discovery made by Columbus. The hope of a great reward hidden in the manuscripts and the ruins moved artists and scientists as the hope of wealth that lay beyond the Western Ocean moved the explorers ; but whereas Columbus did not reach the China he set out to find, other Italians, the scholars of the Renaissance, found the very world of truth and beauty which they had sought.

As far back as 1350 Petrarch had sat before a Greek manuscript of Homer, with tears in his eyes lamenting that he knew no Greek and therefore could not reach the beauty he knew was hidden there. By 1450 a great number of Italian scholars could read Greek and, what was more important, could see the real world they lived in under new colours, in the light shed by the Greek philosophers and poets and their pupils, the Romans. There was an eager hunt

for manuscripts of the Greek and Roman writers, and Italian scholars ventured even into the wilds of Germany and England to search the monastic libraries. The ruins and buried statues of the Roman civilisation in Italy were uncovered and studied, especially in and round Rome. The result was a new sense of freedom and joy as well as a new creative activity, at first in the more northern city, Florence, but also in Milan, Pavia, Padua and Venice, and finally in Rome itself under the patronage of the Papal court.

The influence which Italy exerted upon France, England, Spain, and Germany during the three following centuries was due to this great revival of life in the Italian cities. The Italians felt themselves superior in civilisation, and their claim was generally admitted. The amenities of life were much greater in Italy than elsewhere; but above all the personalities and their community of thought and taste were much more striking. The Renaissance did not imply any doctrine which could be formulated in a creed; but it was perfectly clear now for the first time that (1) the actual world and not heaven or hell was the centre of interest, that (2) beauty was not a "snare" or an obstacle to moral excellence but the greatest of all those facts the appreciation of which makes a man civilised, and that (3) an individual existed in his own right and not simply as a member of a group, his true aim being the fullest development of all his capacities. But Italy excited the world not by general statements but by what she produced. Modern painting began at Florence with Masaccio (1402-1429).

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From his time the art has depended upon the study of perspective and anatomy and the greater skill in the use of media, chiefly oil. The old views of the world still formed the subjects for painters; but we can see the new learning's influence in the best work of Sandro Botticelli (1444-1510). The fifty years from 1500 to 1550 include most of the greatest work of Botticelli, the Bellini, Raffael, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Giorgione, and Titian. Florence, Venice, Rome, and Milan were the cities in which their work was appearing; and it is impossible to find any such list of great names within so short a time in any other country. One lifetime, indeed, would have been enough to have seen the most brilliant and hitherto unimagined revelations of what painting could do. To understand what a discovery this was, one must recall the fact that painting had hitherto been at the best a graceful rendering of events or doctrines on the walls of churches, or in the decoration of a manuscript. But to appreciate what the new art meant for civilised life, it is necessary to be "taken off one's feet" or lifted into "another" world in seeing the actual work of the great masters. The debt of the rest of the world to Renaissance Italy may be estimated by looking at the painting of that date which is now to be seen in the chief picture galleries of other nations.

It must not be imagined, however, that the majority of men at that time paid the slightest attention to the labour of scholars or the productions of artists. Donatello, the first master of modern sculpture, went with Brunelleschi,

the architect, to Rome in 1401 and stayed there for about four years: for some days every week they worked as goldsmiths in order to get their living and on the other days they studied the ruins. People thought they were treasure-hunters when they were seen digging among the stones of old Rome. While the two artists were thus learning what they afterwards taught the whole world to value, Rome was sacked and the Pope carried off; there were frequent faction fights in the streets and pestilence and famine killed many of the inhabitants. Amid such confusion was the new world growing. The rough-and-tumble of ordinary life was sometimes an obstruction to art or science; but most of the scholars and painters of that time lived in the midst of a cultured society of their own, which was by no means without the humbler graces of wit. There is a story of a scholar who went in search of his long-lost thirst armed with a herring, a piece of cheese and four sardines. The men and women of the Renaissance enjoyed not only great art but also dancing and dining and conversation. The art of the theatre was rediscovered and replaced the simpler dramatic stories of the mediæval mystery plays; and a love of travel and natural scenery was widespread. The scholar who became Pope Pius II described himself as "a lover of the woods and one eager to see anything new."

The richer classes, but chiefly the merchant princes of Florence, the Medici, and the Popes, encouraged the new movement by giving a good income to scholars and artists for their work,

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and also by forming circles of cultivated men and women who eagerly followed what was being done. But in no art was their influence more obvious than in architecture. The great architecture of the Middle Ages was ecclesiastic, and although the Renaissance spent some of its energies in the rebuilding of churches, its more significant architecture was in palaces and houses ; for a house was no longer a place into which one crept to eat and sleep but a place for the meeting of friends, music, dancing, and, if it were large enough, pageantry.

Renaissance architecture shows clearly (1) how Italy revived her own past and (2) how the individual artist became prominent and the nameless groups of mediæval craftsmen disappeared. About 1410 Brunelleschi of Florence returned to his native city after some years in Rome. At that time and until about the seventeenth century the remains of ancient Rome were more numerous and more complete than they are now : for the men of the later Renaissance actually destroyed some buildings which had inspired the early Renaissance artists. Thus the Coliseum was picked to pieces to build churches and houses ; and the metal from the Pantheon was taken to make the canopy of the high altar in St. Peter's. But that barbarism was not yet begun. Rome was not yet rebuilt ; for it was still the confusion of classical ruins and mediæval hovels which the Popes had left for seventy years when they lived at Avignon. Brunelleschi, then, had the old architecture to guide him, and he was only the first of a long line of architects who came to study in Rome during

the following centuries. He built the dome on the cathedral in Florence in 1434. About twenty years after a manuscript was discovered of the work of Vitruvius on architecture. This was a treatise on general principles written about 25 B.C. and soon after its discovery it was printed and circulated all over the world. Renaissance architecture, then, was the direct result of Italy's own past history. Throughout the sixteenth century the Church of St. Peter in the Vatican in Rome was being built, first under Bramante, who died in 1514, and then under Michelangelo, who died in 1563 when the dome was almost complete. Michelangelo also completed the Farnese palace, and other architects during the century built great houses in Rome and in other Italian cities. These became the models for the vast houses of France and England built during the eighteenth century. Their magnificence, the nobility of their courts, arcades and staircases, completely entranced the more cultured nobles of that day.

The effect of the new Italian movement on France is most obvious in architecture. At first the structure of the buildings remained Gothic ; but Renaissance decoration was added by Italian craftsmen brought to France by the king and the nobility. Then the buttresses of the northern style became the pilasters of the Italian manner. Building still remained in the control of the French tradition but Italian craftsmen had freer play in designing or decorating tombs or monuments. Much the same effect can be observed in England. What is called Tudor and Jacobean architecture

belongs to the Gothic tradition but often shows decoration in the new Italian manner. Henry VIII invited a Florentine sculptor to come to work at the tomb of his father in Westminster Abbey. Many other sculptors and masons came from Italy to England before 1550; and produced work in the new style such as the organ screen in King's College, Cambridge. After that date, however, Renaissance architecture in England seems to be about as much influenced by French versions as by the original Italian school; and by that time in both countries architects were beginning to build according to the new principles. The mullioned windows and steep roofs of late French Gothic and English Jacobean give place to large unobstructed windows and heavy cornices with flat roofs. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Italian Renaissance completely dominated French and English architecture. In Spain the Italian influence passed through similar stages, first introducing new decoration and in the middle of the sixteenth century new principles: but by the end of the seventeenth century the Spaniards grew tired of the Italian manner, and developed a fantastic architecture and decoration which seems almost to outdo the virtuosity of Italian Baroque.

At the end of the great Italian period, statuary on buildings looked as if clothing and hair were always flung about by terrific gales of wind: and in order to be impressive artists chose vastness and restlessness. France and England followed. The only trouble was that great rooms and colonnades and formal gardens which in Italy

would be full of air and light, in northern France and England were more usually full of damp and mist. We could not import the climate with the architecture: so perforce we reduced our scale. But we had learnt from Italy that architecture was based upon an exact science, and that the architect is an artist with an individuality of his own and not simply a master-mason with a tradition.

While Italy was still looked upon in the north as a magic land where art and ease of life could be found such as was hardly imagined elsewhere, a new art of the stage was suddenly developed in England. At the end of the sixteenth century the mediæval outlook on life had disappeared at least among the townsfolk; and the poetic drama of Shakespeare deals with the passions of men upon the common earth, discounting entirely heaven and hell, angels and devils. Still more characteristic of the Renaissance is it that (1) so many of Shakespeare's themes, plots and characters are drawn from Italian sources, and that (2) his heroes and heroines are figures of note or what the Italians called "*principi*," and never shepherds, carpenters or weavers. The work of Shakespeare, indeed, is significant of what England has owed to Italy; and her debt has been more than discharged by the immense influence Shakespeare has had in civilising Germany and France, as well as peoples unimagined at the time when the plays were first produced. This is an outstanding example of the effect of intercourse. Comparatively trivial stories of one nation pass to another and are transformed into magnifi-

cent drama; and this drama passes to other nations, releases men from a narrow "classical" tradition, and produces in translation upon foreign stages a new vision of life. In France the literary Renaissance was somewhat overweighted as in Italy by the close relation of French to Latin: but we observe, nevertheless, that the new gospel results in Rabelais' great laughter at the follies of the Middle Ages and his glorying in a new society in which the rule was "Do what you will." In the middle of the fifteenth century French Renaissance literature includes the work of Ronsard and du Bellay, and at the end of the century is Montaigne. The new life had thus produced new forms of poetry and prose; and both the conscious regularity of the poetry and the many quotations from the ancient classics in Montaigne prove that the source of the new inspiration was Italy.

The Italians, however, were learning meanwhile from other nations. The Flemings led the way in music; but even in music, in which the Italians themselves did not at first excel other nations, Italy soon became the centre to which musicians came. Before the Renaissance, Dufay of Tournai had become celebrated for his new method of harmony, and he entered the service of the Pope in Rome in 1380. Josquin de Près of Antwerp (1445-1521) served in the Pope's chapel, then at the court of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence, and finally in France at the court of Louis XII. His masses and chansons were printed and sold all over Italy and Germany. Many other Flemish musicians went to foreign lands; and the Flemish

style influenced the Italian and the French. Palestrina (1514-1594), the greatest of the Italians, wrote at first in the Flemish style; and later developed his own most beautiful music in the service of the Popes. It had become one of the recognised marks of a gentleman or lady to be able to perform on some musical instrument; and many companies of amateurs in all countries welcomed the new style.¹

In England there had been a great interest in music during the Middle Ages, but under Henry VIII and Elizabeth, themselves good musicians, there was a vigorous new development. Tallis, who died in 1585, and Bird (1538-1623) were worthy to rank with the greatest in Europe.

The change introduced by the Renaissance, then, was due mainly to new methods of expression, new artistic activities and an enthusiasm for beauty. The devotion to knowledge or the pursuit of truth was to come later, although it was, indeed, already giving promise of new revelations in the demonstration by Copernicus that the earth was really moving round the sun, in defiance of what was obvious to everyone, that we can neither see nor feel it move! This was followed by the exact observation of the movements of the planets by Tycho Brahe and Kepler; whilst Galileo worked out the laws of the motion of falling bodies. The Renaissance, in spite of this, was rather an artistic than a scientific period.

¹ Of course even in the Middle Ages the nobles had often practised minstrelsy. Thus Froissart says of Gaston de Foix: "He took great pleasure in harmony of instruments and could do it right well himself."

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The fundamental principle of science, however, was grasped—namely, that adequate evidence is the only possible ground for belief or, to put it in another way, that *why* we believe is as important as *what* we believe. Of course the Middle Ages had believed that some things were not what they seemed, and so Copernicus and his followers were not asking too much; but in the Middle Ages such strange appearances were called miracles and the new scientists said that the earth's motion was no miracle but just fact reached by reasoning. If reasoning could unfix the earth and conjure away the very floor of heaven, what next would it do? The timid feared the worst; but the bold went on thinking.

The second great change which closed the Middle Ages was the result of the voyages of discovery in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. These voyages were efforts to preserve and develop the contact of Europe with India and China, to which Europeans of that time knew they owed the amenities and the good taste of civilised life. It has been already shown that Europe derived Eastern spices and silks through Italian cities, especially Venice. Most of Europe was half-starved and ill clothed. Men killed their cattle and salted them because they had not enough forage to keep them; and eternal salt meat and salt fish must have needed the cloves and nutmegs of the East to make them palatable. Again, civilised clothing could never have developed out of the wool and furs of the North without the silk and cotton of the East. But at the end of the fifteenth century the caravan routes

were blocked, or so obstructed that Italy received less and less from the East. The Turks had come. For years they had preyed upon the more civilised races of Eastern Asia, and at last in 1453 they captured Constantinople. In 1517 they captured Cairo, and thus finally destroyed one of the greatest mediæval markets and the great trade routes which met there. The way to the East was closed. Venice began to lose her wealth. French and Flemish towns began to be the greater trading centres; and already in 1450 a citizen of Bourges, Jacques Cœur, had trade connections all over Europe. But if one could not go to the East any longer by land, could not one reach it by sea? Marco Polo, we remember, had said that there was a vast ocean with islands beyond China, and some learned men maintained that the world was round. Whoever could reach the East by sea would gain untold store of wealth by bringing to Europe what it seemed likely she would otherwise entirely lose. So the seamen adventured on the western ocean.

The discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus, the Genoese sailor, in Spanish ships, has turned out to be the most important of all; because of the great development of intercourse between Europe and the peoples of what we now know as America. But, of course, Columbus himself thought at first that he had discovered Asia: and even when it dawned on everyone that it was really a New World, no one at that time thought of it except as an outlying savage land where gold might be found. The Conquista-

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dores, as the Spaniards called the leaders of the invasion of America, destroyed more than they stole.

Much more important for their immediate effect on civilisation were the voyages of Portuguese sailors round the Cape of Good Hope to India. Magellan, it is true, actually reached Asia after a terrible voyage (1519-1522) round South America and across the Pacific; but the Eastern voyage was more practicable. A Genoese ship in the thirteenth century had sailed down the coast of Africa to find the way to the Indies, but she was never heard of again. During the centuries following Portuguese ships had explored the west coast of Africa and had gradually pressed on to the southernmost point, under the inspiration very largely of Prince Henry the Navigator, from about 1420 to 1460. At last in 1497 Vasco di Gama rounded the Cape, sailed across the Indian Ocean and anchored at Calicut on the southwest coast of India. That town gave a name (calico) to the material which for many centuries after came to Europe from the East. Round Africa soon began a succession of voyages and then a stream of trading ships which brought Europe into closer touch with India and China. The Portuguese were the first to reach China by sea, beginning trade at Canton in 1517: but China proved much more difficult to enter than India or the islands, and throughout the following century Chinese civilisation became known in Europe more through missionaries than through merchants. The Dutch, the French and the English followed where the Portuguese had led,

and eventually took their place ; but their rivalries and conflicts do not concern us here.

