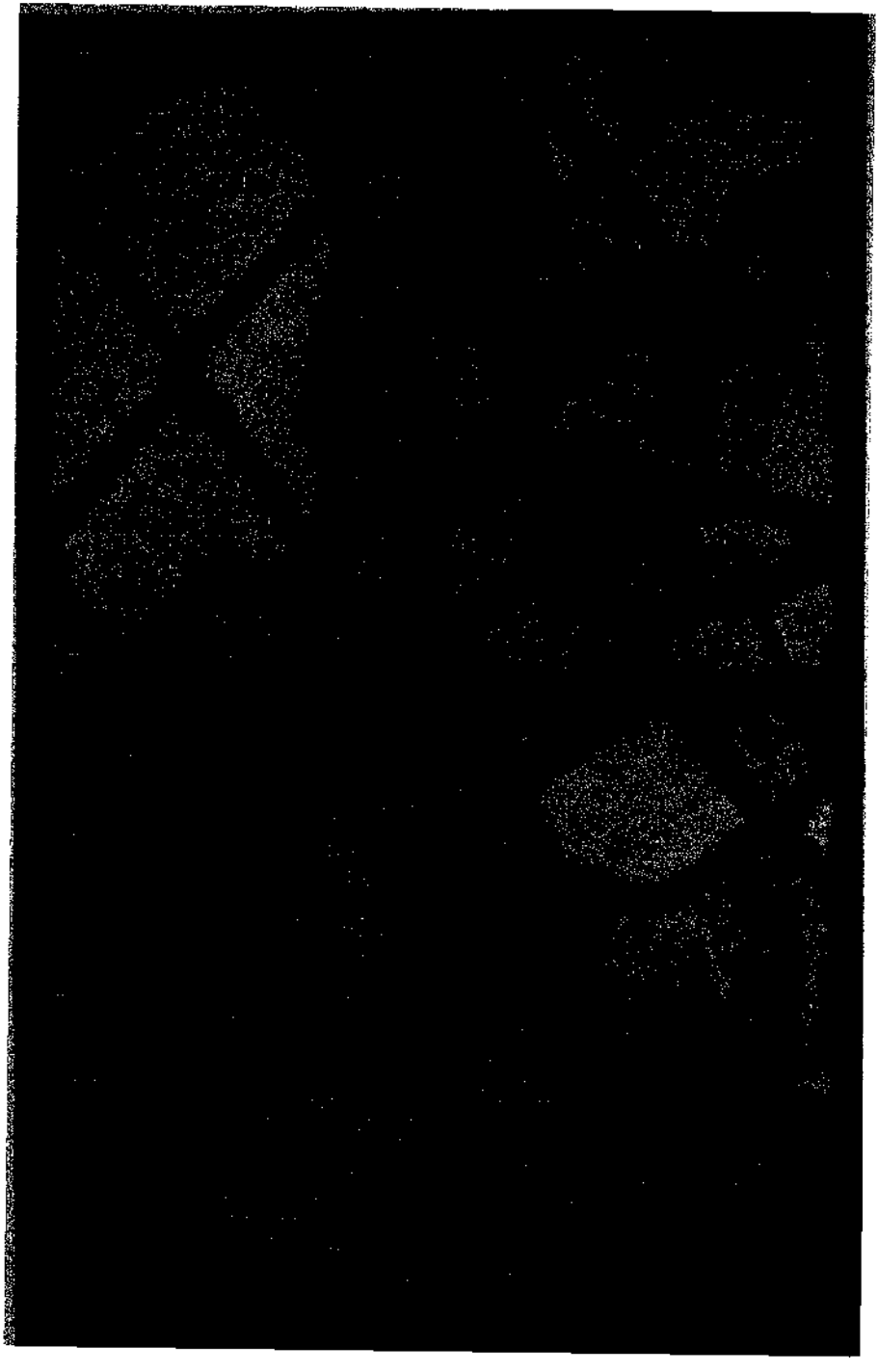
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THE CHARACTER OF ENGLAND



ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON FROM THE EAST WINDOW OF KELMSCOTT CHURCH, OXON. (Fifteenth century)

THE CHARACTER OF ENGLAND

EDITED BY

ERNEST BARKER

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PREFACE

THIS volume is a continuation and fulfilment of the policy of the Oxford University Press in publishing works on *Shakespeare's England* (1916), *Johnson's England* (1933), and *Early Victorian England* (1934); but it has the wider and deeper purpose of giving a view of the general character of England, not so much at a point of time (though the present time naturally occupies the foreground), as in the whole course of its permanent and long-time operation. While the Present thus stands in the foreground, due account has also been given to the living Past; and while the theme is the character and spirit of contemporary England, history and antiquity have also entered, not, however, for their own sake, but rather as explaining the present.

The aim of the book has been to describe the spirit of England, rather than all the varied material in which that spirit works. It is also its aim to describe only England—not Britain—and this for the simple reason that a general description of Britain would not do justice to what is specifically Welsh or Scottish or Irish any more than it would do justice to what is specifically English. The chapters of the book are accordingly directed to what is characteristically English in each field, and to the characteristic English contribution in that field.

The desire of those who have planned the book, and of all who have contributed to the execution of the plan, is that it should form a monument to the England of these days, and should accordingly be inspired by a general sympathy for its achievement. But the contributors and the editor have sought to eschew the vice of self-laudation, as well as to shun the fault—or the pose—of grumbling self-depreciation. They have also sought to be serious without becoming ponderous, and to find room for what was curious, eccentric, or even comical (otherwise they would not have been true to the character of England), without forgetting the grave, the meditative, and even the melancholy. Not only have the great and famous been drawn into evidence as the basis of the verdict, but the general run of ordinary behaviour, and the simple tastes of the mass of the people, have also formed the basis of judgement. The reader will find that Bates is remembered as well as Henry V, and the fishermen of England as well as her admirals.

The editor desires to record his deep sense of obligation, **and** his warm feeling of gratitude, to the Secretary of the Clarendon Press and his colleagues, who have given him constant counsel and encouragement ever since the book was originally planned. He also desires to offer his thanks to the contributors, who have always been patient under his inflictions, and have often transcended the bounds of what he had fixed in his mind as the ideal of their contribution. His thanks are specially due to them for the hints and criticisms they have offered on the final chapter, which (being in the nature of a general view or summary) was submitted to them for their observations and has benefited greatly from their suggestions. He would also express his gratitude to his friend Sir Alan Barlow for valuable aid and criticism (of which he is always generous) in the planning of some of the chapters; and he would ask permission to thank Mr. Attlee (who would have been a contributor if fate and a general election had not called him to other duties) for help and advice. There are others who have also helped, and whom the editor would like to assure, if ever they read this preface, that they have not been forgotten.

It was always a part of the plan of the book that it should be furnished with illustrations. Here Dr. John Johnson, deserting the leisure of his retirement from the office of Printer to the University, has made a signal contribution. A glance at the List of Illustrations (their number runs to 88) is sufficient to show the range and the quality of this contribution. It not only points and adorns the chapters of the printed text; it may also be called a chapter itself, an independent and substantive chapter, adding fresh and original matter to the general argument. Dr. Johnson has been a contributor, and indeed a second editor, as well as an illustrator.

Collective books are not always liked by critics, who tend to prefer the synoptic view of the single mind. They will not necessarily be disarmed by the authority of Aristotle. But a sentence may none the less be quoted in conclusion from the *Politics:* 'Feasts to which many contribute may excel those provided at one man's expense/

E. B.

4 *February,* 1947

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I

LAND AND PEOPLE

By JACQUETTA AND CHRISTOPHER HAWKES

I

HERE, close beneath the eye of the man who lies on the downs, is the hair-fine grass, dull olive in colour and cropped short by the sheep; among it a few dwarfish violets and the vivid yellow coins of rock-roses whose recumbent stems twine between the roots. The third flower in this miniature world is wild thyme, a spreading stain on the turf whose soft purple colour and warm aromatic smell seem to strike the senses as one. Feeding delicately upon it the Chalk-hill-blue butterfly from time to time closes its wings to show the bright rings on their undersides. Looking out now beyond this territory between the elbows the downs show their smooth and perfect convexities, curves shaped by the even weathering of the underlying chalk, particle by particle, through millions of years. A little farther down the hill-side the turf ends in arable, a field of pale oats, very short and scattered with charlock and poppies. Speedwell and scarlet pimpernel creeping round the furrows are too small to be visible but can be guessed—their presence would be so perfectly appropriate. The next field is fallow, mottled like a kestrel's egg where the rusty brown topsoil is broken by white patches of chalk and flints. Still farther down the slope, at the line where springs break out from the hill-side, is a farm-house comfortably sheltered by a beech clump, and the white ruts of a cart track dropping into the valley. Interlacing the whole visible scene, running through the pallor and remoteness of the downland atmosphere, are the calls of distant sheep and the vertical stems of the mounting larks.

But now, having left these uplands, the man is leaning against a pollard willow by some slow river. The deep grass of the water meadow, broad-bladed and lush, is quite unlike the fescue turf of the chalk; held in its green gloom the daisies have grown weak and lanky, while the buttercups strike up towards the sun and the stiff clumps of the marguerites overtop them all. Close at hand, where a drainage ditch from the meadow cuts the river bank, is a succulent mass of kingcups, a little broken and spattered with clay by the cows that go there to drink. Just beyond, above a

skirt of cow-parsley and bramble, a tall, straggling hawthorn hedge encloses an oak wood, very ill cared for, a crowded huddle of thin trunks, many of them ragged with ivy. The chief feature of this undistinguished spinney is its rookery. The bulky nests, whose silhouettes are such an assertive part of the winter and spring landscapes, are hidden now in foliage. Most of the birds are a^ay, but there are enough of them about for their cawing to add something very potent, a curious blend of melancholy with contentment, to the slightly dull, normal air of this lowland summer.

Now, at last, the man is resting on a granite boulder; the heather in full bloom is deep about his legs; at the base of its grey, writhen stems scraps of quartz shine in the black, peaty soil.- A grasshopper staring between its high elbows rasps agreeably until suddenly it flicks away sideways down the wind; on a bending spray of heather an emperor caterpillar hastens along while the light glistens on its undulating pelt. Here it is bone 'dry, but not many yards away the moorland is broken where the thin soil over the rock is waterlogged and a pond has formed; it is set in a patch of pale-green moss above which the soft heads of the cotton grass dangle white. The pond, shallow and brilliantly clear, is frequented occasionally by sheep and persistently by small, deep-blue dragon-flies. Farther on the moor rises to one of those curiously weathered outcrops of granite known as tors that look so artificial but are in fact entirely natural. Round the foot of this one, however, the circles of stones thrusting through the heather do indeed represent the foundations of prehistoric houses which have endured there since the Bronze Age when the moors were relatively populous. Skylarks on the downs; rooks in the oakwood. Here it is the curlew whose wild cries add something tangible to what is seen: cries that seem to cut visible arcs across the sky. This sky, which has been clear, is blurred with fingers of mist; it thickens until even the pond is hidden and nothing can be seen but the swirling vapour. Then again rents appear that allow a sight of the pond and the tor, there is a rapid thinning, a few last wisps, and the Atlantic cloud is passed.

These are three characteristic samples of English country; they represent well-marked extremes, yet there are others equally distinct as well as an infinite range of intermediate and more nondescript scenery. There rise in the mind the strange, archaic, dun-coloured lands of west Cornwall which have so much in common with Brittany. Or again, from East Anglia, the dry,

golden brecks with their belts of Scotch pine, the neighbouring, but so different, black flatlands of the fens, and the Broads with their enveloping reed-beds and hidden waterways. In the north the dramatic scenery of the Lake District and the bare austerity of the high Yorkshire dales. All this without thought for the coasts that draw the intricate outline of this most varied island.