Let us look more closely, then, at the results of the contact between Europe and the East. It was really the beginning of world-commerce and world-politics. A small amount of merchandise had found its way by caravans from the East to Europe all through the Middle Ages ; but now ships could bring large quantities of silks and cottons and spices. The immediate effect of increased quantities of Eastern goods was a fall in their price, and consequently great numbers of people in Europe began to enjoy what had hitherto been the luxuries of a few. Sugar from the East became common, and tea and coffee for the first time appeared in Europe. Fine Indian textiles created the taste which in a later age induced Europeans to manufacture cotton textiles for themselves. So vast indeed was ocean trade becoming that a new system was introduced—that of trading companies. Commerce at a great distance was too dangerous and expensive for the individual merchant ; and therefore many shared the risk, eventually also sharing in the capital employed and in the profits. The English Levant Company, for example, took the place of the Venetians in bringing goods to England from the Eastern Mediterranean ; and the “ Flanders galleys ” ceased to come north from Venice. The English Russia Company had agencies in many Russian cities. But the most important for Europe as a whole were the English and the Dutch East India Companies, both founded about 1600, which eventually took the bulk of the

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Eastern trade from the Portuguese. Here, however, we are passing from the Renaissance to a later age.

During the sixteenth century the method by which the wares of Europe and the East were exchanged was the same as that common in the Middle Ages. There was, then, no conception of conquering the peoples or dominating the civilisation of the East. As Hansa merchants had had their "factories" in London and Venice, as English merchants had "factories" in Russia, so now the Portuguese and later the Dutch and the French established trading posts in the East.¹ These were fortified storehouses with a resident foreign staff whose business it was to sell to Easterns the metal and leather and woollen goods of Europe and to buy stores of Eastern products for the ships to take to Europe.

A century after the Renaissance had begun and about twenty years after the great voyages, a religious revolution occurred in Germany which was destined to unite some peoples and divide them from others. This is the Protestant Reformation. For at least two centuries criticism of the ecclesiastical system had been vigorous in most countries and the critics of one nation often influenced the critics in another, as for example the English Wyclif influenced the Bohemian, Huss. In addition, there was hostility in the North to the Italian character of the Papacy, which was partly due to national differences and partly

¹ A factory (cf. French "facteur") is merely a merchant's store. A manufactory is the original name for a place where things are made, which we now call a "factory."

to differences of culture accentuated by the Renaissance. Finally, the devout in parts of Germany had learnt to do without priests during the fifty years of schism when there was more than one pope, and more than one priest claimed rights in the local church. The riches and laxity of the lives of the monks and higher clergy also had caused general discontent for a century; and efforts at reform within the existing system had failed. Reform by breaking with the system was made possible by the vigorous action of Martin Luther, who was formally excommunicated in Rome in January 1521. Germany was and is still divided on the issue, but the Reformation may be taken as a typically German product, for personal earnestness was substituted for formal adherence to an institution as "true religion."

The effect in England was characteristic. The English never swallow a foreign revolution whole, but carefully mix it with selections from the national tradition. Some think this cowardly; but others think that it makes change more digestible. In any case, the Church of England took on a new form. But resolute men and women, moved by foreign preachers or by enthusiasts who had caught the fire abroad, demanded a more complete breach with the past; and German and Swiss influences thus produced many varieties of religious belief and custom in England and Scotland. Some of these were taken to the English colonies in America, where they formed the basis of the somewhat arid, but determined, civilisation of New England.

One of the most important results of the variety

of belief was the discovery of religious toleration. So long as most men agree it is easy for them to suppress the minority who disagree: but when many different beliefs are current, no one group is strong enough to suppress another and all come to acquiesce in a toleration which none of them desire to practise. Advanced thinkers then find reasons why toleration is desirable, when it has become inevitable; but all these reasons are blown to the winds if in any country or at any time the majority again agree. However, religious toleration, combined with a Protestant individualism of choice, easily passes into political liberty; and it is undoubtedly to the Puritans that the world owes the liberty by which the peoples of some countries now control and direct their governments. Montesquieu and Voltaire in the eighteenth century found nothing more valuable than this in the civilisation of England which they praised to the French. Similarly it was to Protestantism that the Swiss cities owed the type of liberty which aroused the enthusiasm of Rousseau.

The age of which the dominant note is the Renaissance included such different experiences that its place in the history of civilisation may seem difficult to define. The invention of printing in Germany, the brilliancy of the arts in Italy, the new literature, the discoveries of the Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch seamen, and the new form of religious enthusiasm seem to have little in common. The new age, by comparison with that which had preceded it, was formless and unsystematised in its beliefs and its customs: but it was more important in the history of

civilisation for one general reason, which indeed reduces all its apparent confusion to unity. For the first time for about one thousand years Europeans looked forward and not back. The one general note of the age is that everyone expected that something new and wonderful might happen any day. In the Middle Ages, on the contrary, men felt human history as an inglorious decadence following upon a glorious past, whether that past were embodied in the Emperors of Rome or in Christ and His Apostles. The vision of the future was shut out by the expectation of a Day of Judgment. But in the Renaissance men learnt confidence in themselves and were persuaded that many interesting and important events would occur on this earth. True, in one sense both the Renaissance scholars and the Reformers looked back. The former had the Classics and the latter the Bible. And even the discoverers went after an old world of the East, not a new one. But all of them treated the old and the past in a new way. They expected revelations for themselves which would make them no less wise or saintly or powerful than any man had ever been before. The past for the first time was the gate to the future; through a knowledge of it men hoped to reach what the past had never had. In the name of a Classic civilisation Italy produced entirely new arts: on the plea of return to primitive Christianity the Reformers claimed for every individual direct contact with God: and even the discoverers of East and West Indies felt themselves masters of what they had found.

This characteristic forward-looking confidence

has been the motive force which produced the scientific discoveries of the age immediately following, the age of the Enlightenment, and the inventions of a still later age; and it remains with us in the widespread present expectation of still greater achievements. With regard to the special subject of our story here, the intercourse of peoples, the Renaissance is most important because it spread so rapidly from people to people the appetite for adventure and new experiences. It also brought into closer contact not only the East and Europe as a whole, but all the peoples of Europe. This may seem a contradiction of the statement that the unity of Europe in the Middle Ages was lost by the appearance of national states and by the Reformation. We must, therefore, consider more closely what is meant by the old unity and the new closer contacts. The unity of the peoples in the Middle Ages depended upon a common church and a common learning—that is to say it was unity *external* to the elements united. But when this unity disappeared the peoples were already connected by more trade and much more generally effective intercourse. Instead of being unified, they were interlocked: instead of being all dependent upon one system, they were interdependent one with another.

This indeed is the beginning of modern international intercourse, which is not a denial of national differences but assumes those differences. It is indicated in the late Renaissance by the creation of International Law, which is the first sign of a future not yet realised. The savagery

of the wars of Religion, especially in Germany and the Netherlands, shocked men's minds. At Magdeburg, for example, about twenty thousand men, women and children were killed in cold blood after the city had surrendered. It came, therefore, to be felt that although nations at war acknowledge no superior and ask no leave for the acts they choose to do, yet a line must be drawn somewhere. There were some acts which no circumstances could justify. What these acts were might well be disputed: but it was obvious that there was some limit. It became the province, therefore, of international law to lay down the rules defining the limit of force and fraud. This might preserve some basis of human intercourse even between nations at war; and thus the very age which saw the division of Europe into many sovereign or absolute Governments, acknowledging no overlord, saw also the beginnings of the organisation of the relations between these Governments.

CHAPTER IV

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

IN the eighteenth century a special kind of civilisation arose which has left us some elegance of taste and manners ; but this can hardly be thought equal in importance to the great art of the Middle Ages or the discoveries of the Renaissance. In the midst of the elegance, however, a few in all nations developed a knowledge of facts which fulfilled the hopes of the Renaissance and has proved to be the secure basis of our present science. This was the real greatness of the century—the Enlightenment which was the pride of contemporary artists and scholars. Eighteenth-century civilisation was very largely the product of French influence, and therefore France may be said to have taken the lead which had hitherto belonged to Italy, although the French were themselves learning all the time from Italian music, painting and architecture, from Chinese decorative art and from the scientists of England. We may, then, take the situation in France as typical of the eighteenth century.

If we suppose that the eighteenth century lasted from about 1680 until the French Revolution in 1789, the seventeenth century must be reckoned as a period of experiment between the Renaissance

and the Enlightenment. The French have suffered more than any other nation from great wars which have delayed their contribution to civilised life. French Gothic art and French romances gave promise of a great future, when the English frustrated that hope and for a hundred years, from about 1336, spread confusion and ruin throughout a great part of France. The English were completely beaten and driven out of France by 1453, and French merchants began to rival the Italians, trading all over the world, when about 1550 the civil wars of religion destroyed France again and sent to foreign lands her skilled craftsmen. In about 1650 France had once more recovered when her incompetent and swollen-headed king, Louis XIV, began ruinous continental wars: and yet in the seventeenth century the French were able to produce manufactures and "objets d'art," as well as to develop an intellectual outlook which proved to be the beginnings of modern science.

To the period of experiment, as we have called the seventeenth century, belong the Academies or Societies of learned laymen, which took the place of the old mediæval universities as instruments of intellectual progress. The distinction between the two methods, that of the Academy and that of the University, is similar to the difference we now recognise between carrying on a tradition and "research." Research was a discovery of the scholars of the Renaissance; and the earliest Academies, in Rome and Florence, were groups, not of teachers or students, but of artists and scientists pursuing "research" into

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the history of the past or the principles of science. From Italy the custom that scholars should meet regularly for discussion spread to France ; and these meetings were soon formally recognised and supported as Academies by the French kings. The first was the literary group still known as the French Academy, whose first meeting was in 1634 : but for other nations perhaps the most influential were the historical Academy of Inscriptions (1663) and the Academy of Sciences (1666). In 1665 the *Journal des Savants*, which is the oldest scientific journal in the world, was first published ; and in 1671 the Academy of Sciences was provided with public funds for the survey of France and her colonies. The Royal Society in London, which received a Royal Charter in 1662, must be reckoned as one of the chief Academies, but it is significant that it never received any pecuniary help from the Government, nor did its members undertake any co-operative work.¹ To it, however, Newton was able to communicate his scientific discoveries ; and the name of Newton is enough to show that France had not all the greatest scientists of the time. A greater number of Frenchmen, however, than of any other nation were working at the new methods, for Academies of Science were co-operating in about twenty other French cities with the Academy at Paris. Newton's discoveries were made known to many in France by the writings of Voltaire in the early part of the

¹ Private meetings, which were the real beginning of the Royal Society, go back to 1645. They were suggested by a German named Theodore Hank.

eighteenth century. The French Academicians worked at them, taught them and published them in the course of the century in text-books and studies which influenced all Europe.

The significant characteristic of the eighteenth century, then, is the accumulation of knowledge of facts. The stars were counted and their movements exactly recorded. Newton had shown the universal operation of gravitation. A new planet and new comets were discovered. The earth was being exactly mapped. Plants were classified and their growth studied. The mechanism of the human body was described. Chemistry and the study of crystals began. So great, indeed, was the increase of knowledge and so successful the new methods of observation and experiment, assisted by mathematical reasoning, that those who shared in the splendid new vision of the world naturally thought of their age as one in which a new light had been shed upon human life.

In the middle of the seventeenth century a sudden literary inspiration seems to have come to France. Corneille was already an old man; but after 1650 he produced some of his greatest dramas. In tragedy he was followed by Racine, who was writing between 1669 and 1691; but perhaps the man to whom the rest of the world outside France owes most was Molière, whose *Misanthrope* appeared in 1666, *Tartufe* in 1668 and *Malade Imaginaire* in 1673. Here was a critical comedy, not passing into mere satire, such as had not yet appeared; for the conventions and poses of civilised man were shown to be

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material for a delicate art. The Classical French drama thus became the model for writers in England, some of whom eventually adapted Molière's plays for the English stage, and the French drama was actually produced in the French language at the courts of German princes.

But among the influences of France upon the world none is stranger than that of the palace of Versailles. Louis XIV disliked Paris and therefore paid visits to his small country house at Versailles in order to entertain his various mistresses with less publicity; and he soon decided to desert Paris altogether and to build himself a palace as an addition to the Versailles house. The new palace cost immense sums for materials and decoration, but the manual labour was not paid for, since it was forced from peasants and demanded of soldiers. In 1685 there were 36,000 workers toiling at the palace, and carts used to take off at night the bodies of those who died. The Hall of the Mirrors was first completed, where in 1919 the Treaty was signed after the Great War. To Versailles the king transferred the whole court and central government, and all the courtiers and officials lived in the palace—altogether about 10,000 persons. The rooms are vast, lofty and ornate; they dazzled all the courts and nobility of Europe of that time, and the customs of Versailles were also copied.¹ One

¹ Lord Montagu, afterwards Duke of Montagu, was English Ambassador for some time from 1669 at the French court at Versailles: "Here it was," says his biographer, "his Grace formed his idea of building and gardening, erecting his seat at Boughton in Northamptonshire (near Kettering) after the pattern, and as his dimensions would allow, after the very model

of the most important ceremonies was the king's rising out of bed (*lever*) in the mornings and his dressing, at which the Squire of the Wardrobe had the privilege of holding the king's shirt and the Master of the Wardrobe that of pulling up the king's trousers. To be present at this ceremony was the high privilege of members of the best families; and the custom was eagerly copied at foreign courts. The *levée* at a modern court has somewhat different ceremonies, but it is still considered an introduction to the best society.

In one further point France contributed to the progress of other nations, but to her own detriment. The Catholic clergy, strongly supported by the court at Versailles, clamoured for the violent conversion of the Protestants. A controversy of pamphlets followed. After much persecution under cover of the law, the Edict of Nantes was revoked on October 17, 1685. In spite of the prohibition against emigration, many of the best Protestants fled to foreign lands; and France lost within a few years 400,000 of her inhabitants, among them some of the most intelligent, the most skilful workers and the best citizens.¹ Geneva raised a fund for the 60,000

of Versailles." Similarly Stanislaus, father-in-law of Louis XV, built himself an imitation of Versailles in Lorraine. The customs of Versailles did not include cleanliness. Louis XIV objected to the new-fangled use of forks and ate with his fingers. When he supped with Charles II and his queen at Versailles, Louis took off his hat politely every time he addressed the queen, and as his fingers had just been in the dish his hat was dripping with grease by the end of the meal.

¹ The great scientist Huygens was driven from Paris to the Hague; and Denis Papiri, a physician, fled to England and then to Germany. He discovered the principle of the steam-engine in 1707.

French who came to that city between 1682 and 1720 ; in Berlin there were 10,000 ; thousands more in Holland ; and in London so many that thirty French Protestant churches were built. The feeling roused in England may have been one of the causes of the downfall of James II in 1688, and of the determination of the English to have none but a Protestant king, having in view the power of the Jesuit confessor of Louis XIV.

The civilisation of Russia begins at this time and is a very good example of foreign influence. The Hansa cities of the Middle Ages had bought material from the coast, and the English Muscovy Company had established " factories " in various Russian towns. The Czar Alexis at the time of the Civil War in England sent out ambassadors to the European kings to bring back Western ideas : but the Russians were quite unable to appreciate the situation. For example, the ambassador to England arrived in London when Parliament was fighting the King, and as he refused to treat with anyone but a king, he had to leave without accomplishing his purpose, for King Charles was by that time in prison. Alexis was horrified at the sacrilege when he heard of it.

Peter the Great made a more successful effort to introduce civilisation into Russia. In 1697 he himself, disguised as an attendant, went with a great embassy of 270 persons to visit Europe. He visited workshops, laboratories, shipyards ; and met highly educated men. On his return to Russia he sent out young Russians to study in France, Holland, England, and Germany. The rising of the traditionalists against his innovation

was suppressed, and about one million tortured and killed—in which operation Peter himself took a hand.¹ In 1702 he issued a notice in all European countries inviting foreign workers and artists to Russia. In 1718 Peter visited France. He is said to have been much impressed at the number of different embroidered coats worn on different occasions by the gentlemen sent to wait upon him, while he had only one plain suit of blue cloth. He met many brilliant women and paid a call upon Madame de Maintenon, then over eighty, the mistress of the late king, Louis XIV. On his return to the more primitive Russia, Peter, who had bought for himself a blue satin embroidered coat in Paris, issued a ukase commanding his nobles to bring their wives and daughters in the French manner to a ball at court, although they had been hitherto as secluded as any “Eastern” women. French manners also induced Peter to tell his courtiers that they were not to come to court drunk; while he and his wife on court days took only half their usual allowance of intoxicants! Thus civilisation came to the ruling class in Russia from Paris; and French became the language of politeness among them.²

The increase of knowledge in the seventeenth century and the communications between the few learned men of different nations, did not greatly affect the outlook or the customs of the

¹ The traditionalists seem to have objected especially to shaving and smoking tobacco.

² Cf. *The Imaginary Conversation*, by W. S. Landor, between Alexis and Peter the Great.

majority ; but at the same time there had been growing up, especially in France, a new fashion which was to increase the social effect of the new knowledge. This is the fashion of the cultured "salon," in which men and women who were not primarily scholars or scientists discussed the new ideas. As early as 1609 the Marquise de Rambouillet organised such a salon at her house in Paris : she had chairs placed in a row in her bedroom and induced her visitors to converse about "subjects." Hitherto men and women of "the world" had gossiped or played games and Academicians had argued ; but now intelligent conversation was discovered and although rank and birth were still revered, the salon was open to anyone who had skill in the art. Conversation is indeed one of the arts of civilisation ; and efforts have been made to introduce it into England, Germany and the United States, but gossip, argument and story-telling still stand in the way.

The salon of the Marquise de Rambouillet was imitated all over France, and it led to some absurdities with which Molière makes play in *Les Precieuses Ridicules* : but the new art of conversation had an immense effect in educating the wealthier classes of all nations. The fashion was copied abroad ; and thus the results of new knowledge came to be spread more widely. Hume says of his own Essays that in them he hopes to be "an ambassador from the realms of learning to those of conversation." But in the eighteenth century Paris was the centre of this new movement as it was of scientific speculation.

There were cultured salons at which fair ladies entertained what was then the most brilliant intellectual society in Europe—Voltaire, d'Alembert, Diderot, Helvetius, and, the late comer, Rousseau. While they talked of the arts, history, science and philosophy, and laughed at the traditional superstitions and the latest court scandals, the ladies cut out little paper pictures and the gentlemen sewed or worked tapestry. Foreigners were welcomed if they had any ideas to contribute. M. de la Popelinière, a wealthy financier, kept ready in his house bedrooms for Italian painters and musicians and other foreign artists visiting Paris. Madame Geoffrin gave one dinner a week for artists and another for writers and scientists. One day one of her guests said "What has happened to the old gentleman who used to sit at the end of the table?" and the hostess replied—"That was my husband. He is dead." He did not count among the brilliant company. Hume and Gibbon, the philosopher and historian from England, visited her drawing-room.

This cultured society had almost shaken itself free from the court at Versailles, but it affected to a certain extent even the mediocre intelligence of courtiers. Louis XV himself was slow-witted but he followed the fashion of the gentlemen of his day in working tapestry for the seats of chairs; he also cooked little suppers for his friends and liked working in the garden. The ladies who "flung themselves at his head" when his dull Polish wife bored him, induced him to play at being a warrior, and he looked on at a safe distance at some battles. He turned away

eagerly from a distant view of Fontenoy, where thousands of men were slaughtered, to meet his new mistress, Madame de Pompadour, in a wood behind the lines. Madame de Pompadour was a *bourgeoise* and a woman of great ability as well as beauty. She suffered from the traditional desire to make the king a warrior ; but she was also a vigorous patron of the arts. She urged the king to encourage Gobelin tapestry and Sèvres porcelain, and indeed herself designed and painted some fine Sèvres figures. She had a beautiful collection of furniture, stuffs and books.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century French society, while still exerting a strong influence upon the society of other countries, had become much more superficial in its interests. Even an interest in science, history and literature will not long survive if it is supported only by conversation, and in proportion as good taste became fashionable it became less intelligent. Foreigners in France more easily adopted insignificant indications of culture ; for example, Austrian society was represented in Paris by the Count de Kaunitz, the ambassador, who took infinite care to prevent the wind and sun destroying his complexion, and had invented a paste to keep his hands soft and white. No wonder that one of the frequenters of the salons, M. d'Argenson, said of the age that it was " le siècle de perfection dans la bagatelle."

The scientists and historians were, of course, continuing their work, but the salons had lost touch with them. Voltaire, one of the greatest leaders of the general enlightenment, had attempted

the study of science, but gave it up for the literary elegancies which his circle was more able to appreciate. But far more important than the intellectual incompetence of fashionable society was the persistent opposition to all the new knowledge and the new methods by the clergy in France. Voltaire's and Diderot's books, for which we give credit to France, had to be published in Holland. Again, it is significant that in France all the new knowledge was the work of the Academies and the schools attached to them, because the Universities were under the influence of the clergy; whereas in England, Holland and Germany men of genius could be also members of the Universities, as Newton was at Cambridge and Wallis at Oxford. The many varieties of Protestantism had made the distinction between orthodoxy and science more obscure than it was in Catholic France.

The most powerful group in the opposition to the Enlightenment in France was the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits were powerful as Confessors of kings, queens and the nobility; and still more powerful as educators in the old traditions. But they had a long-standing quarrel with devout persons called Jansenists, and many of their own side were jealous of their power. In 1761 began a long series of attacks on the Jesuits by representative assemblies all over France. The general hatred against them led to the official taking over of their colleges. They had relentless opponents even among the clergy: and the same sort of dislike for their methods and attitude spread to Spain and Portugal. The influence of the feeling in these countries was enough to exert

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pressure on the Pope, through the foreign ambassadors in Rome, and in 1773 Pope Clement XIV pronounced the dissolution of the order. Individual Jesuits, of course, still continued to act as priests in France and elsewhere; and the deeper struggle continued between the clergy as a whole and the remaining few French Protestants. Protestant pastors and laity were being tortured, sent to the galleys or hung during all the years of the Enlightenment. But devout Protestants also were opposed to the conclusions which began to appear probable as the century came to an end. The advance in the various sciences, and above all the intellectual outlook, in Europe in the eighteenth century was as much opposed to Puritanism and the Reformation as it was to the counter-Reformation in the Latin countries. The great books of the middle of the century were not only corrections of ancient ignorance but criticisms of traditional belief and practice.¹

The same period saw a great advance in music. In the first place, new instruments were invented. Here Italy led the way, for example, in the making of violins by the Arnati family in Cremona before 1684, who taught Antonio Stradivari (1650-1737). About one thousand of Stradivari's violins still exist, and are valued highly for their tone. Another Italian, Cristofori of Florence, in 1711 invented a hammer to strike strings "soft and hard" (*piano e forte*) and so gave us what we now call the pianoforte. The piano was first played in

¹ Montesquieu, *L'Esprit de Lois*, 1748; Buffon, *Histoire Naturelle*, 1749; Rousseau, *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts*, 1750; Diderot, *Encyclopédie*, vol. i, 1751.

England at the " Beggar's Opera " in 1767. But the greatest advance was not in the instruments, but in composition. Italians invented, by a development of plays with song, the new dramatic music called opera ; and Italian singers during the eighteenth century performed at all the European courts. The greatest advance in pure music, however, at that date was made in Germany.

In Germany French manners and French science was identified with true civilisation throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Leibniz, one of the greatest philosophers of Germany, wrote and thought in French. He derived much of his thought from Paris and attempted to spread in Germany the French plan of Academies. Frederick the Great of Prussia preferred to speak French, and invited the most celebrated Frenchmen to his court. The same is true of Austria and of the courts in the majority of the three hundred and sixty small principalities into which Germany was divided. In one point alone was Germany more advanced—that is in music ; but it is doubtful whether at that time the German princes knew enough to appreciate what was happening. The opera had been developed in Italy, and the French court had welcomed the new art : the German courts attempted to follow the fashion but they were hardly rich enough and pure instrumental music survived.¹ Whether for this reason or another Germany and Austria produced J. S. Bach (1685-1750), Haydn (1732-1809), and Beethoven (1770-1827), unrivalled masters

¹ St. Simon, in an " aside " in his *Memoirs*, says of a German lady at Versailles, " like most Germans she was poor."

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of pure music, as well as Gluck (1714-1787) and Mozart (1756-1791), who showed what could be made of opera. Handel (1685-1759) also was German, a native of Hamburg; but he was much more cosmopolitan than the other great musicians. He spent some years in Italy, where he wrote new compositions and came under the influence of Italian taste; and he was brought by George I to England. In Italy he learnt to use a new form of musical composition, namely Oratorio, which had originated at the Oratory.¹

In order to estimate what this great period of German music has meant to the world it would be necessary to leave the eighteenth century and to sit in the concert rooms of London, New York and Boston in the twentieth century, listening with thousands of others, deeply moved by the mastery of Bach or Beethoven, while the elegancies of the French court have long been forgotten. There is no doubt at all which is the greater man, Louis XIV among his worshipping courtiers or Beethoven, poor, deaf and lonely, composing the ninth symphony.

England at that time was recovering from a civil war, and Charles II had returned from exile in 1660, after spending some time at Versailles. He brought with him foreign masters of the fine arts, as well as some customs of Versailles which might well have been left there. It was good, however, that the Puritan decree against music in 1657 should be rescinded, and that Purcell (1658-1695) should have been able to produce

¹ The Oratory in Rome was a society of clergy founded by St. Philip Neri in this period.

his songs. It has been already shown that science also made rapid progress at this time in a small coterie, although it did not spread far in England ; for the wealthier classes in the eighteenth century were more interested in painting and architecture. Italy continued to be the greatest teacher. Inigo Jones (1573-1652) had studied there in 1614, before he built the most perfect example of Renaissance architecture in England, the Banqueting House in Whitehall. Wren, a scientist before he was an architect, learnt from the Italians, although he never went to Italy. Kent, who built Holkham for Coke of Norfolk, studied for nine years in Italy (1710-1719) ; and Robert Adam, the greatest of the four brothers who gave a new beauty to house decoration, spent four years in Italy (1754-1758), also visiting Diocletian's palace at Spalato. The splendid, uncomfortable palaces of the English nobility, such as Blenheim and Kedleston, were the effects of Italian, modified by French taste, and the English suffered from fantastic imitation of these. A friend complained to Lord Chesterfield that a vast new house built for him was beautiful but uncomfortable, to which Chesterfield replied : " Why not take a small house opposite and look at it ? " Evidently even a crowd of servants could not make the new mansions convenient.

The majority of the richer classes in England, however, during the eighteenth century were chiefly engaged in commerce, since in the seventeenth they had surpassed their old rivals, the Dutch. The wealth of the Eastern trade began to accrue to London, and the American colonies

proved to be a valuable market for English manufactures. The English came to be not only the leading seafarers but also the chief travellers of the world. The richer classes regarded a "grand tour" to the cities of Europe as necessary for the education of a gentleman. Ladies also took the opportunity to see foreign countries and one, Lady Mary Wortly Montague, has left us most amusing accounts of what she saw. From Genoa, in August 1718, she writes: "The ladies affect the French habit and are more genteel than those they imitate." The same copying of French fashions she had found at Vienna, where also she saw the courtiers dancing English country dances rather badly. She was by no means uncritical. From Paris, in October 1718, she writes: "All the country villages of France show nothing but misery. While the post-horses are changed, the whole town comes out to beg with miserable starved faces and thin, tattered clothes. This is all the French magnificence until you come to Fontainebleau, where you are shewed one thousand five hundred rooms in the King's hunting palace." But there was no doubt of French civilisation. "In general," she says, "I think Paris has the advantage of London in the neat pavement of the streets and the regular lighting of them at nights, in the proportion of the streets, the houses being all built of stone and most of these belonging to people of quality being beautified by gardens." ¹ Paris, indeed, remained for the

¹ Lady Mary also noted inoculation for small-pox. In April 1718 she was writing from Constantinople: "The small-pox, so fatal and so general among us, is here entirely harmless by

rest of eighteenth-century Europe the centre and source of civilised life.