The character of each type of country shows itself in every part from the largest to the smallest, from the contours of its surface to the insect life which it supports; equally in something intangible in the quality of the atmosphere and in the sounds which cut across it. If there can be a natural poetry it is here—how the chances befalling the surface of a cooling planet of a particular chemical composition have come at last to determine these harmontes of trees, flowers, birds, and butterflies; how the molten bubblings and crystallizations of the volcanic rocks, when cooled, hardened, and contorted by unrecorded cataclysms, were to give shape to our moorlands, then disintegrate to support the growth of heather, and so to breed the emperor moth; how the deaths through tens of thousands of years of minute marine creatures and the sinking of their invisible bodies through the water should build up the substance of our chalk hills; how, long after these other happenings, the ice sheets and glaciers of the Pleistocene, having ground down and transformed our northern mountains, redeposited the material so collected as the clays and other soft deposits which were to determine the character of the midlands and much of East Anglia, their heavy loams, rich grass, and fatstock. . . . But with the word fatstock we come to artificiality and to man. He too has to be fitted into the map, he too has been deeply affected by the character of the small land-mass which time has made and he has called England. We speak of, and claim to distinguish, a West Countryman, a Lancashire lad and a Yorkshire tyke, real Wessex and the rest. Though the last century has blurred their edges, these groups do exist and mean something in speech and way of life and hence in character and outlook, though something very elusive in physical characteristics. It would be absurd to suggest that the seething of vanished volcanoes created the Westmorland statesmen whose native rocks it provided, yet it had a share in the creation. The interplay of environment and historical chance in the formation of human populations is a subject as intricate and uncertain as it is deeply interesting.

We cannot introduce man into our scheme without being reminded of a major aspect of it which has hitherto been only implied. Certain types of country have been described in detail with a static effect, but in fact they are always changing. Obviously if we are viewing the stretches of geological time, where we can stand far enough back to see the whole pattern, changes have been complete; even in that last and relatively brief period, the Pleistocene, the climate of Britain ranged from arctic to tropical. When we come to the brief moment since the end of the Ice Age, that occupied by the higher development of human history, we are too close to see what big natural movements are afoot, though we can watch minor ones—the displacement of one species by a rival, the eating away of one coast and the building up of another. But what we can see clearly are the changes worked by man himself upon his environment. The creature which for half a million years had threaded the tropical forests and hunted on the bare steppes almost as submissively as the wild animals began to attack his surroundings with a force which was to alter them beyond recognition. This attack began effectively only with the adoption of agriculture and a creative, instead of a purely destructive, approach to the problem of food supply. It made its greatest advance with the institution of city life when man created an environment of his own where nature was admitted only on sufferance. Towns came late to England and even then, in the Roman Province, not very successfully. In the fifteenth century sophisticated Italians mocked the English gentleman's devotion to his own clods. Then with England's leadership of the Industrial Revolution urban conditions spread fast and on an unimagined scale. The island was weighed down with huge towns. So it is that to-day almost 80 per cent, of Englishmen are not intimately aware of any of the types of English country, but instead have their deepest familiarities with the line of a street, the piled outline of buildings, or the particular glow of a street lamp bracketed on a house corner or throwing its yellow ring on the kerb.

There have not yet been many generations born in urban surroundings so deep that isolation from nature is almost complete—although the curious blunders made by evacuated town children showed clearly how great it has now become. We cannot tell what its ultimate products might be, and can indeed hope that this process of isolation will go no farther, for it should

prove possible to turn back the tide far enough to allow everyone some access to the country. It is not that the worst towns lack their own startling beauties and a power to awaken the nostalgic devotion of their inhabitants. Yet we are, after all, one with our ancestors; and the inheritance from innumerable generations of lives .spent in the closest contact with natural things is still within us. It is noticeable, for instance, that most poetic images still seem to well up from some store of non-urban, non-mechanical impressions, and wholly urban poetry is difficult to conceive. It seems therefore legitimate to wish that the long-inbred and through-and-through urbanized being may never be born.

It is our purpose now to trace the action of natural environment upon historical events and the reaction of men against their environment which has helped to give England and Englishmen their present character. The tide feeling its way about the irregularities of the shore, the growth of seed fallen upon uneven soils—no metaphor can at all suggest this gradual building up of a people, layer upon layer, or of the people fitting itself into the geographical features of a country. First of all it is necessary to study the dominant natural features of England, then to follow the successive waves of invasion and the subsequent landtakings, and the changes in the patterns of settlement which have occurred as new material resources were exploited or other types of opportunity presented themselves. For this purpose it is useless to think of the geography of Britain during the Pleistocene when it was only a bulge at the western extremity of Europe, or even during the dry Boreal period which succeeded it when pine forest grew over much of the country and the North Sea was still advancing for its final isolation. But after 5000 B.C., when North Sea had met Channel and the Boreal climate had shifted towards one which was made much wetter by moist airs coming in from the Atlantic, then the land was near enough to its present form to be recognized as the material from which twentieth-century Britain has been shaped—and shaped very largely by the energy of its human inhabitants.

The most significant feature of England for the determination of the lines of its earliest settlement is the upland system of chalk and limestone hills which has its natural centre in Salisbury Plain. This radiate system, the Dorset Heights, the Mendips, the Cotswolds leading by way of the Lincolnshire Edge to the Yorkshire Moors, the Berkshire Downs similarly leading to the Chilterns,

the East Anglian Heights, and the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire Wolds, the North and South Downs of Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, are all modest hills seldom reaching i ,000 feet, while at their centre the plain is never more than 300 feet above sea-level. Their importance lay in their relative openness, their freedom from heavy forest growth. In the description of downland country an iiripression has been given of universal lightness: often there is only the thinnest skin of humus covering the body of the chalk, and ground such as this will not support dense vegetation. It is not precisely known in what force trees did grow on these uplands at the time we are considering, before any considerable human settlement had begun, but they were certainly open enough to allow easy movement along them. This was true also of a totally different type of country, the gravel terraces which flank many rivers, perhaps most notably of all the Thames. But it was quite otherwise in most of the great Midland triangle between Severn, Trent, and Avon, as well as in much of Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire, and East Anglia. Here the damp-holding clay soils, continually enriched by the humus of rotting vegetation, characteristically supported a close growth of oaks and among them, wherever there was enough light, not only the fresh and elegant hazel but also the more impeding hawthorn, blackthorn, and bramble.

The main pattern of England, then, can be seen as that of the upland ridges, unified by their accessibility and reinforced by some stretches of valley gravels, set against the surrounding expanses of tangled forest rendered disjointed and chaotic by their impenetrability.

But this is not all England. In the south-west and north are regions which belong neither to the upland system nor to the lowlands. In the north the Pennines and the land lying to the west of them, in the south-west the greater part of west Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, are united with Wales and Scotland alike by the ancient rocks of which they are formed, by the plant and animal life which they support, and by the climate to which they are exposed. These northern and south-western territories, then, with their characteristic moorland and mountains, bond England into that great highland region that was built by happenings on the earth's crust so much more remote and heroic than those responsible for the formation of the mild country to the south and east. Together they form a wall fronting the Atlantic, often thick with mist and clouds, and held remote from the rest of

England which turns naturally to the Continent with its clearer and harder atmosphere.

Such were the main surface characteristics of England; more or less deeply buried in this land-mass lay substances which were to have the greatest significance for its future history. As, one after another, their special qualities were discovered, men gathered round to exploit them, coming at first perhaps in tens but at last in hundreds of thousands. First it was copper and the tin of Cornwall which were the most important, then the lead of Mendip and the iron of the Forest of Dean, the Weald, and the East Midland Jurassic belt, and above all the widely distributed coal-fields of the north and west. Outside England's own frontiers, natural resources which were to play a part in the early history of the country were the copper and gold of Ireland.

Ireland must lead us farther: hitherto we have considered England as a self-contained unit, yet it was the relation of England to the rest of the world that was bound to be the decisive factor in its history. An island, of some size and natural wealth and with many good harbours, lay within sight of the Continent destined to play, so far as the perspective of the twentieth century allows us to judge, an outstanding part in the history of man. Further, it was an island reaching from this continent towards another which, though long neglected by the fate of history, was potentially one of the richest areas in the world. It is evident that a country so placed was likely to have a great and distinctive role, equally evident that this would depend largely on its susceptibility to invasion and influence from Europe. The low-lying east and south coasts were open to invaders from the opposite coasts between Brittany and Denmark, the northern part was the readiest landfall from Norway, while the western face, turned towards the Atlantic, was on the route of peoples exploring the shores of that ocean, and an excellent leaping-off ground for those who would cross it.

Invaders, by whichever way they came, naturally brought many innovations and so introduced new cultural ideas as well as new racial stock into Britain. But equally they had to leave much behind. If the sea is a formidable barrier in the twentieth century, it was not lightly crossed in prehistoric times. In particular the adventurers, the seekers of land, malcontents, and refugees who composed the invasions might often arrive without their full complement of women. In taking island wives they took also a

strong element of the native culture. At the same time the uprooting and setting forth in small boats broke down custom and left the immigrants flexible and ready for change and adaptation. So it was that invaders never introduced a continental tradition in its entirety; modified from the first, it soon grew into a distinctive form.

We have tried to recall the virgin England of 5,000 years ago, its uplands where men could pass to and fro, its impenetrable forests, the mountains and moorland of north and west. We have considered also the natural resources that waited on the mind of man for exploitation, the openness of the country to invasion and its effect upon invaders. Now we must discover how during those 5,000 years it has been reshaped by its human population: how again and again boats have beached, their crews have gone ashore, occupying land peacefully when they could, fighting for it when necessary, and have settled down to mingle their blood and their habits with those of their predecessors. At the same time, when this narration has brought us to the Norman conquest and the consolidation which made Britain thenceforward impregnable, we shall almost have answered the question, Who are the English? From that point it will only be necessary very briefly to think of the new factors which caused the weight of the population to shift about the island, developing new land, founding cities and ports, domesticating and sometimes beautifying the landscape, or brutalizing it into hideousness. We must not altogether forget, either, that among all this human activity animals and birds and plants have maintained their instinctive life, and, reduced and weakened as they are, can still be found in their natural groupings, such groupings as those of downland, meadow, and moor.

II

It was between four and five thousand years ago that the primeval Britain of the Atlantic period was disturbed by the arrival from across the Channel of the first farming peoples. They did not find it quite unpopulated, for there were aboriginal communities hunting small game in the open country, particularly the sandy heathlands, while others living along rivers and round the coast were more dependent upon fishing. Indeed, in the south-east these mesolithic food-gatherers may have been quite numerous, for as fishermen they were well equipped with boats, harpoons, hooks, and nets. Nevertheless their presence can have

made little impression on the face of the countryside, and the neolithic farmers when they landed along our southern coasts must have seen an island virtually untouched by man.

The newcomers spread along the English uplands where they could graze the cattle and sheep upon which they largely depended; but with the small corn plots which they established they made themselves also the first cultivators of English soil. They did not fail to occupy riverside gravels and coastal plains, but the main settlement area was undoubtedly the uplands, where cultivation, the building of stockaded enclosures on hill-tops, and above all the grazing of their flocks and herds, must have begun the reduction of whatever light forest growth the chalk and limestone supported.

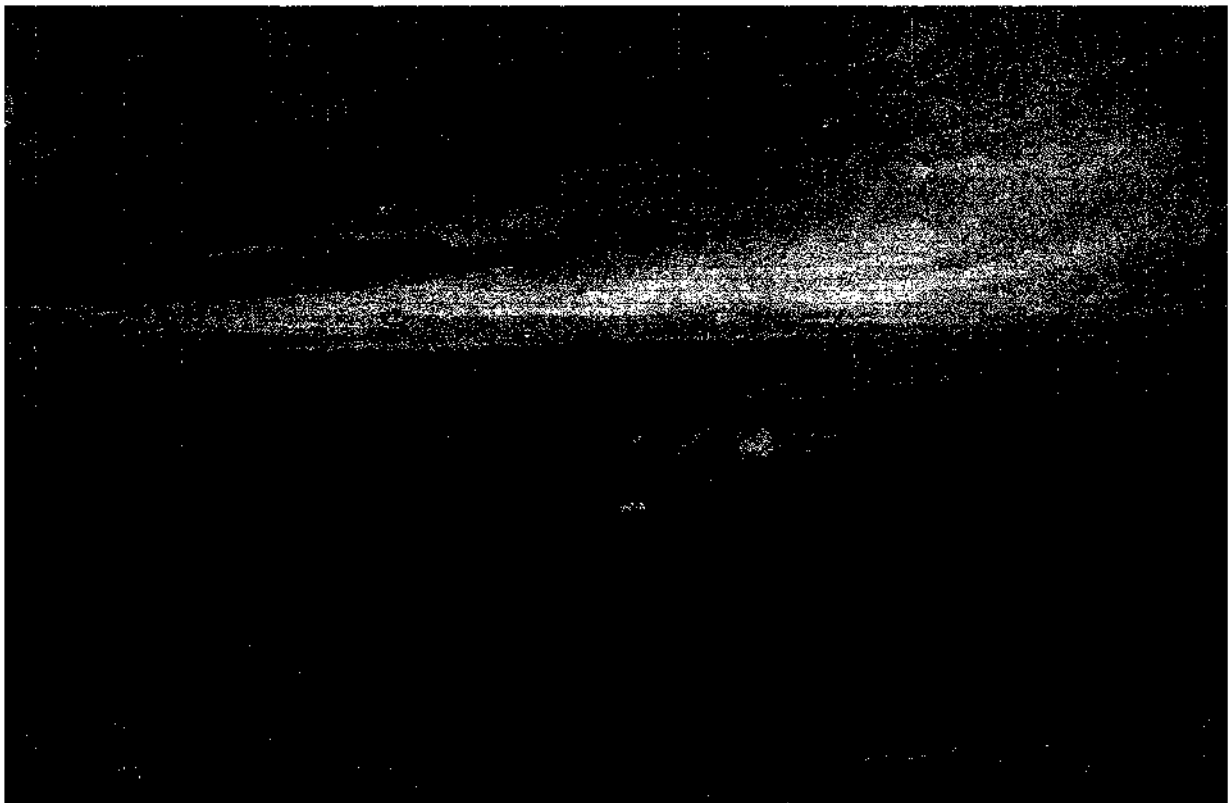
But while these people walked the highest contours, looking down on the enveloping tree-tops, the settlement of other invaders who were now arriving by the Atlantic Coast route followed a different pattern. In the rugged mountain face which Britain turns to the Atlantic these peoples would often take their boats into sea inlets to settle along their sides or up the valleys at their head, or perhaps would occupy strips of plain lying between mountain and sea. This form of land-taking, however, was characteristic of Wales and Scotland rather than England, in which country the main settlement of the western voyagers was over the low moorlands of Cornwall, where their great stone tombs still look so appropriate in that old, subtle-coloured landscape.

These immigrants, coming immediately from Iberia and Brittany, were true seafarers; for although they might hug the coasts when they could, for them the sea was a highway and not an obstacle. In this they differed from the farmers of the English uplands who had to venture nothing more than a Channel crossing; but both alike seem to have been of the same physical type, the slightly built, dark men whom we associate with the Mediterranean and often refer to vaguely as Iberian. All these neolithic colonists must in fact have been sufficiently unlike the older native population to have provoked a sense of race-consciousness, for there is little doubt that most of the mesolithic hunting peoples were fair, like their nearest kinsmen in north-western Europe. Probably never again in this country has there been so sharp, so obtrusive, a contrast. Certainly at first the two strains kept themselves somewhat apart, the fairer people

living largely in riverside and coastal country in eastern England while the others held possession of the hills. During the half-millennium of the Neolithic Age, however, this division became blurred as the older stock reasserted itself more strongly and spread westward, often mingling with the descendants of the Mediterranean farmers. And this assertion of the older population did not end with the neolithic period, but, as we shall see, is even more marked as an element of continuity with the ensuing Bronze Age. These neolithic peoples together began the first considerable exploitation of the hidden mineral resources of this country when in Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and the Norfolk breckland they sank mines and drove galleries to reach the flint nodules which lay bedded deep in the chalk. The supe/ior quality of this mined flint was needed for axes which could be used for tree-felling. Men were equipping themselves in earnest, though still quite inadequately, for the work which during 4,000 years was to transform the natural character of Britain.

When at the beginning of the Bronze Age the warlike peoples known as the Beaker Folk crossed the Channel and the North Sea and landed in various groups along the south and east coasts of England, they in turn quickly overran the relatively open and easily settled lands—the chalk uplands, river gravels, and coastal plains. Everywhere these physically powerful and energetic peoples (mostly allied to the northern 'Battle-axe' warriors of the European plains) must have taken the lands of the neolithic peoples where they were able to practise their high pastoralism. For partly nomadic tribes leading their animals to graze the best pasture it was natural that Salisbury Plain, the centre where all the upland pastures and the Thames valley came together, should become as it were the capital area of England. This pre-eminence is apparent in the selection of the Plain and the adjoining Marlborough Downs for the two greatest sacred sites of the time, Stonehenge and Avebury, and by the burial in their neighbourhood of wealthy chiefs who could carry gold and faience and amber even to the grave.

These early centuries of the Bronze Age, 1800 to 1400 B.C., can be seen as a phase of renewed land-taking in the sense that invaders seized and exploited more fully the old areas of settlement, but it is not until the next period that there is much evidence for wider extension. This came after 1400 when a relative freedom from invasion gave a pause for consolidation and



STONEHENGE. HALF-TOMB, HALF-TEMPLE, BUILT BY THE BEAKER-FOLK IN THE BRONZE AGE
Mezzotint by DAVID LUCAS *after Constable*



MAIDEN CASTLE, DORSET
Occupied as a fortified settlement through the Neolithic, Early Bronze, and Iron Ages

insular growth. It is now that we can see most clearly that the Beaker Folk had not exterminated the neolithic population, for just as in the similar period of consolidation after the Norman Conquest, the submerged population and its culture rose again to blend with those of the conquerors. What from the racial point of view is most interesting in this upshot is that the larger contribution seems to have been made not by the Mediterranean element in the neolithic peoples, but by that fair northern stock which we have traced back through neolithic times to the mesolithic hunting communities. The Mediterraneans, once dominant, were now the more thoroughly overwhelmed; their culture disappeared almost completely and it seems that the genes which they contributed to the racial stream were fewer than those put into it by the northerners. Yet that they did continue, and still continue, to reproduce themselves is shown in the flesh by the small, dark types of Cornwall, Wales, and elsewhere in the west and north, regions where in spite of infiltration by the Beaker Folk and others the Atlantic coast settlers remained generally dominant.

Certainly this period of fusion after 1400 was prosperous, and some of the natural resources of the country were further exploited. The clearance of the uplands progressed and in many areas the heads of the chalk hills must have come to show that bare outline which has remained so characteristic. Such clearance was probably encouraged by the drier climate of the Bronze Age which may even have been enough to force men to frequent the slopes of the hills rather than their summits. Meanwhile a steady growth in total population during the middle Bronze Age is shown by the colonization of new territory, often rather poor moorland, which had hitherto been ignored and which only necessity could make attractive. Population pressure, then, led to the reclamation of light soils even of poor quality; but the heavy soils remained untried, for these pastoralists did not yet think of pitting their insufficient numbers and tools against the forests that guarded them.

Bronze Age prosperity did not rest only on pastoralism. The discovery and use of the hidden resources of the country, which had been begun with the sinking of flint mines, was now carried much farther in the extraction of native metal ores. Cornish tin and Irish and other sources of copper made it possible for British bronze-smiths to establish their craft and even to export their

products to the Continent, while resplendent necklets and torques of Irish gold were trafficked across England to gratify power and vanity from Denmark to the south of France. These mineral resources, together with the Mediterranean contacts still made possible by the old Atlantic coast route, gave Britain a distinguished place in the development of west European civilization. It was only as new land-ways across the Continent grew in importance and the sea road declined that these islands lapsed into the position of the country cousin of Europe, the belated if sturdy recipient of continental ideas which their later history made so familiar. Indeed, there is justification for saying that it was not until after A.D. 1500 that Britain held as advanced a place in European affairs as she enjoyed before 1500 B.C.

About 3,000 years ago the mid-Bronze Age peace was broken in southern and south-eastern England by the arrival first of small refugee parties, and then of more considerable bands of Celtic-speaking invaders. In physical origin they were not far removed from the native Bronze Age population, for they too were bred from the fusion of the mesolithic stocks with Mediterranean colonists of the Neolithic Age and insurgent Battle-axe peoples of the north-European plains. Islanders and Celtic invaders must have looked very much alike. But from the point of view of the building up of population, and of its impact upon the natural landscape, these late Bronze Age Celts began a change of the deepest significance. They began to modify the high pastoralism of their predecessors towards a more agricultural economy in which the cultivation of corn played a far greater part than it had ever done during the previous 1,500 years. Now for the first time permanent farmsteads were built in England, farmsteads with fenced yards, and clusters of huts approached by rutted lanes and surrounded by small rectangular fields where the corn grew after a light plough had drawn the furrows. So another stage had been passed in the transformation of Britain by its human inhabitants. Yet in one important direction the new agriculture made no break with the past; it was still very largely confined to the light soils, to the old settlement areas.

For the rest of the prehistoric era invasion by groups of Celtic peoples continued, and about the fifth century B.C. they began to introduce the use of iron. This plentiful new metal was to lead to small-scale mining along the Jurassic belt, in the Forest of

Dean, and later in the Weald; inevitably it gradually weakened the ancient bronze industry which had contributed so much to the economic and cultural strength of the British Isles. But after all, bronze, the lovelier material, continued to be in demand for ornamental work of all kinds, and the changes involved by the opening of the Iron Age were not at first very considerable. The main trends only continued those begun by the earlier Celtic invaders: the more and more effective cultivation of the light soils by farmers living an increasingly substantial and settled life. With the increase in population which this allowed probably went the growth of true villages and certainly a greater size and solidity in the isolated farmstead. Another improvement in agricultural technique, essential if many more people were to be fed dilring the winter, was the construction of large grain-storage pits under or near the farm-houses. There in the autumn the surplus of increasing crops could be poured to be drawn upon during the barren months.

There is no doubt that all through the Celtic period of the late Bronze and Iron Ages the number of people which the country could support was mounting quite fast. Most of the evidence for it, the actual litter and disturbance of settlement, is found on the chalk lands, but it is clear, if only from the stubborn resistance which these districts were able to put up against the Roman armies, that the north-east and north-west fringes of the midlands and even such poor country as the Pennines and Cumbria could muster a not negligible force of men. The presence of larger numbers, too, is suggested by the imposing hill forts, demanding many men to build and defend them, which occur not only in the evidently populous chalk country but also where other traces of occupation are very scanty—for instance along the present Welsh border.