Spain, which had seemed at the end of the Renaissance period to be on the point of leading civilisation, fell back during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, owing very largely to the way in which her rulers and nobility used their power. A million persons of Moorish descent were evicted from Spain in 1609, and the Jews had been expelled earlier: among these went the leaders of industry, agriculture and finance, and the working Spaniards who remained were compelled by taxes, exactions and privileges of the favoured few to support in idleness an ignorant and superstitious aristocracy.¹ Spain looked to Italy for culture, and Velasquez (1599-1660) went there to buy pictures and to learn; but he then showed that he was a greater painter than

the invention of engrafting, which is the term they give it. In September people send to one another to know if any of their family has a mind to have small-pox; they make parties for this purpose and when they are met an old woman comes with a nut-shell full of the matter of the best sort of small-pox. She rips open your veins with a needle (which gives you no more pain than a common scratch), and puts into the vein as much matter as can lie on the head of her needle. . . . I am patriot enough to take pains to bring this useful invention to England, and I should not fail to write to some of our Doctors about it, if I knew any one of them that I thought had virtue enough to destroy such a considerable source of revenue for the good of mankind."

¹ According to St. Simon's memoirs, Paris in the eighteenth century was looked upon as exile for a Spanish ambassador. The chief message to the French king from the Spanish in 1699 was that Louis should establish the belief in the Immaculate Conception as a dogma throughout his kingdom (vol. i, ch. xxii). This request is laughed at by St. Simon, who evidently thought Spaniards very absurd.

any contemporary Italian. His work and that of Goya (1746-1828) at the end of the eighteenth century is perhaps the greatest contribution Spain has made to civilised life.

One other European country, Holland, had something to contribute. The Dutch, like the rest of the world, had looked to Italy during the Renaissance; but Rembrandt (1606-1669) learnt all that Italy could teach him in his own country. For some time he was a successful portrait-painter; then his skill went out of fashion, and when he died he left nothing but his clothes and his paint brushes. It was reserved to a future age to pay £100,000 for canvases which he would have been glad to sell at ten shillings. The Dutch traders of the seventeenth century had captured from the Portuguese the trade of the East Indies: to Holland they brought the spices, sugar and fine woven stuffs of India and the islands, as well as the porcelain of China. At Lieuwerden is still shown some porcelain which was sent back to China to be copied. The Chinese were so conscientious that, as one of the original pieces had been broken and mended, in the new set they broke a similar piece and patched it together again. Europe at that time had neither the knowledge nor the skill to produce porcelain or woven material as fine as those she found in the East.

It is obvious, indeed, that Europe was being civilised in taste by the art of India and China, and men of that time were aware of it. Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* were read eagerly and large numbers of the book were printed; but the subject was a criticism of Europe

by imaginary Orientals. Similarly Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* is a criticism put into the mouth of a Chinese scholar :¹ and Voltaire often makes uncomplimentary comparisons between European barbarism and Chinese skill. Beautiful Chinese silks and Indian cotton prints were seen to be more civilised than the wool of European manufacture. The carpets of Persia and India, known even in the Middle Ages, now became more common ; and Chinese designs taught new skill to the cabinet-makers of France and England. Chinese paper prints were used on walls instead of expensive panelling or dirt-collecting tapestries, and so began our modern use of wall-paper. Even the introduction into eighteenth-century England of the Chinese practice of taking a "dish of tea" should not be neglected in reckoning our debt to China.

The civilised world at that time was exceedingly proud of the advances which had been made in knowledge, good manners and the amenities of life. Scholars and connoisseurs of all lands were more closely in contact than they had ever been before. Many more foreign goods, in much finer quality, were obtainable. The roads of Europe and England were made firmer,² canals were cut, and as a result of these improvements quantities of merchandise could be moved which could never have been carried by the mediæval method of pack-horses and carts. Sailing ships

¹ Compare a similar criticism in 1900 in Mr. Dickinson's *Letters of John Chinaman*.

² The work of Telford and Macadam at this date belong to purely English history, but they immensely influenced the roadmaking of the nineteenth century in Europe and America.

were larger and swifter. Already new machines especially for the manufacture of textiles, were increasing the supply of goods; but no one yet expected any great transformation from this. Men looked rather to the limitation of the despotism of governments and the destruction of the traditional privileges of the titled and land-owning classes.

At the end of the eighteenth century a few men in all countries thought that superstition and barbarous custom would soon pass away, and that life for everyone would become happier and more peaceful. They hoped most, not in the improvement of material conditions, but in the development of a more civilised attitude of mind. Condorcet wrote: "In the social sciences there are truths which, above all among free peoples, cannot become useful until they are generally known and consciously accepted. Thus the influence of the growth of these sciences on the liberty and prosperity of nations depends upon the number of the truths which, through elementary education, become known to all. Thus also the progress of elementary education, in close connection with the inevitable growth of these sciences, promises an infinite betterment in human happiness." David Hume, the greatest British philosopher, a few years before Condorcet wrote, had chosen as a motto for the title-page of his great work the words of Tacitus: "There are few ages in which we can both think what we choose and say what we think"; and his whole work was an effort to escape from inherited prejudices.

The end of the age came suddenly. The people of the leading country in Europe rose against their own cultured, but frivolous and incompetent, governing caste. The English, by beheading one king and evicting another, had shown that kings could be made servants and not masters of the people: and the English colonists in America had shown in 1776 that any group of men could be free which had a will and a good opportunity. In 1789, therefore, and the following years the eighteenth century came to an end in the French Revolution and the downfall of the Old Régime. The "rights of man" was an English phrase and "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality" had been but recently introduced into the vocabulary of French science and French literature; but the first leaders of the Revolution believed that they were carrying to its legitimate conclusion the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.

CHAPTER V

THE INDUSTRIAL AGE

IN the beginning of the nineteenth century men were living very largely as men had lived for thousands of years before. Most of their food and clothing came from their immediate neighbourhood ; and if they wished to travel or to take goods to sell far from home, they had to use sailing ships or roads and horses. On the main roads they could use carts or coaches : on the sea they used ships of a few hundred tons. Communication between peoples, though more important, was hardly more general or more rapid than it had been in the ancient Roman Empire ; and in the year 1830 A.D. the intercourse between persons living at a distance depended upon the same kind of instruments as similar intercourse in 1830 B.C.

In about fifty years, between 1830 and 1880, a new era had begun in which the whole basis of intercourse has been transformed. Railways took the place of roads and steamships replaced the old sailing ships on the oceans. Telegraphs and telephones gave a means of communication not even imagined in earlier civilisations.

The change was gradual ; but the fifty years

from 1830 to 1880 cover a transformation for which there is no parallel.

Before following the change in detail, however, we may note the general effects it has had on history of intercourse. First, men of different lands and languages have come to depend more and more upon foreigners. For example, the workers in Manchester receive raw cotton from the people of the southern United States and use it to make clothing which is sold to the people of China and India. The people of France and Italy drink every day coffee grown by the people of Brazil or the East Indies ; and in every country the telegraph gives immediate news of what is happening in every other.

Secondly, the regularity and certainty of supply and of communication between peoples have become much greater than they ever were before. In all the ages up to this time people might starve because of a failure of the harvest while there was abundance fifty miles away. In 1817 people died of famine in Lorraine, while there was a surplus of wheat in Brittany. Again, when ships depended upon the winds, merchandise and letters might be months late ; and there was no means of telling when they might arrive. Now, telegraph and wireless give us knowledge every day of the situation on all oceans and in all lands ; and railways and steamships are hardly ever delayed even by floods on land and storms at sea.

Thirdly, the vast quantity of goods moved from land to land is the cause of far-reaching changes. In the old days only a few could obtain the small amount of foreign goods which were

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therefore regarded as luxuries ; but now ships and railways carry not so much spices and jewels as corn and meat, coal and oil. Thus the vast majority now in any " commercial " country can have foreign foods and materials for their daily life and work.

Fourthly, the interdependence of the nations is world-wide. It is no longer a case of separate interchange between two nations, unconnected with the interchange between any other two. For example, if India could not get certain manufactures from Germany, she could not afford to buy the finer cotton textiles from England, and England would not be able to buy wheat in the United States, which would make it impossible for the United States to give employment to immigrant Italians, and so would cause distress in Italy. The " flow " of world-commerce is quite international. Of course, if the Argentine buys goods from Germany, it may seem that England will gain financially by ousting the Germans, capturing the market and getting the Argentine money for herself ; but this does not always follow. Indeed it has often proved to be of commercial advantage to England if one foreign nation sells its goods to another and so makes both more able to buy English goods. In any particular case it is very difficult without long experience to say what method of trading will be best for the particular country concerned or the peoples of the world at large. The one important fact to keep in mind is that any interchange affects all interchange.

Finally, the speed with which news and goods

and travellers move nowadays would wholly astonish even the eighteenth century, not to speak of earlier ages. In 1830 it took several weeks to reach New York from England, and now it takes less than one week. From Hamburg or London it would take in 1830 many months to reach India ; and now it can be done, through the Suez Canal, by ship all the way, in about twenty days. In 1830 news travelled very little faster than goods or travellers ; but now a few hours is enough to allow all the great cities of the world to be informed of what has happened in any of them.

Some people foolishly say that the world has become " smaller " because all its parts are in such rapid and continuous contact ; but it would be truer to say that the world has become for each of us very much larger, since every man now can, if he chooses, follow the events and enjoy the commodities of many different countries. Village politics and the gossip at the village pump and the restricted tastes and enjoyments of one's village are inexcusable now ; but they were inevitable so long as men very seldom had any news or any goods from far away. A new age has begun in the intercourse between peoples, although very few seem to have the interests or imagination natural to this new age.

During this period for the first time the influence of England upon progress became dominant. Even in science, as the name of Darwin will remind us, England held a leading position ; but in the earlier part of the century, which was mainly commercial, England was still more obviously

the source from which other nations derived new ideas and new methods.

The wars in which England and Europe were involved at the beginning of the nineteenth century did not altogether destroy the intercourse of merchants and scientists. In 1805 the battle of Trafalgar gave control of the seas to the British ; and Napoleon, being quite incompetent to understand the situation, in a fit of warlike rage issued in 1806 the Berlin Decrees, which forbade any trade between France and her dependencies and Allies on the one hand and the British on the other. This was the ruin of European commerce, and particularly of that of the Dutch, for it stopped their ships but not those of the British. In 1810 Napoleon annexed Holland, but he could not prevent the British sending in goods even to France through neutral ports in Turkey and Sicily, or smuggling through the French ports themselves. Napoleon himself had to buy material for boots and cloaks for his army from a commercial house in Hamburg which had had the leather and cloth brought from England. Thus commerce was carried on in spite of war.

Still more striking was the co-operation in science between nations at war. In 1806 Sir Humphrey Davy in England won the money prize which Napoleon had offered for the best work on electricity ; and the money was given to him by the French, although they were at war with England. In 1813 Sir Humphrey Davy actually went over to lecture in Paris while the war still continued ; for war had not yet become, as it now has, an enterprise in which all the

inhabitants of any country at war are directly concerned.

The English in the closing years of the eighteenth century had invented textile machinery, while the rest of the world was still using the old methods of spinning and weaving by hand. Again, in England, the use of coke from coal for smelting iron had been discovered, and soon after the use of steam-power, also dependent upon coal. Thus the new age of iron and coal was begun, and by the middle of the nineteenth century a worker could produce a thousand times more than the old hand-worker. The amount of textiles and of machines to be exchanged with other nations was vastly increased.

But the power to exchange them was also increased largely by English efforts. The first steamship to cross the Atlantic, the *Great Western*, made the voyage in 1838 from England. In 1825, the first railway between Stockton and Darlington was running at fifteen miles an hour;¹ and in 1829 the Manchester-Liverpool Railway was begun, the engine of which ran at about forty miles an hour.²

In 1828 an American company ordered railway engines in England, and in 1830 the Americans built one for themselves. In France and Belgium the Governments planned railways in 1833, and in Germany the first railway was opened in 1835, English engineers and foremen being used all

¹ This train was preceded by a man on a horse to do the necessary signalling.

² In the *Creevy Papers* Mr. Creevy reports how he went in a train at twenty miles an hour and it "felt like flying."

over the continent for some time. In the 1840's Switzerland and Spain began to have railways built, and in the 1850's Canada and South America. Short telegraph lines were being used in England, Germany and the United States in 1840 ; but the first Atlantic cable was successful only in 1866 after improvements had been introduced by William Thomson, afterwards Lord Kelvin. By this time, however, the years of peace in Europe had made it possible for other nations to contribute to the improvement of the methods in manufacture and communication which had originated in England.

In 1815, when the Napoleonic wars were over, the English were far richer than any of the Continental nations ; and they had the new manufacturing power due to the textile machines invented in England during the wars. The English Government wished to prevent foreign nations obtaining either the new machines or the knowledge how to make and use them. Therefore in the 1820's laws were passed forbidding the export of textile machinery, models or plans, or the emigration of skilled workers : in spite of the laws, however, about 16,000 workers from England reached France in 1822 and 1823, and the only effect of the law was that they could not come back for fear of being punished. There were three engineering works near Paris under the management of Englishmen with about 500 English workers in each. The foremen in cotton factories in Vienna in 1840 were English or Scots. In Rouen the foremen were from Lancashire, and similarly in Belgium and Holland. British

textile machines were smuggled abroad by mixing the parts. In the same way the new railways on the Continent were built under the direction of British foremen ; and the rails came chiefly from England. But against this there was no prohibition and the other prohibitions were gradually withdrawn—the emigration laws as early as 1824. Thus the great manufacturing centres of Europe grew up under British influence, and the different countries became speedily richer. France, for example, in the 1850's was able to buy the securities in French railways held by Englishmen, and British trade with the Continent thus increased vastly, for Europe was at last able to buy on a large scale. The new age in which we now live was thus firmly established ; and all that immediately followed was the natural development of the inventions which have transformed the intercourse of peoples. The first stage of international industry and commerce was marked by the International Exhibition of 1851, the first of its kind—held appropriately in London, the capital of the leading industrial nation.

The new machines for manufacture and commerce were the result of the work partly of craftsmen, partly of scientists ; but as the century grew older the scientist began to take a larger, and the craftsman a smaller, share in invention. Thus the early textile machinery was almost entirely due to improvements introduced by unscientific, and sometimes uneducated, men, familiar with the traditional methods. Even the railway and the steamship were only in a minor

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degree due to science, although of course neither could have been successful without the knowledge which the eighteenth century had acquired. But the telegraph and telephone, on the other hand, were due to applications of science, not to "practical" men; and the great engineering feats of the century would have been quite impossible without the scientists.

The Suez Canal, for example was completed in 1869, and now about eight million tons of shipping pass through it every year. The voyage from Europe to India takes now only one third of the time it took via the Cape; but strangely its use has not revived the Italian ports which, as we have seen, used to flourish before the route round Africa was discovered. The Panama Canal, completed in 1916, has made another great change in bringing the East and the West together; and this is a still more obvious example of practical effects due to science, for unless the causes of malaria had been discovered, the workers at the canal would never have been able to carry out their tasks. The canal had been begun long before by the French; but they were unable to prevent deaths due to malaria as science had not yet advanced enough, and the canal was abandoned.