Yet these hill forts bring us to another aspect of Celtic life, and one which must have done something to counteract this growth of population. Classical writers, as well as the actual events of Roman imperial history, suggest the warlike qualities of the west-European Celts and their insatiable passion for tribal feuds. Forceful visual proof of it is given by these bold ramparts of chalk or stone, which still show from far off, cutting the natural contours of our hills. They symbolize the expenditure of tremendous effort and many lives for the most sterile military ends. War must have had a considerable effect in keeping down the numbers and

weakening the creative force of the Britons, and so in discouraging the further opening up of the country. It appears, indeed, that the expansion of a light soil agriculture had not been pushed to quite its fullest possible extent when events in the first century before Christ began a change in the main direction of land-taking. An invasion of Britain by Belgic tribes, a mixed people coming from the area of Germanic-Gallic contact in the Low Countries, is recorded by Caesar and can be dated to about 75 B.C., while there is evidence for a second Belgic invasion after Caesar's Gallic campaigns. During the period of over a century between their first immigrations and the Roman Conquest the Belgic princes by force and political intrigue established a powerful hegemony over south-eastern England, and before the year A.D. 43 were fighting to extend it westward even as far as the Bristol Channel. Their assertion of power caused more bloodshed and the raising of more and stronger forts, built alike by themselves and the British tribes who opposed them. But it is not for their military results that the Belgic invasions are important here—the Britons even if left to themselves could have been trusted not to allow their swords to stay in their beautifully ornamented scabbards. The great significance of the Belgae in the story of the gradual reduction of Britain at the hands of men lies in the fact that they began a change which in time was to alter the whole appearance of the country, the clearance and settlement of the heavier soils. It is easy to exaggerate the extent of the Valley-ward shift' at this time: on the one hand, as we have seen, riverside gravels had always been occupied, while on the other the uplands remained populous until well into Anglo-Saxon times. Nevertheless these Belgic tribes, with their improved iron industry for making axes and plough-iron, were the first people who were prepared seriously to attempt the formidable work of clearing the English forests. Some seventeen hundred years were to pass before the task was done—indeed, done too well—and many households were obliged to go without hot meals because there were no logs to be had. The incentive for such clearance was, of course, agricultural. The Belgae were familiar with a type of plough heavier than that which the Britons had been using and which could be made to turn a sod in much stiffer soils. It was an instrument capable of dealing with the heavy loam and clay which underlay the forests, potentially the richest arable land in the country. So it was that here and there during the century before the Roman

Conquest valley sides, once a sea of foliage, began to be striped with the long, narrow fields which were the usual product of the new ploughing. This with no prejudice as yet to the continued cultivation of the small Celtic fields on the uplands.

Together with the agricultural changes went a corresponding shift in the position and siting of settlements. Although it would be misleading to suggest that everywhere their inhabitants abandoned the hill strongholds and marched down to settle in the valley below, there is no doubt such moves were sometimes made. The fortress which occupied the fine round top of St. Catharine's Hill above the Itchen was sacked by the Belgae and perhaps forsaken for a later settlement down by the river where Winchester now stands; similarly the Trundle by Goodwood racecouise seems to have been destroyed when an important Belgic centre was set up somewhere near Chichester on the plain below.

There was also a change in the settlement pattern of a much more far-reaching kind. Because the first Belgic tribes took the shortest sea crossings into England and because they were able to fit themselves into forest country, the whole emphasis of their occupation lay in the south-east. It was the Belgae who for the first time began to develop the richer soils of Kent, Essex, and Hertfordshire, and the coastal plain of Sussex. The sites chosen for their strongholds by various Belgic ruling families summarize this situation clearly enough: Chichester (or near it), Wheathampstead and St. Albans (Herts.), and Colchester. Of these Colchester, or Camulodunum, was the latest and the most important; indeed, as the centre of the wide kingdom of Cunobelin, the site of his residence and his mint, it was in a sense the earliest capital of Britain—a position recognized and confirmed by its selection as the first capital of the Roman Province. Here is a stride out of the prehistoric and into the historic scene. The ancient focus of population and wealth round Salisbury Plain, that centre of the upland pastoralists, had lost its dominion to the upstart south-east. The dark sanctity of Stonehenge and Avebury, where generations of the greatest prehistoric dead lay beneath their barrows, had to give place to a new port by the Colne where before very long Britons were to worship a pedant and politician, the deified Emperor Claudius. If Camulodunum may be called a capital it was hardly a city. It is true that there was a mint and perhaps some form of royal dwelling, that specialist craftsmen worked there, and that its wharves handled a

mounting trade with the Roman Empire; yet its inhabitants lived widely scattered over the area of twelve square miles that was enclosed by its defensive dykes, and were able to follow a rural way of life among their cultivated fields and pasture. Even in the innermost fortified area close by the quay the small huddles of round huts can best be described as a slum. Though Camulodunum, no less and no more than permanently occupied hill forts such as Maiden Castle, obviously possessed some of the elements of a town, it is better to use the term cautiously and to recognize that true urban life was not attempted in Britain before the Roman Conquest.

iii

There is no doubt that the Roman Conquest, which began in A.D. 43 and never can be said precisely to have finished, had a profound effect within the process we are following. A hard clarity seems to come into the historical atmosphere: a formless land of spontaneous, atomic tribal life became a conscious unit held together by the authority of a central government and a network of military roads. Britons, at least those of the ruling class, must have become much more geographically self-aware, must have had a stronger sense of the map, of the position of their estates in relation to the whole island and of that triangular island itself in relation to the rest of Europe. Thus, in an idealist sense Britain may be said to have come into existence for the first time.

Also for the first time it became subject to planning. No longer was the pattern of human settlement, the building and the abandonment of farms and villages, the blind product of local circumstances; instead it might be controlled by some distant mind working out wide generalizations. The most conspicuous results were the establishment of a road system and the deliberate foundation of a number of towns. Both were executed with a coherence and competence only possible in a centralized planning authority. The roads were laid out by military engineers who, while making the best tactical use of natural features, in their wider strategy cut boldly across country undaunted either by lowland forests or difficult hills. Major obstacles had, of course, to be avoided, yet the resulting system was something utterly unlike those prehistoric ridgeways and riverways which had been dictated entirely by nature. Indeed, the picture of the chief

engineer, with his siting instruments, directing the soldiers and the impressed gangs of Britons in the felling of trees and in levelling and metalling, while, to the surprised alarm of the wild creatures, they drove their highway across the face of the country, is symbolic of an era when men no longer fitted themselves into the natural pattern of Britain but often asserted themselves against it.

The roads inevitably largely controlled the siting of towns. With the exception of coastal ports almost all towns were founded where a road crossed a river, often at the lowest point where it could be crossed. But history as well as geography played a part in this selection. Apart from the four *coloniae* of Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester, and York, and the always exceptional London, the most important inland towns were established as the capitals of the old Celtic tribal territories, centres where tribal loyalties could be diverted to serve Imperial Government. To heighten this local sentiment they were often built near former British strongholds, but while the native fortress was still on a hill-top, the Romans would usually build their town in the valley bottom.

One other change there was, inevitable but momentous. In the first stage of the conquest it was in harmony with the general policy that the Belgic capital of Colchester should be made the principal city of the province. The pair of well-drained gravel hills rising above the Thames, between the two tributaries of the Fleet and the Lea, had failed to attract particular attention in prehistoric times, chiefly because the area was isolated between impenetrable clay lands to the north and marshy stretches to the south. But when the Roman road system cut through the difficult country and continental trade was rocketing, this point near the head of a great navigable estuary and the lowest crossing place of the country's chief river was certain to become of the first importance as a communication centre and a port. The modest harbour on the Colne could not long resist the pull of the Thames-side site and before very long the financial, and then probably also the administrative, centre of the province had shifted from Colchester to the thriving city of London.

So much for the fruits of central planning. A less organized development which still had an important effect on the pattern of settlement was the introduction of villas, those comfortable, privately owned country properties which took the place of the

customary Celtic farmsteads. Their owners, by their practice of strip-field cultivation on the richer soils, may be said to have continued the changes begun by the Belgae. Indeed there is no doubt that a number of the leading Belgic and other British families moved into these civilized and convenient houses which were sometimes built on the actual sites of their barbarous old dwellings. At first most villas were to be seen in the former Belgic areas of the Home Counties (particularly Kent) and in Hertfordshire and the Thames valley, many of them in the comfortable, well-sheltered sites which to-day would be chosen by a city man for his retirement. Similarly, farther west they were usually built on the slopes between the upland areas—on either side of the Sussex Downs, in Wessex valleys, and on the lower slopes of the Cotswolds.

Southern England was the true villa country, but as secure military frontiers were advanced northward they spread, though far more thinly, to South Wales, along the line of roads across the Midlands, in East Anglia, and even on the fringe of the military area in Yorkshire. Often their establishment must have meant a big clearance of timber, and the occupants would have looked out from their windows and pillared loggias across their gardens, orchards, and fields on to untouched woodland—conditions still to be experienced at the famous Cotswold villa of Chedworth.

Windows and loggias: here is another new factor. Prehistoric man had drawn shelter round him rather as a bird builds its nest, but now, not only in towns but also in hitherto untrodden valleys, there was a simple but formal architecture, an entirely artificial human creation, standing out against the trees and hills.

One other Roman introduction that had some effect on the population and on the appearance of the countryside was the Imperial Domains, where peasants, cultivating regularly laid-out small holdings, lived as direct tenants or sub-tenants of the State. There may have been a number of such Domains in the Province, but the most significant here is the one which seems to have been established in the East Anglian fenland. Although the fens were not in Roman times so water-logged as they became after further land-subsidence, this was evidently a piece of engineered reclamation which turned waste into richly productive agricultural land.

Yet among so many imperial innovations—road systems, towns, villas, military frontiers, and Domains—in most of the old areas of

settlement, and especially on the chalk uplands, the prehistoric order of country life was little changed: the peasantry still lived in houses of prehistoric sort and tilled their small fields with primitive types of plough. But as, during the early centuries of the Province, Roman peace allowed the population to grow, the number of these little fields must have multiplied while single homesteads grew into hamlets and villages. With the continuous development of new land and the more intensive cultivation of old, together with the incentive provided by the towns, the total population certainly climbed fast till towards the end of the second century A.D. After that time the towns began to decline: they had enjoyed the advantages of centralized planning, now they learnt its disadvantages. Because theirs had not been a spontaneous growth from the roots, the ever harsher fiscal policy decreed far away in Rome soon undermined their always slightly artificial prosperity, and many grew dilapidated or even ruinous. The country did not suffer with them; indeed the villas benefited, as members of the ruling class, who had been drawn to the towns where they held municipal office, returned to spend more of their time on their estates. Even if there was some decline in the numbers of the upland peasantry at this time (there is evidence, for instance, that much of Cranborne Chase reverted to pasture from arable) there were still many more people living in Britain at the end of the period of Roman rule than there had been in A.D. 43, while thousands of acres of woodland and waste had been brought into cultivation. In appearance this population, which carried the accumulated genetical inheritance of so many prehistoric invaders, had reached a surprising degree of uniformity. Descendants of the dark and the fair peoples of neolithic times, of the muscular, round-headed Beaker Folk and their kindred, of several Celtic groups including the partly Germanic Belgae, with a final trifling dash of exotic blood from the soldiers, administrators, and merchants of the Empire, the Roman Britons had emerged as generally rather short, long-headed people, often with square, upright, but rather low foreheads. As for their colouring, we may hazard that although a larger inheritance from the old Mediterranean strain had left the inhabitants of the western highland regions darker than the rest, the bulk of the population varied on either side of middling, with a tendency to greater fairness in the south and east. This was the stock which, coming together with the more purely Germanic Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians,