The chief cities of the world have been brought into much closer and more continuous contact by the new machinery. There is also much more food and clothing made available by the increase of intercourse; and England has, no doubt, led the way in this transformation of life. The men of the Renaissance or the Enlightenment would

be wholly astonished at the changes that have taken place ; but they would notice that these changes have not been altogether good. In the 1830's and 1840's, when commerce was increasing, there were children of six and eight years old working for twelve hours a day in the English factories. Many of these children were maimed or crippled for life by sitting over machines. Some died in pain ; some continued to work at the machines when they could no longer walk from their homes but had to be carried. Women were dragging coal in the pits on their hands and knees ; and the sturdy men of the small towns of the eighteenth century had been succeeded by masses of pale and weak workers whose continuous labour provided only bare sustenance. The riches of England were earned by the pain and deaths of these children, women and men. The method of such earning spread to other countries, and everywhere the new machines have caused as much suffering to the unnoticed many as they have given wealth to the careless few. That situation, though partly improved in England and Germany, continues in nearly all the great industrial centres.

Another characteristic of the new age is its depraved taste in all the arts. The machines made more goods available ; but what they made was much uglier and much less civilised. The pleasures of the rich were almost as offensive as the sufferings of the poor. Painting, sculpture, architecture, and the minor arts of the house fled before the dominant appetite for quantity and the disregard of quality. The rich preferred ten

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plush-covered "ornaments" to one graceful chair. Neither beauty nor utility seemed so important as price—a point of view which implied barbarism rather than civilisation; and this barbarism spread with the improvement of machines for manufacture and communication.

A revolt among those who understood the arts had taken place at the very end of the eighteenth century. It was a protest against the rigid adherence to traditional rules, called Classicism—an inheritance from the later Renaissance. The revolt was eventually named Romanticism. Rousseau had interested the ladies of the salons in a "return to nature," which was then believed to be a cure for convention. Goethe, in Weimar, had broken with the conventional drama; and deliberately accepted Shakespeare as the master of dramatic method. The tendency of the new movement which arose at about the same time in France, Germany and England, was to look to simple emotions rather than to intellectual precision as the test of great art. But this involved opposition to what was called "intellectualism"; and it revived interest in the ages which the Renaissance had despised and nicknamed the "Middle" Ages, as though they had come between two periods of real civilisation. Romanticism, in the guise of mediævalism, flourished rapidly in Germany and England; and Sir Walter Scott expressed the new attitude in his novels and his verse. Architects began to build again in the style that the Italians had scornfully dismissed as "Gothic"; and good taste appeared to be very sweet and simple. But whether from the

inherent weakness of the principle of revolt or because the evil appetite of the machine age affected even the revolt against it, the resulting arts were almost as feeble as the native bad taste of the shareholders in the new industry.

So far the characteristics of intercourse in this age have been described mainly in the terms of commerce ; and indeed commerce has caught the eye more easily than anything else. But even more important characteristics of the age are to be found in the intercourse which has built up modern science. The increase of power to use natural resources and to overcome distance and other obstacles to communication has been due largely to an improvement of the tools or instruments of civilisation. An oil-burning ship of 40,000 tons, travelling at twenty-five miles an hour, is a better tool than a galley. But these new tools are partly due to our knowledge of the nature of steel and oil and the expansion of gases ; and the new tools have so improved intercourse that such knowledge is growing every day immensely. The age of machines has been the great age of the growth of the sciences of nature. We do not paint such great pictures or write such great drama as men did in the Renaissance ; but we are transforming the whole of human understanding of the world we live in, and the transformation may very well result in a still greater art than any we have inherited.

It is not, however, the mere extent of our knowledge which is of importance here, but its international character. At the end of the eighteenth century it was still possible to speak of this or that

nation as leading in some science : thus, although France owed much to Newton and other Englishmen, science as a body of knowledge seemed to have its home among Frenchmen who co-operated in their Academies. But now it is no longer possible to divide the nations even in regard to particular instances of research. The first hint of a new piece of knowledge may come from one country and the next from another, until all over the world scientists are adding hint to hint and at last the new knowledge is stated in a complete form. The man or woman who makes the final conclusion has depended upon the communication between a long chain of investigators of many different nations. It is, of course, only a very feeble metaphor to speak of " the first step " or " the final conclusion " in any section of modern science, since the so-called first step always depends upon innumerable observations and calculations, most of them made in the Enlightenment, and the so-called " final " conclusion is always the starting-point of new knowledge. We may take as an example of the international character of modern science the knowledge, such as it now is, of radio-activity. This is the power of some kinds of what is usually called " matter " to send out rays which can pierce through bodies opaque to ordinary light.

In 1895 Röntgen, using a Crookes tube, noticed that rays of light from it had passed through a solid object.¹ He called these X-rays Becquerel, a French scientist, studying phosphor-

¹ As early as 1879 Sir William Crookes had discussed " Radiant matter."

science, noticed that some substances emitted rays which are independent of phosphorescence ; and in 1898 Madame Curie, a Polish lady in Paris, discovered what is now called radium. The publication of these discoveries set English physicists to look in the same direction ; and by scientists of several nations different rays were discovered, coming from the same substance, which had different powers of piercing otherwise opaque bodies. The work is quite international, each new step being at once known to the scientists of all nations.

Similarly, in the 1860's, Pasteur showed that ferments and putrefaction were due to small organisms, and later that inoculation with a limited dose of bacilli protected the body against virulent attacks of the same kind of bacillus. Koch, in the 1880's, discovered the tubercle bacillus and later the cholera bacillus. After the 1860's, Lister, following Pasteur's work, introduced anti-septic surgery ; and in our own day Sir Almroth Wright, Ehrlich and others have discovered new methods of defence against bacteria.

In such cases every advance is made by continuous co-operation between scientists of many different nations ; and every obstruction or delay in such intercourse is an obstacle to the conquest of disease, to the increase of power over natural forces and to civilisation itself.

Another indication of the international character of modern science is the use of identical formulæ and almost identical terms in all countries. There is, of course, nothing now corresponding to the Latin of the Middle Ages, which was a universal

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scientific language ; but scientists have devised a means of communication and an instrument of thought which is almost a new language. Arabic numerals are so commonly used by grocers and their customers that we hardly notice this universal instrument of mathematical thought ; but modern science has very largely depended for its progress upon the use in all nations of this method of stating relations of quantity.¹ Similarly algebraic and chemical formulæ are the same in all nations. But the more exact science becomes, the more completely its conclusions can be stated in mathematical forms, and therefore the more international its characteristics. Not even politicians have advocated the exclusion of all foreign mathematics or the adoption of a strictly national method of addition and subtraction.

More important for the future civilisation than the number of discoveries is the formation of a scientific attitude, which is now entering into the educational system of the chief nations. Science does not consist of a number of pieces of knowledge : it is not mere information as to the number of the stars or the names of beetles and moths. It is no longer, as it was in the early nineteenth century, a group of disconnected subjects—chemistry, electricity, “heat and light,” and the rest ; for now, although all its sections are infinitely more complex than they were then, all the sciences are definitely related by reference to certain fundamental realities of a mathematical character.

¹ Music also has its international language, its notation ; and an English performer does not have to wait for a translation of a German composer's work.

The scientific attitude implies the ability to perceive the general or uniting facts underlying the particular instances. This does not mean that we know everything that is to be known ; but it does mean that every new discovery or alleged truth must take its place in a system of known facts. Medicine and engineering, based upon biological and mathematical sciences, stand or fall together, and are absolutely the same in China, Japan, America, Germany, and France.

This international organisation of science, like international commerce, was the result of a gradual growth of intercourse during the first half of the century. The number of persons working at the sciences in each nation and the number of scientific periodicals, had much increased since the eighteenth century ; but in the 1830's there was still no adequate chemical laboratory in England, when Liebig had already shown what could be done by exact measurement.¹ Nevertheless, the news of discoveries spread from country to country. Scientists travelled to explore, as von Humboldt did in 1799 in South America and in 1829 in Central Asia, or to see what other scientists were doing abroad ; and by the middle of the century scientific conferences such as those of the British Association had begun.

The name of Darwin marks a transformation ; for his work illuminated the science of all nations, as Newton's had done. What any nation thinks of another is generally due to what has passed between them, as one may see from the story

¹ Liebig established his new laboratory at Giessen in 1826 and from it England, Scotland and America derived new ideas.

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Darwin himself tells in his *Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle*. He says that when the ship approached the coast of Chile an old lady, hearing that the English were coming, packed up her silver and fled to the mountains with her servants. English for her meant Drake and the buccaneers ; but the world means something else by English now, and that largely because of Darwin and such men as he.

In 1859 Darwin published his *Origin of Species*. The conclusions to which his observation had pointed, when he travelled in the Pacific in the *Beagle*, in the 'thirties, were thus made generally known. Controversies arose which appear to us now laughable ; for a prominent issue seems to have been the insult offered to us fine fellows in saying that our family was related to that of the monkeys. The more serious issue concerned the truth of the traditional belief in a sudden creation of living beings, because Evolution seemed to many to be the creed of atheists. No educated man, however, to-day has any doubt of the substantial correctness of Darwin's discovery. It implies the fundamental assumption of modern thought on the subject, namely, that all varieties of living beings are connected by descent.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the growth of scientific knowledge and its spread from one nation to another became still more rapid, as the dates given above in connection with radium and with bacteriology will have shown. The present state of science is clearly a transitory stage which has been reached by gradual accumulation of evidence ; and as the

process has not ceased, we may expect within the next few years increased knowledge and increased power over natural forces which may make our present knowledge and power seem quite trivial.

Commerce and science had become international in the nineteenth century, while the Governments of the different nations continued to act in the manner of the Renaissance or the Enlightenment ; but at last the Governments themselves at the close of the century began to act together for the common interest of their citizens. A great revolution in practice and in thought was accomplished when Governments began to assist one another in carrying letters and keeping off disease ; but no one saw what had happened, and even to-day the majority of men do not understand that it makes war between civilised nations ludicrous and futile.

A thousand years ago government meant the power by which neighbours managed to avoid using force and fraud against one another when either their interests or their tempers were opposed. Thus each feudal lord was a government in so far as he kept the peace. Then more and more people of the same race became neighbours, and government kept the peace over larger areas. At last, in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, the " modern " national Governments of France, England and Spain, and the weaker Governments for smaller groups of neighbours in Italy and Germany, attained power to prevent great numbers of men from killing or defrauding their neighbours. But each of these Governments seemed to be con-

cerned only with its own subjects. The Government of France, for example, was maintained by the taxation of Frenchmen, and therefore could not be imagined to be useful to Englishmen, although it was in fact very useful to the English that an organisation existed for preventing Frenchmen from injuring one another.

During the Renaissance a system of continuous communication between Governments had developed, which we now call diplomacy. Ambassadors and Secretaries concerned themselves with what was happening in foreign countries ; but the people of each country never thought of the people of another country as neighbours. Government, therefore, stopped at frontiers, and across frontiers there was at best a nodding acquaintance in diplomacy, at worst a snarling and growling and rattling of sabres. Of course merchants crossed frontiers and sold goods just as though foreigners were not devils ; and artists and scholars were actually helped across frontiers by Governments. But most people believed that, in spite of commerce, art and science, Governments were naturally opposed : and Thomas Hobbes, who owed his own ideas partly to his visits to France, declared that the only duty of Governments towards foreigners was to keep them out. So true is it that " we raise the dust and then complain we cannot see."

At last, however, in the nineteenth century, while the *theory* was still believed that each Government was absolute and independent of every other, in *practice* those who carried on one Government found that they could not do what they wanted

to do unless they agreed to common rules with those who carried on other Governments. Thus the goods of one country could not be sold in another unless the goods of that other could be bought in the first. Therefore commercial treaties were made for the mutual advantage of two or more countries ; and after much hesitation, representatives of Governments met at conferences to consider the common interests of many peoples, just as scientists and commercial men had met. Eventually the Governments agreed to set up permanent offices to carry on work that no one Government could do alone ; and thus the foundations were dug into which the present League of Nations was eventually to be built.

The Universal Postal Union is the most important of all the older organisations of intercourse maintained by Governments. It was founded in 1874. Before that date a letter going abroad and crossing any foreign territory might cost many different amounts, in accordance with the route followed, and it was very difficult for the sender to find out what these amounts were. For example, a letter from the United States to Australia might cost either 5 cents, or 33, or 45, or 60, or 1 dollar and 2 cents per half-ounce. This was a nuisance and an obstacle to trade. So after much opposition it was arranged that all Governments should carry letters for the citizens of other Governments at an agreed charge. Everyone found the new system admirable, except the Persians, who complained that great numbers of Bibles were sent by the British and Americans, and that they were very expensive to carry on

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camels ; so Persia was allowed a special fee on the ground that Persians do not reciprocate by sending equal numbers of Korans to England and America. All over the world letters were carried under an international agreement ; and so any village postman delivering a letter with a foreign stamp was acting as an international official, representing a new and wonderful development in the intercourse of peoples and the organisation of peace.

Another example of the same kind of joint action by Governments is the International Office of Public Health, which was established in Paris in 1907. At the end of Chapter II it was shown that epidemics might endanger civilisation ; and the increased speed and quantity of shipping in the nineteenth century might easily have caused an increase of epidemics in spite of our greater knowledge of medicine. There were epidemics of cholera in Europe in 1830, 1848, 1851, 1865, 1884, and 1892. They came from the East. Quarantine, or keeping ships, goods and passengers isolated if they had come from suspected ports, was found inadequate ; and at last an international commission was set up in 1903 at Suez to act as a barrier there and protect Europe and America. At the same time it was agreed that Governments should assist one another by issuing information as to any epidemic diseases in their territories. Thus government was no longer a method for keeping foreigners at arm's length across frontiers, but part of a world-system for promoting civilised life in all countries.

There were in 1914 more than twenty offices

or organisations set up by Governments for doing international work for the common good of the citizens of many states. This was a revolution ; but very few people knew the facts and still fewer thought about them.

CHAPTER VI

BEFORE THE GREAT WAR

WE have seen that a new organisation of intercourse grew up during the nineteenth century ; and now a description must be given to show how the system worked. The changes had been rapid since the eighteenth century, but by the beginning of the twentieth century the new methods of intercourse had become so common that everyone regarded them as natural and inevitable. That is to say, we had reached a new system as stable as that of the Middle Ages had been during three hundred years. Let us review, then, the sort of things that used to happen every year before the war. Some of them still happen, and in the main the system has survived the war.

In the spring of 1914 the peaceful occupations of men all over the world were very carefully organised. The peoples of North America sent every year great quantities of corn to England, Germany and other parts of Europe. The peoples of the old Russian Empire also sent corn into Europe, while England and Europe used to send to America and to Russia in exchange clothes and engines and tools. Again, America sent to Northern France, Germany and England the raw

cotton which vast numbers of workers spun and wove for clothing. Some of this clothing was worn in Europe and some was sold to Chinese and Africans.

Meat came to Europe in ships, with special fittings for keeping it frozen, from Argentine and New Zealand. The oil for motors came in other kinds of ships, specially made to act as tanks, from North America and Burmah and Persia. From the Dutch East Indies came copra (dried cocoa-nut fibre), from which was made margarine ; and from tropical Africa came palm kernels, which provided oil either for margarine or for soap. But nearly all these products had to be worked up in the great city areas of Europe and America ; and so from foreign lands men obtained not merely their food, clothing and luxuries, but also the means of earning their livelihood.

Besides requiring the bare necessities of food and clothing, such as meat and corn, cotton and wool, men in Europe and America became accustomed to luxuries such as tea and coffee and tobacco, which had to be brought from warm countries. The annual trade in these goods could not have been borne in a hundred years by the ships and pack-horses and carts of the eighteenth century. It was the railway and the steamship which alone made them available. But men had become so accustomed to tea and tobacco that they never wondered where they came from or whose labour had made the supply possible. They were using every day many more foreign goods than their forefathers, and were thus much

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more dependent upon foreigners ; but the majority still thought of foreigners—when they thought of them at all—in the same primitive way as their forefathers had done. The whole situation had changed ; but the minds of most men remained the same.

The exchange of goods was so frequent and elaborate that one can hardly expect to make a simple picture of it all. But there were some general distinctions and connections between peoples which may be noted. For example, great numbers of the people of England, Scotland, Germany, and parts of France and Italy were employed in the manufacture of articles for sale ; while the material they used came from people of an entirely different kind in the southern United States and Africa. Thus there came to be a sort of contrast between “ manufacturing ” countries and “ raw material ” countries ; and the Governments of the “ manufacturing ” countries aimed at securing power over “ raw material ” countries. There was, therefore, a certain rivalry between the great manufacturing nations in the more primitive parts of the world, although they traded with one another at home. More and more the contact of Europe with Asia and Africa tended to become a subordination of Africa and Asia to one or other European nation. Europe gave government, science and manufactured articles, and received what was regarded as less important—raw materials.

The voyages of the steamers were a very important part of this organisation of peace. There are two kinds of ocean-going steamers—the liners

and the so-called "tramps." Liners are ships which go on regular voyages on fixed dates to the same set of ports ; "tramps" are ships, generally smaller and slower, which go anywhere and at any time.

The liner routes across the Atlantic ran chiefly from Liverpool, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Genoa, and le Havre or Cherbourg to New York. There are still regular "roads" across the Atlantic, the ships going west following one course and the ships going east following another some hundred miles away. The lines were the Cunard, the Hamburg-America, the White Star, North German Lloyd, the French Line, and the Italian Line. Most of the trade was served by the British and the Germans, who had entered into an agreement about it ; and since the war the situation has been the same, except that the Germans have not recovered their former position. All these ships were of course instruments of international intercourse, serving all the nations of the world ; and the different national flags were the different symbols of those who served the public.

There were lines running to South America from Europe, which were also chiefly British and German—for example, the Booth Line, the Royal Mail and the Kosmos Line. The ships brought to Europe wheat and frozen beef from Argentine, coffee and rubber from Brazil ; and took to South America many manufactured articles, the most important of which were electrical appliances from Germany.

There were British and German lines carrying goods and passengers from Europe to the western

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and eastern coasts of Africa and to South Africa. By this means Europe was supplied from the tropics with oil seeds and rubber, and from South Africa with gold and diamonds ; and Europe sent in exchange cotton goods for the negroes and motor-cars and engineering appliances for the whites.

The ships trading on the east coast of Africa, of course, passed through the Suez Canal, and therefore were closely connected with the ships going farther—to India and Australia. Of these the greatest line was the British line known as the P. and O. (Peninsula and Oriental). This line had more than one hundred ships trading in the Far East. But there was also the great French line, the Messageries Maritimes, carrying goods and passengers between Marseilles and the French dependencies in Asia, Cochin China and Assam. All these ships used the Suez Canal, which was worked under a French and English company, in which the British Government held a great number of shares. The canal has been the means of an immense advance in the peaceful relations between Europe and the Far East ; for communication has thus become much more rapid and frequent than it could ever have been if we had been restricted to the route round the Cape of Good Hope.

With the opening of the Suez Canal the peoples of Egypt entered into the current of progress towards peace. The ships trading to the East passed that way, and the English obtained control of the administration of Egypt. Confusion and misgovernment was stopped, and the Nile Valley,

which had barely supported its own population by growing wheat, now began to supply Europe with raw cotton. English methods were often high-handed, and therefore there was discontent among young intellectuals in Egypt as well as jealousy in France ; but most people believed that the English were honest and capable.

The description so far has perhaps seemed to imply that all the ocean trade went to and from Europe, and that is true enough of the middle years of the nineteenth century ; but by 1914 American and Japanese ships had joined the great ocean services. There were, of course, some British lines, such as the Prince Line, trading from South to North America, which had hardly any contact with Europe ; but besides these, there were the New York lines, the Canadian Pacific steamers and the great Japanese lines, of which the chief was the Nippon Yusen Kaisha.¹ The Japanese Government assisted the Japanese steamship owners even more than the French Government assisted theirs ; and so the Japanese entered the service of peaceful contact between the peoples. Their ships traded from Kobe and Yokohama westward to London and Hamburg, and eastward to San Francisco and Valparaiso.

The other nations which assisted in the world service of ocean shipping were the Dutch, the Norwegians, the Danes and the Swedes. The Dutch ran lines across the Atlantic, and also to the East to keep connection with their dependencies, Java, Sumatra and Celebes. The Scan-

¹ These words mean " Japanese Shipping Company."

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Scandinavian nations ran a few lines all over the world ; but their chief services were by means of what we call " tramp " tonnage. Indeed the international service performed by Scandinavian merchant ships, without the assistance of a great navy, is an outstanding instance of abilities which were at first destructive, being so transformed as to benefit all nations ; for Scandinavian seafarers are the descendants of the northmen who once harried civilisation. All nations now owe to the modern northmen the intercourse which depends upon their daring and endurance. The Viking spirit is not less worthy of historical record now that it is in the service of peace.

Tramp steamers are by no means broken-down and unkempt specimens of shipping as their English nickname seems to imply. Many of them are large and as fast as most liners, although, of course, some are old and slow. These are the ships of which Masfield was thinking when he wrote—

Dirty British coaster with a salt-caked smoke stack,
Butting through the Channel in the mad March days,
With a cargo of Tyne coal,
Road-rails, pig-lead,
Firewood, iron-ware, and cheap tin trays.

The poet contrasts this with the ships of those old days " which poets say were golden " ; but " I rather think they laid the gilding on themselves . . . , " as Calverley said of history according to the poets. Masfield, however, may be right in saying that the ancient world was more beautiful.

Quinquereme of Nineveh from distant Ophir,
Rowing home to haven in sunny Palestine.
With a cargo of ivory,
And apes and peacocks,
Sandalwood, cedarwood, and sweet white wine.

The contrast might have been to the advantage of the modern world, if the ancient galley were compared not with the small tramp steamer, but with the great liner of forty thousand tons, steaming at twenty-five knots, with a thousand passengers and cargo worth a million pounds. But even the oldest tramp steamer is carrying on the great tradition of the first bold sailors, who "with stout heart and a breast-plate of triple brass" ventured upon the ocean.

The tramp steamer is distinguished from the liner because her owners send her on "charter" to any ports where cargo has to be taken. The owners of the cargo are generally the charterers, and they pay for the use of the vessel between the ports from which and to which she goes. Thus a tramp steamer may leave London for Port Said with steel-rails and motors, unload these there and take in a cargo of cotton for Bombay: from Bombay she may go, on a new charter, with rice or Indian cotton manufactures to Shanghai; from there with coal to Kobe and thence with a mixed cargo to San Francisco. A new charter may then send her with dried fruit down the coast to Valparaiso, and so round South America and back perhaps almost empty, high in the water, and rolling as if she were tired, to London again. She may have been away two or three years.

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Thus ocean shipping provided a new basis for intercourse among all the peoples of the world. But there was also an elaborate organisation of finance. The banks of the chief industrial nations were closely related ; and in the countries not yet industrialised, such as South America, there were hundreds of " branches " of the banks of the great financial centres, London, Paris, Berlin and Frankfurt, Amsterdam and New York. These branches were like the banks of the Lombards in mediæval London, or the " factories " of the eighteenth century in the East. Through them the exchange took place of goods, the value of which would be reckoned differently in different countries. In the commerce of nations there were three chief units of currency or money value—the pound sterling, the dollar of the United States and the " Mexican " dollar.

All the chief cities of the world were united by telegraphy, and news of any disaster or any discovery in any place would thus pass at once to the rest of the world. News was important, because any change might immediately or eventually effect the food supply of distant countries or the employment of millions. The Universal Postal Union every year arranged between all the chief Governments the amount due to them for carrying the letters of foreigners. The mail service all over the world had become so efficient that most men did not recognise what an elaborate organisation was involved in carrying a letter which was dropped through a slit in a pillar-box in an English village, through five or six foreign countries, to a house in a Japanese village.

The great and continuous intercourse between all peoples, going on for about fifty years and always improving up to 1914, led to much improvement in the arts and sciences. There was no great outburst of genius in art such as we have seen in Italy in the Renaissance ; but, taking the world as a whole, many creditable examples of good architecture, good painting and sculpture and good music were to be found, and as education increased many more people could avail themselves of what art there was. Great musical performers used to sing and play in many different countries ; and exhibitions of foreign painting and sculpture were common in all the great cities. The United States of America produced architecture of the finest quality ; and although this had not yet begun to influence foreign nations, it was an indication that the newer countries would soon more than repay their debt to the older by contributing something of their own to civilisation.

An outstanding fact in the history of recent intercourse is the discovery of Chinese art by the West. The contact with China has been shown in earlier chapters to have had a civilising effect upon Europe ; but the best Chinese art known before 1900 was that of the fourteenth century. Recent travel, however, has revealed the art of the Sung and T'ang periods. In the tombs of China the most perfect specimens of early pottery have been discovered, and in temples or in connection with them such magnificent figures as that of the Lohan in the British Museum (about 900 A.D.), and such great paintings as that called

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the "Earthly Paradise" (about 1060 A.D.). In addition, recent scholarship has revealed the ancient Chinese poetry. Chinese influence, therefore, may well prove to be more important for Western art than the interchange between the post-impressionists and futurists of various Western nations.

In science rapid progress was being made. For some years before 1914, there were many annual international scientific congresses, at which men of science of all nations used to discuss recent discoveries and to consider the direction of future experiments with a view to further discovery. Thus, for example, they would arrange that the observation of an eclipse should take place from different suitable spots on the earth's surface, and each station was taken by astronomers of some particular nation, in order that they might compare their observations and put them together into one comprehensive report. This was an immense advance in the methods of obtaining knowledge since the seventeenth century, when Halley was sent alone to sit under the clouds of St. Helena, to see what he could of the stars of the southern hemisphere. In the same way a new idea in medicine would be tried by the scientists of different nations and their results compared. The different sciences had advanced so rapidly, owing to intercourse between specialists all over the world, that a physicist, for example, of one nation would be more easily understood by physicists of other nations than he would be by fellow-countrymen who were pursuing some other science.

Even Governments, which from the earliest times had been supposed to be the natural foes of other Governments, had become accustomed to annual conferences of the official representatives of many nations, not to discuss the making of war, but to promote educational methods, preventive medicine and commercial law. Thus, after the *Titanic* had struck an iceberg and gone down with the loss of hundreds of lives, an international conference met in 1913 and agreed to the proportion of boats which all ships should carry; and all the Governments promised to enforce the agreement among their own shipowners. The Governments had, indeed, discovered that they not only could but must act together if each was to succeed in promoting the health, education and safety of its own citizens.

All this coming and going—the intercourse of artists and scientists of all nations, the exchange of food and clothing, machines and luxuries—was the organised peace of the peoples. It made famine and plague less frequent and terrible than they had been in earlier ages. And with the trade of the world went an interchange of ideas, which were much more valuable and important than food and clothing. Science was carried into far parts. Engineering built bridges, dug mines, made harbours and roads; medicine prevented cholera and leprosy, stopped epidemics and diminished pain among all peoples. But in spite of all these advances the organisation of peace still left great distress in the leading countries of the world. Thousands of people in the great city areas—New York, Chicago, Berlin,

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Paris, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Tokyo, London, and Glasgow—had little or no share in the increased wealth and power over nature which the nineteenth century had attained. Of course these thousands were in some ways better off than their ancestors in the Middle Ages; for they shared in the greater cleanliness of towns and the freer relationships of men. But they had too little food and clothing and house-room. Twenty out of every hundred inhabitants in the best organised cities of the world were starving to death. The other eighty either lived apart from these twenty and forgot their very existence, or, realising it, were irritated, because most people felt that nobody was to blame and nobody seemed to be able to suggest any easy way of making things better. Again, of the eighty per cent. in the great cities who had *enough* to eat and to wear, about sixty per cent. had *so little* that they had nothing to spare if illness came.

History was written and science advanced by a few out of the twenty per cent. who had spare food, clothing, house-room, and leisure; and, since every road which leads to "us" seems to be the road of progress, all the best books expressed satisfaction at what had been done. This was not heartlessness; still less was it cruelty. It was quite true that an immense progress had taken place, for of course all the stories about the happiness of the Middle Ages or of the times before the present financial system became dominant, are false. In some ways former times were better than ours—for example, in their painting and architecture; but the majority of men, in spite

of much distress, are better off to-day. The trouble is that real progress has left many evils not yet overcome ; and historians have perhaps tended to under-rate the importance of these evils because no one seems to have any clear practical method of destroying them. All men naturally tend to turn away their eyes from disagreeable facts for which no remedy is available. We believe that a remedy for poverty and starvation can be found, but it is not yet found ; and therefore such poverty has not been given a great place in descriptions of the world as it is.