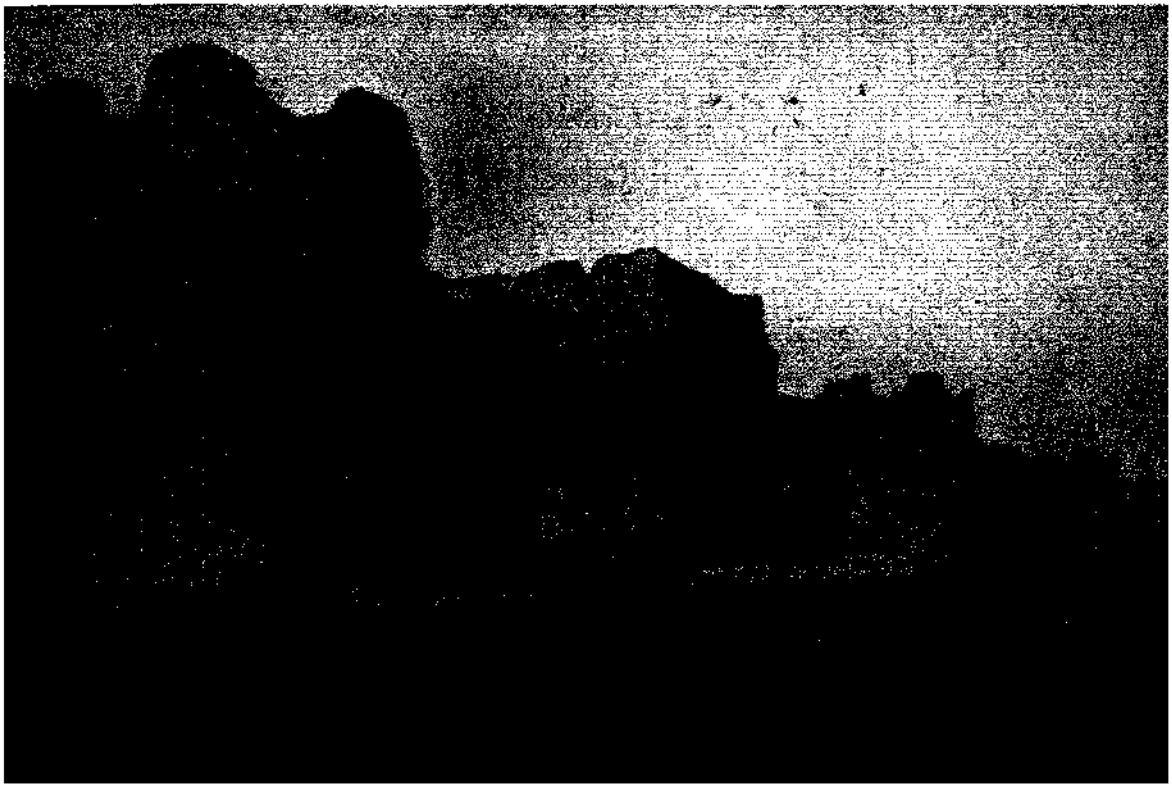
under a final hammering from the Normans was to fuse into that much-mixed and abundantly creative people, the English.

IV

When after 400 years of dependence the Empire left these Roman Britons to face the barbarian onslaught unaided, Britain as an integrated, organic whole broke like a struck plate—whose fragments, however, might preserve something of the old pattern. At first the Anglo-Saxons, equally with the Picts and Scots, came only as raiders, but by the second half of the fifth century they were beginning to settle, pushing up all the most inviting estuaries and rivers from the Humber round into the Channel.

It is difficult to disentangle the precise origins of these first founders of England. Bede's clean-cut divisions of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes are altogether too simple for this first period of land-taking: they emerged only later when these elements had had time to achieve dominance and others to be forgotten. During the migrations groups of settlers would often be very diverse, for the fame of a great leader might draw followers from many regions. It seems, however, that in the keels which made the long sea crossing to the north-east coast, penetrating by the Wash and Humber, Angles from Schleswig-Holstein were most numerous, while Saxons from the Ems-Weser area predominated in East Anglia and the Thames valley. With both, however, there came also a number of Frisians. The Jutes who settled in Kent did not come directly from their original home in Jutland, but for some time had been living by the Frisian and Saxon coasts; it is natural, therefore, that Frisians here formed an even larger proportion of the immigrants.

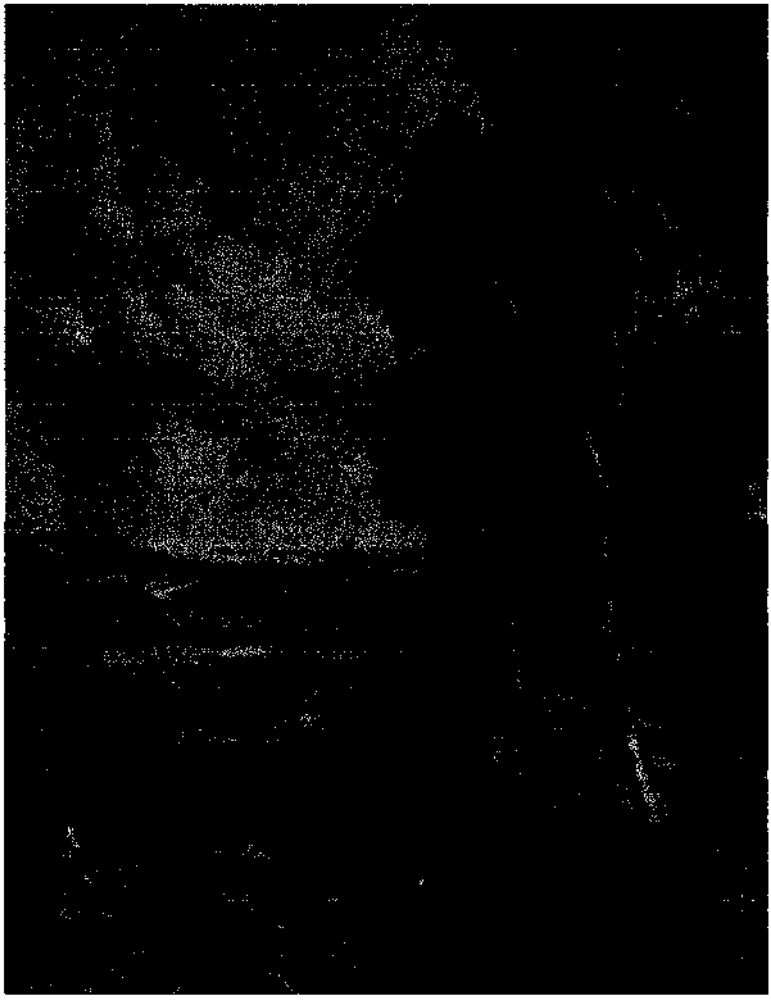
For an answer to the question 'Who are the English?' these divisions are largely irrelevant: all were very similar, and together they made a major contribution to our nation. It is far more important to discover the fate of the Britons, the living inheritance from the country's prehistoric past. To what extent did they survive to be absorbed by the Anglo-Saxons? The old view that they were annihilated cannot stand against the contrary evidence, particularly that of the early law-codes in which the 'Wealas' have their inferior but clearly recognized rights. One might add that even with deliberate intention and all the facilities of the twentieth century it has proved difficult to exterminate whole peoples. The Anglo-Saxons would have had no such



PORCHESTER CASTLE, HAMPSHIRE

A fourth-century Roman fort of the Saxon Shore. The water-gate is a medieval addition to the Roman wails

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DEDHAM VALE, ESSEX

Mezzotint by DAVID LUCAS *after Constable*

intention: they wanted land and ppwer to control it, but they also needed labour and women. And the Britons themselves contributed energetically to their own salvation. By their great victory of Mount Badon at the end of the fifth century they checked the first and most violent phase of the Anglo-Saxon attack, and so gave time for a more gradual mingling of the two peoples. After this the advance, which gradually pushed the frontiers of Celtic independence back towards the south-western peninsula, Wales, and the north, was more absorbent and less destructive. Naturally the settlement varied with the nature of the invasion and with the conditions, both historical and geographical, encountered in different parts of the country. In Kent, where Hengist and his followers came by invitation to defeftd the land against the Picts, contact was early and, at first, friendly enough to allow some real continuity between Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon society. In much of Northumbria the Celtic population had lived beyond the Roman frontier or had had contact only with the military, and here Anglian rule came to be exercised over communities often little changed since prehistoric times. In the Midlands the forest country had been so nearly uninhabited that the settlers had things very much their own way; their main encounter there was with nature, not with the Britons. In Wessex, on the other hand, that old centre of prehistoric settlement, there came in time to be a peaceful absorption of the still numerous British peasantry, with a mingling of races and of social traditions. Here and there, too, in naturally isolated regions, blocks of resistance survived, like the British kingdoms of Elmet and Loidis in the southern Pennines, well into the seventh century.

There is another important aspect of this matter of British survival. Very few of the Anglo-Saxon settlers could have known anything of city life: what happened to the towns so carefully planted by the Romans ? One of them, Canterbury, because of the special character of Hengist's 'treaty* settlement, seems to have maintained a genuine continuity of civic life. But others too, perhaps, kept some tenuous organization alive until after the arrival of Augustine, when Lincoln and York at least benefited from the policy of the Roman Church to refurbish the great memories of the Roman Empire. Most of the rest must soon have resembled the heavily bombed towns of Europe in the 1940^, ruins where a few people continued to live not as city

dwellers but rather as they might shelter in caves among the rocks. Such stragglers may at least have helped to preserve some memory of the Latin names, so that, strangely warped by many generations of Anglo-Saxon tongues, they survived and have been fixed at last by the standardized spelling of our Ordnance Survey. But these man-haunted ruins were not of practical interest to the barbarians, who, after the early period of destructive aggression, saw them rather as a natural part of the landscape of their new country. The cleared land round them might often be taken for immediate settlement, but the fallen buildings themselves were no more than the object of romantic awe.

Curious is this stonework! The Fates destroyed it;
The town buildings falter: moulders the work of giants.
The roofs are tipped down, the turrets turn over,
The barred gate is broken, white lies on mortar
The frost, and open stands the arching, cumber of lumber
Eaten under with age. Earth has the Lord-Builders;
The dust holds them while a thousand
Generations are ended.

With such remote wonder a later Saxon poet re-created the ruins of Bath, to him as strange and as useless as the megalithic buildings that were two and a half millennia more remote.

Yet after a period of extreme decay or total abandonment, towns were to be re-established on or near most of the Roman sites. Of the twelve tribal capitals, nine are considerable towns to-day, all four of the *coloniae* are important cities, while London is again London. One reason for this revival was due to the skill of the Roman planners. Sites so admirably chosen were likely to be reoccupied as soon as the country was again ready for town life. Their selection was made even more probable by the fact that, alone among the major amenities of the province, Roman roads remained in use. Although their surface must have become ruinous with potholes, they were still important thoroughfares which naturally led back to the sites of the towns that had once flourished beside them. Then again all the towns which were re-established are at river crossings, and therefore well able to serve the valley settlement pattern of the Anglo-Saxons. It is revealing that Silchester, one of the very few inland Roman towns that was not on a river of any size, is also one of the very few which has perished, its walls still standing hollow and deserted on the edge of a waste of gorse and heather.

Had the Roman towns followed the prehistoric light soil occupation of the country and stood, like the hill-forts, among the uplands, they must have perished; but built as they were at convenient river crossings their resurrection was certain. So it was assured that in many towns of England, when men sink drains or the foundations for modern buildings, they may strike a fallen column, a tessellated pavement, or the fragments of a wine jar, and be reminded that town life was already understood there nearly two thousand years before them.