The other great defect in the organisation of peace could be seen in the world's armies and navies. It was believed that all these were necessary for the maintenance of peace, as it once had been believed that every man with anything to lose had to carry arms in order to protect himself ; and of course this belief was not altogether mistaken. No means had been discovered by which the great organised peoples could arrange for the growth of the trade of each or the changes in the relationship of one to the other, due either to new ambitions, new standards of life, or new feelings of friendship or rivalry. As a man grows older without being able to help it, and in the process usually changes his ideas, his desires and his friends, so any group of men such as a nation changes. But men have not yet discovered how to organise the relationships of changing nations, and so they keep armies and navies.

A knowledge of international affairs was more needed than brotherly love or good will ; for the

good will which existed was ineffectual because nobody knew what to do in order to give to every nation its due and to make them all co-operate in art, science and the improvement of material resources. We have a fairly good knowledge of nature, in physics, chemistry and biology ; but our knowledge of man, and particularly of ourselves, is childish. For example, each nation studies what is called history ; but, instead of being a candid account of the growth of civilised life, history is generally a traditional collection of absurd assumptions and blind prejudices, with many unnoticed omissions. The children of every nation are taught that their own country is the most important, and that its chief contacts with foreigners have been battles in which their own nation is always victorious. Disagreeable facts, such as defeats or the terrible results of victory—death, maiming, famine, and disease, or the incompetence of our “ great ” men or the barbarism of our ancestors and the resulting ignorance of their descendants—these are omitted from the record. The result can hardly be a knowledge of facts, for the traditional history is more like a fairy tale than like a science. Imagine a chemistry which said that oxygen was a noble element, but hydrogen was despicable, that the two were always meeting and that it was “ progress ” when oxygen won a victory over hydrogen. Such a chemistry would be as scientific as the traditional history. But it was a fact that the different nations really believed this tradition and—to put it from “ our ” point of view—so long as foreigners believed that they could really obtain an advantage by fighting

us, we were compelled to keep up an armed force : to put it from the point of view of foreigners—so long as “ we ” really believed we were God’s own people, who always won in battles, foreigners were compelled to keep up their armed forces.

So the preparation for future war became more and more expensive and elaborate. A French historian said : “ The nations are reducing themselves to poverty, in order to have the power to destroy one another ” ; and an English scholar wrote fourteen years before the Great War : “ The peoples of Europe fling themselves like hungry beasts of prey on every yet unexploited quarter of the globe. Hitherto they have confined their acts of spoliation to those whom they regard as outside their own pale. But always, while they divide the spoil, they watch one another with a jealous eye ; and sooner or later, when there is nothing left to divide, they will fall upon one another. That is the real meaning of your armaments ; you must devour or be devoured. And it is precisely those trade relations which it was thought would knit you in the bonds of peace, which, by making every one of you cut-throat rivals of the rest, have brought you within reasonable distance of a general war of extermination.”

CHAPTER VII

SINCE THE GREAT WAR

THE history of peace is not a record of unbroken progress. Often a setback has occurred ; and sometimes when we seem to be on the brink of a great advance, our schemes collapse and our way of life has to be brought back to simpler, uncivilised methods.

So it was in the Great War of 1914-1918. A fuller explanation and description of this has been given elsewhere. We may view it here with the eyes of a man who is not interested in the comparative power of nations, but in the advance of knowledge and art and the increase in the happiness of men. To such a man the Great War would appear somewhat in this way. In the interior of Asia and Africa a few peoples continued to drive their flocks or to rob one another on the old plan, as if " the war to end war " were not being fought ; but in Europe the system described in the last chapter, which had been so much improved during the past century, was steadily being reduced to ruin for four years. It was as if an elaborate machine, much too vast and complicated for men to control, was being smashed by lunatics, some of whom had hammers and others just enough

sense to pull the wheels about or make them work backwards. But since most people were suffering from the same madness, and no one seemed to have the slightest idea how to stop it, few noticed that it was lunacy. If every man believed that he was Napoleon, and every woman that she was Queen Elizabeth, there might be some confusion ; but nobody would think that he himself and all his fellows were mad.

The old system of peace, however, was not altogether destroyed. A knowledge of science and the practice of the arts continued, although these were gradually diminishing. Methods of manufacture were developed, and some experiments were made in social and economic organisation, although houses and clothing and food were becoming more and more difficult to obtain. Then at last, on November 11, 1918, an Armistice was agreed to and the nations at war prepared for a peace conference. At Paris the victors discussed for many months what they were to do with the result of their victory ; and eventually the beaten nations were compelled to sign treaties of peace, which were in some ways good and in some ways bad.

One of the greatest gains which the Peace Conference has left is the League of Nations. This is an organisation for the maintenance and development of peace, and therefore belongs to the very centre of the stage in the drama of which we have been watching the acts in this history. Now the League of Nations steps forward to play its part : what is it going to do ?

Let us see first how it came into existence,

and what sort of an organisation it now has. It is probably common knowledge that at various crises in history the distress due to war led a few enlightened men to suggest that the Governments of Europe should form a League to avoid war. But all these plans had produced nothing when the Great War broke out. During the war, however, the utility of joint action was proved, for the Allies found that their Governments could buy food and munitions more cheaply if they had one buying organisation for all of them and afterwards divided what was bought, according to the need of the different nations. Before this joint buying had begun, England would be trying to buy in America the same food that France and Italy were also trying to buy ; and the seller could therefore force the price up by offering it to the highest bidder. That stopped as soon as there was only one buyer for all the Allies, and their joint action was carried out by Councils of Ministers of the different Governments, assisted by an international secretariat.

President Wilson had induced the Allied Governments before the Armistice to accept the idea of a League to avoid war ; but he had come over to the Peace Conference without any definite plan for the structure of such a League. The British, therefore, produced a scheme which was very largely based upon the practical experience of the joint organisations used by the Allies during the war ; and on this scheme the final agreement was based which founded the League of Nations.

The League is an organisation whose members are about fifty Governments, not including in

1923 the United States or Germany or Russia, but including all the other chief Governments, as well as the Governments of the British Dominions and India. Among the fifty or more Governments, however, the majority have very little influence on the organisation of world peace.

All the members of the League send representatives to an Annual Assembly at Geneva, where they discuss general questions of interest to all nations ; but the Assembly has no power to do anything more than suggest action or make criticism public. Such power as is allowed to the League by the chief Governments is in the hands of the Council, which is a committee of eight persons representing the chief Governments and a few of the smaller Governments. This Council meets every few months, and decides on action to be taken in the name of the League or receives reports of action already taken. The League is responsible for the administration of the Free City of Dantzic and the Saar Valley ; and it is supposed to supervise the government of "mandated " territories, the meaning of which will be explained later. Besides this, the League has successfully undertaken several tasks in the organisation of peace. For example, it has restored to their homes about 300,000 prisoners of war who were being kept by the Governments lately at war ; it has checked the epidemic of typhus in Poland, which might easily have spread to the rest of the world ; and it has restored the financial position of the Austrian Government.

A special section, the International Labour Organisation of the League, deals with inter-

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national "labour" matters. The organisation consists of a General Conference of the members of the League, containing representatives not only of Governments, but also of employers and workers of the different nations, and a Governing Body, similar to and independent of the Council of the League, also including the three kinds of representatives. The General Conference discusses and votes on Conventions or agreements between the Governments for the improvement of "labour" conditions, such as the protection of women and children workers in industry, the shortening of the hours of labour, and so on.

The League itself and its Labour Organisation carry out their tasks through two secretariats, with offices in Geneva. The officials are of many different nations; but they all work together at the common expense of the members of the League and for the common good of all nations. This, then, is a very striking advance in the organisation of peace.

In connection with the League is the Mandatory system, which is an arrangement whereby the colonies and dependencies of Germany and Turkey, taken by the Allied Governments during the war, are administered by some of the victorious Governments not as "possessions" but under the supervision of the League. It must be noted that the League did not and does not confer mandates or transfer territory. This was done by the Governments which now actually hold the territories. The conferring of mandates was, therefore, rather like making a present to oneself; but the theory was that these territories were not

gains but "responsibilities." In any case, it is a step forward in the organisation of peace that powerful Governments should announce their intention of administering the territories of undeveloped peoples, for the good of those peoples and to the common advantage of all nations, rather than as "preserves" for themselves. The Council of the League is responsible for seeing that these good intentions are carried out ; and we must wait for many years before we can tell whether a real advance has been made or the mandatory system is a mere cover for old methods.

The work of the League is the organisation of peace. It has already achieved something, but it has not been able to attack directly the growth of armaments and the other tendencies towards future war. In some ways the League itself could be improved ; but it is undoubtedly one of the greatest steps forward in the history of peace, and, with all its defects, it could even now be used to increase peace and diminish wars, if the peoples of the world were really determined that it should be so used.

Since the war some advance in peace has been made through the disappearance of three great Empires, two of which at least, the Austrian and Russian, were not only oppressive to small nations, but hopelessly incompetent. Incompetence, however, has not altogether disappeared among the nations which have acquired liberty. The most successful in government and in the arts has been Czechoslovakia, a republic based upon the old kingdom of Bohemia. Some other new Governments, such as those of Poland, Finland

and Hungary, seem to be advances towards future war rather than towards the organisation of peace. Many of the new states are troubled with the old diseases—hatred and fear of neighbours—which have been proved in history to be the chief obstacles to peace. But these passions in their present strength may be the results of war ; and they may die down if actual war can be avoided for a few years.

A new atlas showing the frontiers of states according to the Peace Treaties will show the changes which have been made, some of which are good and some bad. What we have to think of here is whether any particular change has brought about more friendliness or more enmity between the peoples on either side of the frontier ; for feelings are always liable to be transformed, and the next step in the history of peace depends upon how the changes of government are used.

Apart from the results of the Peace Treaties, the development of peace since the Great War has depended upon a revival of the interchange of goods and ideas described in the last chapter. The ocean shipping described above has again established its international services. The Germans have lost most of their merchant ships ; but the great British lines have much increased the number of their ships, the people of the United States have increased theirs and the Japanese have made new advances. The oceans of the world which, between 1914 and 1918, were full of perils, and were used chiefly to the advantage of the Allies and only by their permission, are now open again as the peace road for all nations.

Food and raw materials are again coming to Europe, and the manufactures of Europe are again going out to develop South America, Asia Africa, and the British Dominions.

The railways are running again across frontiers ; and the international expresses to the East, across Europe, to Moscow, and even across Siberia are again available. Roads and bridges destroyed during the war are being repaired.

Schools and universities are open again ; and increasing numbers are taking advantage of them in every land. The old communication between teachers and scientists of every nation has been re-established, in spite of some obstacles to civilisation placed in the way of contact between nations by a few primitive and narrow-minded professors. All this, of course, is a mere revival of what already existed in 1914 ; but we have also made new advances since the war.

In knowledge of facts rapid advances have been made even in a few years. History has almost escaped from the misrepresentations incidental to a war between highly developed nations ; and popular interest in past civilisations has increased through the discovery of a royal tomb of about 1300 B.C. in Egypt and through other excavations.

The physical sciences have led to the discovery of new cures for disease and new methods of treatment. Great advances have been made, owing to the experience of "shell-shock," in the treatment of madness and of other diseases or abnormalities of the mind. A sign of this is the determination to avoid the name of "lunatic asylum" and

instead to speak of "mental hospitals." Skill in the art of preventing or of curing disease has made much progress ; but even greater advances are to be found in the knowledge which scientific research has produced.

' In the fine arts, drama, music, and painting, as well as architecture, it is more difficult to observe advances over a short period of time : for it is useless simply to count the number of pictures or buildings, since only the beautiful count and many of those which are new are far from beautiful. But there has been a very great increase of activity in all the arts since the war in most countries. The finest result of art and science, as we have shown above, is the character and conduct of man, not the practical applications of science which produce improved machinery and more power over nature. But these practical applications must increase, if men are to live beautifully and think freely.

Let us notice, then, the mechanical advances made since the war. Wireless telegraphy and telephony have been much improved. Concerts, operas and speeches occurring, for example, in Paris can be heard in London, Madrid, Rome, and Christiania. The greatest songs and operas can thus be heard at once in many countries ; and, of course, instrumental music is the same for all Europeans. A new community is formed by the listeners, who may be separated by thousands of miles from the artist and their fellow-listeners. In the summer of 1923 camels were used to carry a wireless installation to the interior of China, and listeners there heard the

news from Berlin and London. Thus the farthest and most isolated parts of the earth are being brought into contact. Even if peace does not continue, the conditions are obviously becoming more favourable to it.

Aircraft during the war, owing to improvements, became more and more destructive. The bombing of towns was much more effectual in 1918 than it had been in 1914. This was like smashing the machinery of civilisation more completely ; but the increased power to smash things may be useful, when otherwise applied. Since the war many aircraft lines have been established, and there are now regular air routes between London and Paris, the Hague and Berlin, Brussels and Prague, Barcelona and Paris, Cairo and Baghdad, and in various parts of the United States. One may now find in the morning paper the times for posting letters by air mail. International agreements govern the routes taken and the landing of aeroplanes in different countries. There are, indeed, still many accidents, as there were in the early days of railway travelling ; but every day brings improvements in methods of flying. Goods cannot yet be carried by air ; but although in pre-scientific days it took thousands of years to discover how to carry goods on the sea, applied science may soon make it possible to use the air for all kinds of commerce.

Since the war there has been a great increase of motor traffic. The roads are used for the carriage of goods as well as of passengers ; and in some countries, where the railway rolling-stock or permanent way has deteriorated, motor traffic

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has supplied the deficiency. In the United States a very large proportion of the population have their own motor-cars, and in all countries the many kinds of small, cheap cars, of vans and of large cars for thirty or forty passengers tend to bring the villages into touch with the towns, and the inhabitants of different parts of a country into communication.

All this is gain. It is becoming more obvious to everyone that no nation can live isolated, and that all may derive benefit from an organisation which keeps the whole world at peace. The future, however, is not at all certain. Against the gains of the past few years we must balance the confusion, pain and distress of the war, which still continue in many countries five years after the Armistice. Millions of children in Central and Eastern Europe are without enough food or clothing, and their parents have no means of buying what they need ; thousands have died of starvation since the Peace Treaties were signed. Thousands more in Turkey, Greece and Asia Minor are orphans because their parents were murdered in the course of the barbarous struggle between Turks and Greeks which lasted till 1922.

Many men and women in the same parts of Europe and Asia are starving and ill-clothed ; and they do not know from day to day what new violence may not be attempted by the ambitious or the despairing. To the ancient evil of poverty is added the new evil of confusion in countries where, before the war, peace had been established ; but the Governments of happier lands and the less distressed peoples seem to be either

unwilling to help their neighbours or unable to think of any way of doing so.