We have seen, then, the historical picture, how the Anglo-Saxons struck at the Roman province from east and south, rapidly destroyed its administrative unity, its town life, and its villa system, and thereafter during two centuries pushed back, broke up, isolated, and absorbed a resistant but incoherent population. But once the invaders had reached our shores the force which guided them in this process was largely geographical. Now, as much as in prehistoric times, it was a question of peoples fitting themselves into their new land; their approach was blind and instinctive, controlled by local circumstance, with none of the Romans' far-reaching intellectual design. Yet the manner of their fitting was unlike that of any prehistoric invaders, except in some respects that of the Belgae; for they brought with them different habits which demanded a different exploitation of natural resources. Here were Germanic peoples traditionally adapted to life in forested country. Penetrating the country by its rivers they might disembark to build their first settlements on open patches of gravel; but steadily, as generations of sons went to axe an inheritance from the forests, they pushed up valleys and spread away from the river banks, 'turning the valley bottoms into water meadows, the forest margins into arable and pasture'—cutting Roman Britain into the likeness of medieval England.

In many parts of the country the valley sides were terraced with their long, narrow fields where the ox teams paced slowly to and fro dragging heavy ploughs, while above, in the old upland areas of cultivation, turf formed over deserted farms and the outlines of the little Celtic fields as they slipped back gradually to pasture and waste.

This encroachment upon the heaviest clay lands went on as the patchy pagan settlements consolidated into the large Christian kingdoms, side by side with the historical process of the push to the west and the elimination of areas of British independence.

A most significant illustration is the foundation of the strong kingdom of Mercia among the Midland clays which until then had supported little more than trees and wild creatures. By the seventh century this Mercia had pushed westward to the natural limit of the mountains, and Offa with his great dyke could draw what was to be more or less the final frontier between the English and the free Britons, or, as we now find ourselves obliged to call them, the foreigners or Welsh'.

This general trend in land-taking was not deflected by the coming of the Danes and Norsemen, who, indeed, themselves contributed to it; many remote dales in the Lake District, for instance, were certainly first penetrated and settled by the Norwegians who had come to this north-western region from Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Scottish islands. However, the temporary Danish supremacy in the Midlands, East Anglia, and Yorkshire did have one important effect on the population pattern, through the stimulus which it gave to the growth of towns. No doubt the increasing productivity of Anglo-Saxon farming would of itself have developed more market centres; there were ecclesiastical forces at work too; yet without the Danes the establishment of towns would have been slower. This great sea-faring people came with their own conception of maritime trading towns and themselves established or further developed their riverside marts of Norwich and York, the famous five boroughs of Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, Stamford, and Nottingham, and other smaller centres. But more than this, their example so far stimulated the English that when Edward the Elder and Æthelstan were reconquering the Danelaw they set up boroughs to secure the liberated territories. This deliberate policy was, of course, responsible for the exceptionally uniform layout of our midland shires. It is true that these 'burhs' were primarily intended as military strongholds, but their protection soon attracted commerce and they became places where craftsmen worked and farmers marketed their produce, the immediate forerunners of the medieval boroughs. Over one hundred such 'burhs' were legally recognized by the Domesday Survey.

V

There is justification for passing straight to 1086 and the Domesday Book at the expense of the historic event of twenty years before. For the Conquest, although it is of concern here as the last of the many invasions of Britain, the last substantial addition to our racial inheritance, after which our coasts were to be held against all comers, did surprisingly little to alter the course of land settlement and urban development. Certainly this was checked in some regions by military devastation, particularly the terrible harrying of the north, and it was hindered by the vast acreage of Royal Forests, but on balance the work of reclamation made progress even between Conquest and Domesday Survey. The Royal Forests have a peculiar interest here, for they represent a deliberate attempt to check the irresistible process that we have been following, to set the clock back by maintaining the more primitive type of countryside necessary for the artificial pursuit of a more primitive mode of life. No policy could be more aristocratically high-handed, yet one can see a democratic analogy in the strenuous efforts made by the L.C.C. to establish a 'green belt' against the irresistible process of recent times—the spread of towns. Though delayed by the temporary land-glut resulting from the Black Death, reclamation of waste went forward through the Middle Ages, and indeed found an effective new agent in the monasteries, particularly those of the Cistercians, whose belief urged them to seek the wildest valleys and whose industry made their lands broad and prosperous.

If in Saxon times already the forest cloak was badly moth-eaten, by now it had fallen into shreds. At the beginning of the Tudor era few large tracts of wild England remained. There were woods such as Sherwood, Selwood, Dean, Andred, Windsor, Epping, the New Forest—and no one will forget that when Shakespeare lived in Stratford the Forest of Arden with its romantic promise of gnarled oaks and stricken deer still stretched on the north-west bank of the Avon. There was also the East Anglian fenland, an isolated primitive region, all rich green pasture in the summer and floods in the winter, whose inhabitants, graziers, fishermen, and fowlers, had often to go about their affairs on stilts. But for the rest, most English acres that were not arable or pasture for cattle and the immense flocks of sheep that were for so long the main source of the national wealth, were left as spinney and

coppice and common waste where the villagers could graze their beasts and gather their firewood. This was the land, in fact, whose inclosure piecemeal right up to the nineteenth century was to give rise to so much fury and so much profit. On this reduced supply of timber far larger demands were now to be made as the consumption of iron rose. If in the Bronze Age British tin and copper had become famous for spears and swords, now English iron proved to be uncommonly good for cannon. Many of the surviving woodlands were finally eaten up by the smelting furnaces; in the late-seventeenth-century revised edition of Camden's *Britannia* it is recorded, for example, that since the Elizabethan antiquary's day the forest of Arden had been entirely destroyed by iron-workers of the West Midlands.

Even under Elizabeth there was a serious shortage of the* best oak for ship-building, and all through Tudor and Stuart times country people in areas away from the lines of water transport had to eat bread and cheese and grow cold in their houses from lack of faggots for cooking and heating—a good example of an upset in human ecology caused by the blind pursuit of one interest without thought for the rest. Having destroyed the living forest men found a substitute in dead ones. As the first miners became used to the white dust of flint mines, so these grew inured to blackness. During Stuart times coal-mining increased rapidly, and already before the end of the century miners were working far below the surface of the land in conditions never before known to man.

This increased activity in the production of coal and iron was in large part only a symptom of the great change in England's position in the world which, though it had in fact gone far in the fifteenth, could only be consciously apprehended in the seventeenth century. The opening up of the globe which had moved this island from the edge of Europe to the centre of a great maritime system was already doing much to foster industry and commerce, to swell towns—particularly ports and, most of all, London—and in general to make way for the Industrial Revolution.

But first there was to be the eighteenth century, that lovely, poised moment of the English eighteenth century. The noise and fume of industry very much in the background, and England still deeply and splendidly rural. The country has been tamed; two thousand years of human days have reduced forest and waste to insignificance; yet the land is well timbered, with elm and oak

standing huge in the hedges, fine trees everywhere in the parks of the gentry, and many more being planted. Game must be artificially preserved in a countryside where few animals larger than a hare can survive. Landscape gardeners find every prospect capable of improvement, and for the first time the siting of countrymen's houses is influenced by aesthetic considerations.

The whole prosperous scene was man-made. Indeed, so great was his triumph, his mastery, that man could suddenly afford to find rugged scenery attractive, and he rode off along his fast-improving roads to those mountain strongholds where nature was still undomesticated; he went in pursuit of that sense of awe and wonder which had pressed so closely upon prehistoric man in the Urwald, but which was now in final retreat.

Then faster and faster, relentlessly, and at least as blindly as the Anglo-Saxon settlements broke down Roman Britain, the Industrial Revolution put an end to eighteenth-century rural order. England began to support millions of men who had nothing to do with the land or with food production, and the balance of this unattached population shifted its greatest weight from south-east to north-west as workers massed like swarming bees round those areas where iron and coal and other minerals lay beneath the surface. So geological factors came to play quite a different part in determining the pattern of human settlement, no longer affecting it indirectly through vegetation and surface conditions, but directly through the presence of desired substances in the rocks themselves.

Agriculture strained for a time to keep pace, but with the influx of American grain, collapsed and allowed towns, spreading to an unheard-of size, to crush its decaying body. They spread, and joined. There is a squirrel, now grown almost proverbial, which it is said could once have travelled from end to end of England without leaving the tree-tops. In our time, if the creature would consent to try, there are regions, say, from Leeds to Halifax, where it could run for twenty miles without coming down from the roofs. Only sometimes after dark in these Yorkshire towns do the natural contours reassert themselves through the masking houses until a passenger on a bus top can distinguish the line of hills and dales that must have been familiar to the Britons holding out in their remote kingdom of Loidis.

One last piece of reclamation is to be recorded, a genuine piece of twentieth-century land-taking. Cobbett was in no doubt

about the worthlessness of the sandy Surrey country south-west of London, of 'the rascally common' near Guildford, or the 'barren and miserable' and 'villainous' heaths of Bagshot: he raged against the 'stock-jobbers' and the 'vast improvements' that were going on there. But its colonization by Londoners no longer interested in the agricultural value of land was inevitable. Now nightly and at week-ends successful business men are driven from the City, up their short drives between the rhododendron beds to shelter beneath the surprising gables and turrets of their Tudor homes. Nearby, sometimes along sandy tracks that have almost a look of Middle West pioneering, the less and less successful live in a progression of villas, bungalows, and converted railway carriages planted among the ragged and degraded wreck of the pinewoods.

We started with neolithic man lost in the forests, and are near to ending with ourselves lost in conurbations. Yet although as far ahead as we can see most Englishmen will live in towns, our reduced fertility should assure that the varied country which still survives round them will not be destroyed. Indeed, many water meadows must be as peaceful as when some Anglo-Saxon farmer first cleared them, much downland is less populous than it was in prehistoric times, while on the moors Bronze Age hut circles jut through the heather where there is not an inhabited house in sight. It may be, unless we fight against it, that the mass weapons of press, wireless, cinema, and the rest to come will smudge into uniformity all those delicate local peculiarities in human habits which began to take shape in the early Middle Ages, differences in the way that people make their cakes and pies, build their haystacks or fasten their gates, to say nothing of the way they speak and think. But these forces can hardly blur the distinctions of the countryside. For who will try to make heather grow in a water meadow, or buttercups on a mountain top; and what man, for that matter, can make an emperor moth feed on marigolds?

II

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY

By **THE RT. HON. RICHARD LAW, M.P.**

I

THE community has always counted for more than the State in England, and the individual for more than the community. So, at least, it has been until our own day. For the State is but a function of the wider society of which it is a part, and the community expresses itself in other fields than government. There have been societies, it is true, in which the State has dominated the community, and even absorbed it into itself, and in which the functions of government have been universal and all-pervasive. But the so-called totalitarian states are no more natural, and no more healthy, than a man would be who, was dominated by a single faculty or a single appetite. In England, at any rate, the State has been fashioned and moulded by the community, and controlled by it. And John Stuart Mill could say, less than a hundred years ago, that in England 'nine-tenths of the internal business which elsewhere devolves on government is transacted by agencies independent of it'.

The truth of Mill's dictum has been qualified, no doubt, by the developments of the past half century, but even in the new * Social Service State* into which we are apparently entering it is a case of the State taking over in many, perhaps in most fields, the work which was begun or brought to completion by individuals or groups of individuals. Our present system of state education is founded upon the charity schools of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the grammar schools of the fifteenth and sixteenth, founded and endowed by individual benefactors. Our health services derive from the great voluntary hospitals which developed so swiftly, under the impulse of individual compassion and co-ordinated voluntary effort, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Our legal system, with its insistence upon the equality of all men before the law, is based upon no code but is the result, rather, of the steady development of case-law. The great body of English law was framed, it might almost be said, not by any governmental action but by the initiative and enterprise of the malefactors or litigants who induced the judgements which

afterwards became part of the law of the land. And the external expansion of England was due far less to any predetermined policy of government than to the impulses of society and the action of individuals. It was not the State which settled the English on the American continent, but the stirrings of the English conscience or the workings of the English appetite for material gain. It was English traders, not the English State, that drove the French from India, even though the State intervened to consolidate the conquest and to curb the abuses to which an unrestrained appetite for trade gave rise.