To this distress in some lands we must add the burden in others which has been caused by an immense increase of armed force ; for there are millions more men under arms to-day than there were before the Great War. The German Navy, indeed, is gone ; but the nations are now building warships in case they might have to defend themselves against their late allies. By concentrated study during the five years of peace aircraft has become much more efficient in bomb-throwing, and the chief Governments are building war aeroplanes rapidly. An effort was made at the Washington Conference in 1921 to reach an agreement between the chief Governments to restrict the future building of warships, and this agreement has been partially successful. It is a step along the road to peace, or at any rate an attempt to block the much wider road to war. But this question of armaments should not be imagined to be the concern of Governments only ; for we ordinary folk have to bear the burden of the incompetence which has led to past wars and is now preparing for future wars. Five years after the Armistice of the war which was to "end war" every person in Great Britain who pays a shilling in taxes is paying ninepence of that shilling for past and future wars, and only threepence for the whole of the peace services of law, education, health, and central administration. If he has to earn that shilling, three-quarters of his effort is expended on war and only one quarter on the advancement of peace.

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Poverty and war, the two great obstacles to the development of peace, still remain ; and they remain for the same reason—our ignorance of the nature of other men and of ourselves. We really do not know how to abolish either poverty or armaments or the causes of such evils ; and we can only discover the way, as we have discovered how to fight disease, by study and the spread of knowledge. But if we do not discover this in time, another collapse is quite certain to occur ; for, as it has been well said, the history of peace must now be “ a race between catastrophe and education.”

CHAPTER VIII

T O - M O R R O W

EVENTS like those recorded in history have not ceased to occur, nor will they cease to-morrow or the day after. It would be foolish, therefore, to close our history with the events of yesterday or to-day ; for that is precisely the point at which we ourselves come on to the stage. If we are wise we have taken our cue, and having learnt our part, begin to play it : but even if we are fools, we have to go on to the stage and make the best of it. In this play it is not possible to remain in the wings. The trouble is that when we read about mediæval students or merchants, Renaissance travellers and the workers in the new industry of a hundred years ago, we may not understand that they were men and women like ourselves, and that we too, in another hundred years, will be as " historical " as they are now.

The historian cannot tell how living actors will play their parts. They may fail utterly. But the historian can make out, at least dimly, what parts ought to be played ; and that must be our subject in this last chapter. The places for new actors are clear enough, if we observe what the stage looks like to-day. The peaceful intercourse of men of many lands and many races which now

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makes civilised life possible is still defective, because men have not yet overcome the evils they have inherited or those which have grown partly out of the very advances they have made.

'If we have become accustomed to living in the great city areas of manufacturing countries, with electric light, baths, shops full of various eatables and clothing, with perhaps a library and a school round the corner, we may think that the elaborate organisation on which this sort of life depends is universal. Most of the readers of this book will be living in modern city areas; but they should not forget that they are not like the majority of men, women and children in the world to-day. Millions in China, and scattered tribes in Kurdistan or Arabia or Central Africa are still living as our forefathers did in the Dark and the Middle Ages, quite out of touch with our machines or our thoughts and customs. Many more in South America or India, who send us food-stuffs and material for clothing, are only superficially connected with our manner of life. In all parts of the world many customs survive among the less educated from a much earlier stage in civilisation. For example, when in July 1923 Mount Etna was in eruption, the people of Linguaglossa, fearing that the lava would enter their houses, took the crozier of St. Egidius from their parish church and carried it in procession towards the lava, believing that this would stop its flow. In the same month a British Court of Justice in Rhodesia tried some natives for murder because they killed a chief's son in order

to bring rain during a drought. In India a young Indian doctor, who had been trained in the medical schools of London, seeing his wife suddenly taken ill with cholera, in his excitement put science aside and smeared himself all over with clay and mud. These interesting ways of dealing with natural forces have been proved conclusively to be futile, but they still continue.

Even in the great city areas, indeed, where people call themselves civilised, the hope of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment has not been realised. We have electric light, aeroplanes and motors, which are better tools than the eighteenth century could have imagined ; but we have not acquired that delicacy and skill in the use of them which the men of the Enlightenment called civilisation. The Middle Ages and the Renaissance too called a man civilised not because of the power he possessed, but because of the use he made of it. That is to say, all civilised ages have agreed that taste and skill, and not wealth and power, make a man civilised ; but there is little of either in the great city areas.

If anyone prefers a rough piece of woodwork to a fine piece of flowered silk, on the ground that the former was made by his grandmother and the latter by a Chinaman, there is nothing to be done for him, unless perhaps he can still be educated ; but generally such people are beyond the reach of reason. In the same way, if anyone prefers to suffer pain and to die under the care of his local " wise " man, rather than recover health by the use of foreign knowledge, there is nothing to be done. When the doctors from the United

States had vaccinated the people of the Philippines, and the 'annual death-roll from small-pox had almost disappeared, the Americans withdrew and left vaccine with native doctors. These threw away the vaccine and sent in false accounts to show that they had used it ; but the small-pox immediately reappeared and thousands died. Hostility to foreigners still continues, even in Europe, to prevent the growth or use of science and art, and thus depress the lives of thousands who might otherwise live more happily.

All those obstacles to peaceful intercourse between nations, which are not due to mere ignorance, are concentrated in a devotion to one's own country, which is called patriotism. This still induces many people to dislike and oppose foreigners because they do not wish the object of their love—and their own country—to be changed by foreign influence.

But in most civilised countries it is much too late to exclude such influence : music, painting, architecture, literature, and science, as well as the common materials of food and clothing, are what they now are because of foreign influences, and there is no uncontaminated national character as there is no civilised race which is not hybrid. The efforts to exclude aliens ignore the past. A Bill for restricting the entry of aliens into Great Britain was being debated in the House of Commons on November 18, 1919 ; and in opposition to it, Captain Wedgwood Benn said : " Section six forbids any alien to be employed in the public service. That would have excluded from England, Holbein, Vandyck, Handel, and Sir Peter

Lely. Lely, indeed, would have been caught under two sections, for he changed his name. He was not Peter Lely at all, but Van der Faes ; and no one can pretend that Lely is the English translation as near as may be (as the Act commands) of Van der Faes." But in spite of these arguments the Bill was passed.

Such efforts to exclude foreign influence are important, because they rest upon a false idea of what patriotism means. Patriotism is an emotion of love for our country and the manners and customs with which we are familiar : that is altogether admirable. But it is absurd for an emotion to remain exactly the same when its object has entirely changed. For example, if a mother loves her child, and the child grows into a man, the mother's love should become a different sort of love. It should not involve merely keeping her son out of danger, but should lead her to assist him to do his work as a man. The England, France and Italy of to-day are not what they were in the Middle Ages. They have "grown up" ; and yet many people have the same primitive sort of patriotism their ancestors had. The patriotism which the England and the France of to-day deserve is much more enlightened and much more exalted ; and such patriotism does not involve opposition to foreigners. But since this new patriotism is needed everywhere, if the history of peace is to enter into the future, we must understand clearly what it means.

Every civilised country, through its scientists, artists and merchants, is actually making the life of "foreigners" healthier, happier and

wealthier. Indeed a country is "great" in proportion to the value of its services to other countries. In the history of the past, the record of the services of our nation for the advancement of civilised life is the best proof of its greatness ; and our greatest men are those who have conquered disease among foreign nations as well as in their own land, or those who have illuminated men of all countries by works of art—not those who have killed foreigners or obstructed intercourse. So now, the greatness of our country will depend upon what we can do for the world at large ; and patriotism should now be devotion to one's country in this service. Thus the history of intercourse between peoples makes a man value his own country more highly. In the many tasks that the past has left unfinished, England or France or Italy has great deeds still to do, if Englishmen or Frenchmen or Italians are willing.

Every nation, also, for the sake of its own happiness, and for the sake of the great deeds it may do, will want to obtain all the best ideas it can from others and to be able to use the arts and the goods which other nations produce. Patriotism on this side, then, will involve getting all we can for our own countrymen which foreigners can give. In any case, the new patriotism does not involve opposition between nations.

What, then, are the parts to be played upon the stage of history to-morrow ? The increase of the means of intercourse is clearly one of the tasks we must undertake. We can learn foreign languages and look out for opportunities of travel.

This will make it easier for our own country to convey to others what it has to offer, and for us to derive from other nations what they contribute to civilisation. When one goes abroad and sees great architecture or painting there, one may come back laden with new ideas or new experience ; and everyone who does so, is working at the same task as Columbus when he discovered America, or Inigo Jones when he studied in Italy, or Voltaire when he took back to France the knowledge of what Newton had done in England.

The fear of foreign influences and the hostility of foreigners are largely due to ignorance of what is to be found abroad. Lord Acton, the historian, once received a letter from a friend who confessed that he had a low opinion of German scholars : to this Lord Acton replied that he hoped his friend's opinion of the Germans would not prevent his reading their works, " which would perhaps diminish the severity of the judgment and would materially add to its weight." Often, indeed, even those who have travelled, and profess to be competent judges of this or that foreign nation, are wholly unable to appreciate the outlook of the nation in question. Even nations that are as closely related in their religions and artistic traditions as the nations of Europe, are thus divided by ignorance ; and the division is still greater between the great races of the world.

There are some tasks which all the leading European nations should perform together : for Europe now dominates a great part of Africa and Asia. The great manufacturing machines,

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the steamships and railways, as well as modern medicine and surgery, are European in origin, and by the use of these European nations divided Africa and compelled the Asiatic nations to accept their presence in Asia. But the influence of Europe will, no doubt, continue ; and therefore European nations ought to see that their influence does not introduce evils among non-European peoples.

In China, the manufacturing machinery of Europe has been established, but the people are not yet protected against the evils which accompany it. In one great city in a match factory there are 1,100 boys from nine to fifteen years old, working from 4 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. over the poisonous fumes of phosphorus. Eighty have to go to hospital every day, and some have the bones of their faces decaying from the phosphorus fumes ; while in Europe the Governments have forbidden by international agreement the use of such phosphorus. Thousands of girls are working in the Chinese textile mills thirteen hours a day, with no rest-day in the week. Women are working there all night long with their babies strapped to their backs or laid to rest among the machinery. There are no guards on the machinery and no compensation is paid for death or maiming. And the immense profits earned by the use of such cheap labour are taken not only by a few rich Chinese but by refined and kindly people who own shares in the companies concerned, who live in English and American cities and probably do not know where their money comes from

Some Europeans, however, are helping the poor and the weak in China. Here is an instance. At Foochow the people had suffered for years from an epidemic of cholera, which appeared regularly at a certain time of the year, until at last, in 1922, they sent to ask the head of the medical section of the League of Nations staff in those parts whether he could help them. He went to Foochow and organised processions of carts carrying large figures which represented the wicked cholera devil and the good angel of boiled water. Men on the carts shouted to the people to drink only boiled water and to wash themselves and their streets; little boys went round to all the houses to give out leaflets saying the same thing. There were speeches made and little dramas presented all over the city for teaching people who could not read, all organised by the League of Nations men. This continued for some weeks, while the season of cholera approached. The time came. Other cities and villages near had hundreds of deaths from cholera; but no cholera appeared in Foochow, and the dangerous time passed without a single case. Then the people sent messages of thanks to the medical staff which had rescued them. The methods of modern medicine are often so simple that their introduction seems hardly worthy of note; but in this way the intercourse between peoples will promote civilisation everywhere. In such tasks the peoples of Europe may deserve well of the generations not yet born.

Another step forward will be made when

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organisations including people of many nations bring together workers at the same task more frequently or more continuously. For example, the physicians and surgeons, the artists and the teachers of many nations can make their co-operation much closer ; and doubtless in such a common task as the conquest of disease, closer co-operation would produce better results. All this may take place without any action by Governments, and even in spite of their action.

But Governments also must co-operate if order and liberty are to be maintained. Those who hold political power in any country, whether by the vote of the people or because they have taken control, must come to recognise that the Governments of other countries are at work on tasks which are fundamentally the same as theirs. There are, and there will be, some countries in which this is not so ;—in which those in power do not aim at order and liberty or the general good even in their own country. Such men aim at private wealth or notoriety ; and Governments so formed must be enemies to civilisation. But all Governments which act for the sake of the people governed must come to see that the best way of attaining their purpose is co-operation with other Governments. There are many ways in which co-operation can be carried farther along the lines indicated above, when the Universal Postal Union was described ; but the centre of all co-operation between Governments should be the League of Nations

To-morrow should see the League improved in its organisation, but above all more generally

trusted by all peoples, and therefore more powerful. Men and women in many countries must come to think of what the League can do—that is, they must understand what the co-operation of Governments means in the control of disease and the opening up of the resources of the world. When that kind of thought is common, then civilisation will make its next step forward.

Civilised life is not and never has been the private possession or the achievement of one nation. Intercourse between nations is essential to it ; for if one nation conquered all others and destroyed them utterly, in one generation the conquerors would sink back into barbarism. But civilised life is not secure. We cannot “rest on our oars.” The food and clothing we use, the science and the art we have inherited, may all be lost again in some general confusion or through a succession of more and more destructive wars. Therefore many good people think that one ought to set about abolishing armies and navies or making the rich and the poor love one another. Anyone who takes up such tasks should have general sympathy. At least his hands will be full.

The simpler way to make civilisation secure, however, is to leave the obstacles to concord to take care of themselves and to set about the ordinary work of peace in art, in science and in commerce. If people of many different nations learn to co-operate in such simple tasks as the conquest of disease and the control of natural forces, they will soon learn to value co-operation.

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Vague sentiments of friendship are not such good bases for peace as the general appreciation of what we have gained from international intercourse in the past ; and what will make peace most secure in the future is the general sense that everyone will lose if the peaceful intercourse between nations is interrupted. The immediate policy of peace, then, is so to increase intercourse and co-operation between peoples so greatly that no one will be willing to forfeit the benefits derived from such intercourse.

Events since the Dark Ages, with the record of which this history began, have led us to a new age ; and because it is nearly a thousand years since Europeans made the first attempts to establish the tradition to which we belong, it may be thought that the world is old. But that is not so. We are at the beginning, not at the end, of civilisation. The achievements of the last thousand years are only first efforts in civilised life. Even the discoveries and inventions of our own day are only the beginnings of our knowledge of the world and of our power over its forces. The arts of the past do not, indeed, become obsolete, as its science does ; but even those arts will have rivals in the future. The manners of men in their contact with their fellow-men, which provide no mean test of civilisation, will undoubtedly become less crude ; and there will certainly be more enlightened communities, not only better organised but better able to subordinate their rules and customs to the art of life.

Thus To-morrow is not a 'final chapter, but the first of a new and more interesting series, which must be written, not necessarily on paper, by the readers of this story of the beginnings of freedom and peace.

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