Mill was expressing, indeed, a truth which is fundamental to the English way of life and which differentiates it sharply from that of most other countries. Whether it has been a matter of the internal organization of English society, or of the growth of English influence abroad, the impulse of life in England has always come from below; it has never been imposed from above. And it is this impulse, its direction rather than its force, the fact that it derives from the community (and from the individual within the community) rather than from the government, which has given so much flexibility to English political thought, and which has enabled far-reaching social changes to take place without undue disturbance and without any break in the long continuity of English life. That public opinion is always ahead of the government is a truism in England, but it is probably more true of England than of any other country; that is one reason, no doubt, for the stability of government in England—and for the instability of particular governments.

But if the community has never been subordinated to the demands of the State, neither has it ever been able wholly to possess the individual. More than most, the Englishman has a sense of social obligation, a feeling of responsibility towards the society of which he is a member. But while he has been conscious of what he owes to society he has never forgotten what is due to himself; and a threat to his rights as an individual, even though it may seem to come from the community and not from the government, will be resisted as doggedly as if it had come from the government itself or, indeed, from an external enemy. That is why patriotic Englishmen have been known to strike in time of war, and why their sons and brothers have written to them from the battlefield to encourage them in courses which, if they had been successful, would have endangered their own lives. In

the exercise of his civic virtues the Englishman shows at times a sense of moderation which is worthy of Athens in the fifth century. Indeed, the acute and sensitive awareness of his social obligation, which is normal to him, is based not upon any mystic value with which the community may be thought to be endowed, but simply upon his understanding of the fact that he enlarges the boundaries of his own freedom by respecting the freedom of others, and that he develops and expands his own personality by sharing it with others. It is the fruit of his political experience, not of metaphysical speculation.

II

It is this separate existence of the individual, the community, and the State, and the primacy of the individual over the community, of the community over the State, which gives to English society its unique character. The whole complicated structure of parliamentary government derives from the right of the individual subject to have redress for his grievances from the executive; it is based upon the assertion of individual rights, and the rights of the community, against the pretensions of government. But this subordination of the State, of government, to the individual is more than the expression of a constitutional maxim; it is of the essence of English life. To compare England with Germany, for example, is to take two extremes which, however, illustrate vividly enough the contrast between a State which is only one expression of the community's manifold activities, and a community which is centred on the State and subordinate to it. For in modern Germany everything has flowed down from the top, and the activities of government have permeated the whole of the life of the community. And this is as true of Bismarck's Germany as it is of Hitler's, or of the Prussia of Frederick the Great. The German, when he thinks of Germany, speaks of 'the Reich'; there is a picture in his mind of order, authority, and discipline. When the Englishman thinks of England he thinks of home, not of 10 Downing Street or the Palace of Westminster or County Hall. He sees a picture, blurred, no doubt, but unique and identifiable, of grey skies and brown fields, of the gay, lit, steaming windows of a tram-car clattering and swaying through the squalor of an industrial town, of the warm companionship of the bar-parlour or the cricket field or the stands on the football ground. Each uses the term that brings to his mind the complex of ideas and

associations that represents for him his country. The German is always thinking of a *Fuhrer,* whoever he may be. It must be rarely that the English exile, when he thinks of home, thinks first of the Prime Minister of the day.

There is, indeed, a quality of reticence about English patriotism which arises from the nature of the Englishman's relationship to the community in which he lives. It is always, in some degree, an external relationship. The feeling of an Englishman for his country is deep and inexpressive and sometimes passionate, but he rarely identifies himself completely with his country; there is always something of the innermost core of his personality that is in reserve. It was not an Englishman who said 'Our country right or wrong[5]. The American speaks freely and proudly of 'Uncle Sam', and identifies himself with him. The Englishman will never speak of John Bull, although he sees him depicted in the pages of *Punch* with no more than a slight and queasy feeling of distaste. A study of the advertising matter in an American and an English newspaper reflects the same kind of difference. An advertisement is rarely published in the United States which does not appeal directly to American patriotism. The reader is invited to buy a refrigerator or a motor-tyre or a passage in an air-liner, not only because it is the best but also because it is American. The appeal to the English consumer is usually more direct; it is an appeal simply to his laziness, his cupidity, or his appetite. The Russian, too, identifies himself with a high and mystic conception of his country as the Englishman does not. The Russian, Tsarist or Communist, is conscious always of a mission to redeem not only himself but mankind, and this consciousness of a holy purpose is as evident in the pages of Dostoevsky as in those of Lenin. But no one has ever heard an Englishman speak of 'Holy England'.

English patriotism is seldom blatant or assertive, and it is the Englishman's complacency rather than his arrogance that arouses the irritation or the amusement of his critics. The Englishman's feeling for his country does not express itself in terms of streaming banners or marching bands. It is the note of the bugle, heard across the dusty *maidans* of India or from the deck of a distant ship, that evokes in the heart of the exile a passionate nostalgia for his home. The bugle, melancholy, bitter, and triumphant, calling to duty or to rest, is the authentic voice of imperial England, not the drum. And the Englishman, slow to anger, is quick to arms. He will quickly respond to the voice of the bugle. What is it, this

abstraction for which the Englishman is always ready to fight, and to die? It is not for the power of England. It is not for the riches of England. It is not for 'the folk'. And most certainly it is not for the rulers of England. What does he fight for? He fights for his liberties, for the right to do as he pleases with his own, within the framework of the laws which he himself has created. The Englishman is complacent about himself and his motives. He is attached to his material comforts. He is proud of his traditions, and satisfied with his institutions. But his only passion is for freedom, and a threat to his freedom, whether from abroad or from his fellow-countrymen, will always rouse him.

'The English had always been, and at present were, a free people, such as in few or no other realms were to be found the like, by which freedom was maintained a valiant courage in that people/[1] So an English historian wrote in 1585, and so he could have written at any time in the last 400 years. Philip of Spain, Louis of France, Bonaparte, William II, and Adolf Hitler—each made the same challenge, and each evoked the same response. This valiant courage, masked sometimes by laziness or by tolerance, has never been very far beneath the surface of the English mind, and the soil which nourished it has never been exhausted.

It is this feeling for freedom which determines, too, the Englishman's attitude towards the foreigner. The Englishman distrusts the foreigner, and tends to dislike him, as a member of any highly organized group will always distrust and dislike those who stand outside his group. But he pities the foreigner more than he dislikes him. And if he sometimes looks down upon the foreigner it is just because, in his view, the foreigner has no knowledge of this priceless blessing of freedom. His condescension has its roots in sympathy. That is precisely the quality which makes it so difficult to endure.

The passion for freedom, the source alike of the Englishman's strength and of his condescension, derives not so much from any unique and innate capacity within him as from the physical limitations which have been imposed by geography upon the structure and development of English society. Insularity, as the Lady Amelia de Courcy once said to Mary Thorne, has its drawbacks as well as its advantages; but it has advantages, too. The Englishman's insularity is proverbial, and the fact that the

[1] Quoted by Froude, *History of England,*

English are an island people, divided from the mainland of Europe and insulated, in some degree, from the main currents of European thought, has given to the English mind the sort of rigidity or intolerance which makes a man impatient and resentful of social usages to which he is not accustomed. Contrary to the generally accepted view the Englishman rarely feels at home when he is abroad, except in so far as he is able to take his own home with him. Even within the Commonwealth itself the best ambassador for England has always been the Scot. For Scotland, an outlying part of the same island, has never been insular in quite the same degree as England. There have been ties between Scotland and continental Europe even at times when England has been utterly cut off from it. But his insularity has given the Englishman this priceless advantage. He was able to develop a sense of nationality long before the peoples of the European mainland developed it. And he was relatively so secure, in his island stronghold, against the threat of the tyrant from abroad that he was able to devote the greater part of his energies to the destruction of tyranny at home. The Englishman's instinct for freedom is the reflection, in part at least, of his insularity.

The history of England, indeed, is the record of an endless campaign which the Englishman has waged to preserve or assert his liberties against a succession of tyrannies which threatened to overwhelm them. The Englishman made common cause with the Crown to curb the power of the barons or to limit the pretensions, when they seemed excessive, of the Church. He made common cause with Parliament, or with the great lords of the Revolution, to regulate and set limits to the authority of the Crown. In their turn he clipped the wings of the oligarchs themselves, and 1832 is a landmark on the road to freedom as clear and definite as 1688. And the day will come, no doubt, when he turns upon the bureaucracy. The growth of political freedom has been accompanied, from the Peasants' Revolt in the fourteenth century to the General Strike in the twentieth, by a struggle for economic equality, but the latter has not generally been inspired by any dogmatic belief in the value of equality, for the Englishman has never greatly prized it. The economic struggle in England, indeed, whether it has been the struggle of the villein against the lord of the manor, the landless labourer against the yeoman farmer, the manufacturing interests against the land-owning classes, or the struggle of labour against capital in the days of the Industrial Revolution,

Who is Bonaparte?

WHO IS HE? Why, an obscure Corsican that began his Murderous **Career, with turning his Artillery upon the Citizens of Paris—who boasted in his Public Letter from Pavia, of *having shot the whole Municipality—who* put the *helpless, innocent*, and *unoffending* Inhabitants of Alexandria, *Man, Woman,* and *Child,* to the SWORD, till *Slaughter* was tired of its Work—who, against all the Laws of War, put near 4000 Turks *to* Death, in cold Blood, after their Surrender—who destroyed his own Comrades by *Poison,* when lying sick and wounded in Hospitals, because they were unable to further the Plan of Pillage which carried him to St Jean D'Acre—who, having thus stained the Profession of Arms, and solemnly and publicly renounced the religious Faith of Christendom and embraced Mahometanism, again pretended to embrace the Christian Religion—who, on his return to France, destroyed the Representative System—who, after seducing the Polish Legion into the Service of his pretended Republic, treacherously transferred it to St Domingo, where it has perished to a Man, either by Disease or the Sword—and who, finally, as it were to fill the measure of his Arrogance, has *Dared* to attack what is most dear and useful to civilized Society, the FREEDOM of the PRESS and the FREEDOM of SPEECH, by proposing to restrict the *British Press,* and the Deliberations of the *British Senate.*—Such is the TYRANT We are called upon to oppose; and such is the Fate which awaits *ENGLAND,* should WE suffer him and his degraded *Slaves,* to pollute *OUR* Soil.**

London: Printed for J. ASPERNE, Successor to Mr. SEWELL, at the Bible, Crown, and Constitution, No. 32, Cornhill, *by* J. and E. HODSON.

[PRICE id. or 6s. the loo, or 9d. per Dozen.]

WHERE MAY BE ALSO HAD,

SHERIDAN'S *Address to the People.*

PRICE 1d. 6s. the 100, or 9*d.* the Dozen.

Also a Collection of all the Loyal Papers that have been Published.

☞ ***Noblemen, Magistrates* and Gentlemen, iviuld do well, by ordering a few Dozen of the above Tracts of their different Booksellers, and cause them to be stuck up in the respective Villages where they reside, that the Inhabitants may le convinced of the* Cruelty *of the* Corsican Usurper.**

THE ENGLISHMAN'S INVETERATE FEAR OF A DICTATOR
An anti-Napoleonic handbill, *c.* 1803

English are an island people, divided from the mainland of Europe and insulated, in some degree, from the main currents of European thought, has given to the English mind the sort of rigidity or intolerance which makes a man impatient and resentful of social usages to which he is not accustomed. Contrary to the generally accepted view the Englishman rarely feels at home when he is abroad, except in so far as he is able to take his own home with him. Even within the Commonwealth itself the best ambassador for England has always been the Scot. For Scotland, an outlying part of the same island, has never been insular in quite the same degree as England. There have been ties between Scotland and continental Europe even at times when England has been utterly cut off from it. But his insularity has given the Englishman this priceless advantage. He was able to develop a sense of nationality long before the peoples of the European mainland developed it. And he was relatively so secure, in his island stronghold, against the threat of the tyrant from abroad that he was able to devote the greater part of his energies to the destruction of tyranny at home. The Englishman's instinct for freedom is the reflection, in part at least, of his insularity.

The history of England, indeed, is the record of an endless campaign which the Englishman has waged to preserve or assert his liberties against a succession of tyrannies which threatened to overwhelm them. The Englishman made common cause with the Crown to curb the power of the barons or to limit the pretensions, when they seemed excessive, of the Church. He made common cause with Parliament, or with the great lords of the Revolution, to regulate and set limits to the authority of the Crown. In their turn he clipped the wings of the oligarchs themselves, and 1832 is a landmark on the road to freedom as clear and definite as 1688. And the day will come, no doubt, when he turns upon the bureaucracy. The growth of political freedom has been accompanied, from the Peasants' Revolt in the fourteenth century to the General Strike in the twentieth, by a struggle for economic equality, but the latter has not generally been inspired by any dogmatic belief in the value of equality, for the Englishman has never greatly prized it. The economic struggle in England, indeed, whether it has been the struggle of the villein against the lord of the manor, the landless labourer against the yeoman farmer, the manufacturing interests against the land-owning classes, or the struggle of labour against capital in the days of the Industrial Revolution,

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An anti-Napoleonic handbill, *c.* 1803

THE

Freemen

AND

ELECTORS

OF ROCHESTER,

Are respectfully informed that

LORD CHARLES WELLESLEY,

SON of the Duke of

WELLINGTON

Dictator of England!

And sworn foe of Civil and Religious Liberty,

WILL ARRIVE IN THIS CITY,

At 10 this Morning*

All the Friends of Military Government—Tory Policy-and Abuses in Church and State, are invited to lend their assistance in securing his Election.

***Rochester, Dec. 12th,* 1834.**

SWEETS, PRINTERS, STROOD.

FEAR OF A DICTATOR

A Rochester election handbill of 1834

has been the expression partly of a desire for material gain but even more, perhaps, of a determination to resist tyranny, whether that tyranny is expressed in political or in economic forms, a determination, in short, 'not to be put upon\ The instinct for liberty, far more than for equality, has been the mainspring of social change in England.

in

The historical development of English society, with its insistence upon the final and absolute value of liberty, has given to it a freedom and variety which are, indeed, its dominant characteristics. But the English conception of liberty has never consisted merely in the denial of tyranny and of the pretensions of government. There has been, too, the positive willingness of the Englishman to shoulder his individual share of the burden of government, and to accept it without payment or reward. Service in the House of Commons, for example, has never been regarded as a profession or as a means of earning a livelihood; it has always been looked upon, rather, as the acceptance of a responsibility of which the irksomeness is mitigated, but not wholly relieved, by the social prestige which attaches to it; and even to-day, when Members of Parliament receive a salary, payment of Members should properly be considered an easement of the financial embarrassment which arises, in these days, from the devotion of long hours to the public service rather than a monetary reward due for services rendered.

The system of local government in England is equally distinctive, and has its roots in the same kind of historical cause. Louis X I V finally destroyed local government in France; and the highly centralized bureaucracy, centred on Paris and spreading to the outermost perimeter of France, was an instrument which proved incapable of promoting the reforms which alone could have averted revolution. In England the creation of Justices of the Peace, local gentry who dispensed the king's peace in the king's name, nourished the English instinct for self-government. In the words of Professor Trevelyan, the Crown Recognized and used local connexions and influence for the King's purposes, a compromise significant for the future development of English society as distinct from that of other lands'.[1]

The Englishman, in any walk of life, has always prided himself

[1] *English Social History.*

upon his status as an amateur. He has preferred to do things for himself to having them done for him more efficiently by somebody else, and there are some things that he would sooner not be paid for doing. Local government is no more efficiently conducted in England than in France. Perhaps, indeed, it is less efficient. But in England it is based upon the principle of voluntary, unpaid service, and the salaried staff of a local authority is the servant of an unpaid council. There is scarcely a field of the community's activities, from the management of a hospital or a school to the organization of a masonic lodge, a friendly society, or a homing pigeon club, which is not based upon the principle of part-time, unpaid service. No matter how preoccupied he may be with the harsh business of getting a living, the Englishman is never wholly at ease with himself unless some part of his energies is being devoted to a purpose outside the field of his immediate self-interest. It is a reflection, no doubt, and, as it were, a decentralization or diffusion, of the theory of feudalism, a system in which, while the inferior had defined and measurable obligations towards his feudal superior, the latter had obligations, undefined but imperative, to the particular society of which he was the head.

But it would be a mistake to assume that the insistence of the Englishman upon his amateur status, the assertion of his right to share the burdens of the community as well as to partake of its rewards, was the expression of a disinterested idealism. It arises, rather, from an instinctive understanding of the fact that the greatest threat to the liberty of the individual comes from too great a concentration of power at the centre; and that the most direct way of escaping the tyrannical exercise of power is to exercise it oneself. The peer repairing to Westminster with his writ of summons, the knight grudgingly attending as the representative of his shire, the justice dispensing the king's peace from the bench—each was performing a public service which, at the same time, was serving his own private interest, the interest which he shared with all his fellow-subjects, of curbing and limiting the authority of the central government. And the example of voluntary, unpaid service which was set in these fields spread out and was diffused until it permeated the whole community of England.

But it would be an over-simplification to suppose that the Englishman's conception of freedom has consisted simply in opposition to his government. Not every threat to individual

liberty has arisen from the government of the day. The government, very often, has protected the individual from other and equally formidable threats to his independence—more often than not, it is true, by the mere transference of power from some private institution to itself, but sometimes, at least, by the disinterested suppression of a monopoly. Land legislation in Elizabethan times, for instance, was deliberately designed to curb the large land-owner and to preserve the small man. But whether he has regarded the government as his enemy or as his protector the Englishman's idea of liberty has never been purely negative. It has never consisted simply in the concept that freedom is the absence of restraint, but rather in the idea that it must be a positive assertion of the individual personality. And this concept of freedom, a freedom that is positive and active, not merely passive, has never been limited in its application to the field of politics. It covers the full range of the community's activities.

Indeed, if there is any justice in the claim which is often made on behalf of the Englishman for an innate political sagacity superior to that of most other peoples, it lies principally, perhaps, in this: the Englishman is not exclusively interested in politics in the sense in which the pursuit of politics is an over-mastering passion with, say, the Irishman or the Greek, but lets a natural aptitude for political action range over the whole field of his interests. He brings to a vestry meeting, a meeting of his trade union, a meeting of his local allotment-holders' association or horticultural society the same kind of judgement and the same quality of decision that he brings to the business of Parliament or the Guildhall. He does not let all his energies and all his interest be drained into political channels, even though he is exercising all the time his capacity for political judgement. And the fact that political interest is thus diffused in England implies, perhaps, a greater measure of political stability than is to be found generally even in democratic societies. For the Englishman, practised in the art of politics so far as his private affairs are concerned, brings to public affairs the same understanding of what is politically possible, the same realization of the fact that the best can so easily be the enemy of the good, the same understanding, in short, of the value of compromise. It means, too, that the normal relationships of the individual are not with the State, expressed as a government, but with the community in all the multifarious expressions of its activity. As a French writer,

Pierre Maillaud, has observed: 'the French think in terms of family and the nation, the English tend to think in terms of the individual and society'.

IV

The characteristic of the Englishman, the fact that his relationships with government are indirect while his relationships with the community are direct and concrete, while it gives to English society a high degree, of unity and cohesiveness, does not mean that the Englishman is a type, or that he exists simply as a member of a class or of a group. He remains always an individual, and his relationships to the various associations which give practical expression to his interests are casual and, in a sense, superficial —superficial in the sense that they are the framework around which his personality can expand and develop, that they are a convenience rather than an inner necessity. The Englishman carries his social responsibilities as a man wears an old suit that has been well cut but is now shabby, unregarded, and almost shapeless; but it is practical, comfortable, and in its own way distinguished. The German, it might be said, carries his as a man wears a uniform. In the one case it is a decent covering for the inner man. In the other it is an expression of the soul. But the Englishman's soul is secret and hidden, as anyone who takes the train in England will conclude before his journey's end.

Thus the elaborately developed social consciousness, the profound and instinctive social awareness of the Englishman, is the framework of a pronounced individuality. It is the soil in which the individuality or, it might almost be said, the eccentricity which is in any case natural to the Englishman has been fostered and developed. And this individuality can be seen in every form of social expression in England, in politics, in science, in literature, in social reform, in overseas adventure and even, paradoxically enough, in the distinctive and sharply defined class structure of English society. Variety, as well as freedom, is a dominant characteristic of English life.

One has only to think of Chaucer's long gallery of portraits to understand that from the very beginning of the English nation the individual has been its essence and its core. Many of Chaucer's pictures, no doubt, are of types, but the most detailed, the Wife of Bath, for instance, are of unique and distinctive human beings. And then there is Falstaff. Some aspects of him are typical of the

Renaissance, but Falstaff on the whole is a timeless individual who came to life so effectively that, as Bradley has pointed out, Shakespeare couldn't really control him. The Italians, and even more the French, were masters of the classical type. *Hamlet* may or may not be a greater play than *The Cid,* or *Macbeth* than *Britannicus.* It is a matter of taste, a question for dispute. But there can be no dispute about the fact that Shakespeare created human beings where Racine or Corneille created types. Then there is the eighteenth-century novel in England. Fielding's Squire Western, or Smollett's Matthew Bramble, may be typical of England, and it is probable that they could have existed nowhere else, but they are not types. There are Jane Austen and Anthony Trollope. Mr. Bennet or Mr. Woodhouse, Doctor Thorne, Mr. Harding, or the unhappy and frustrated Plantagenet Palliser, enmeshed in the complicated simplicities of his decimal coinage, are recognizable as types (most of us, indeed, are so recognizable) but they have, too, a unique quality of individuality which stamps them and marks them out as human beings.

English literature is a reflection of English life, with its individuality, its variety and, indeed, its eccentricity. For the Englishman, like the Arab (and this may be one reason why English and Arab get on together), has a great respect and liking for the eccentric, for the 'queer one'. One recalls the anecdotes of Aubrey and Evelyn and Anthony Wood in the seventeenth century, and the Great Cham himself in the eighteenth. In the nineteenth century there are Byron, Lady Hester Stanhope, and countless others, and in our own day T. E. Lawrence or Stephen Gaselee or Bernard Shaw, an Irishman whose kingdom is in England. This English eccentricity reached its fine flower, perhaps, in the great nobleman who was rich enough to indulge his fancies, but it has never been confined to the upper classes. Victorian Oxford swarmed with 'characters', from the top-hatted venerables and topers to 'the British Workman', last of his tribe. To this day the heretic, the grouser, or the crank is allowed full play in club or pub. And the sabbatical orator in Hyde Park, who is generally regarded as the supreme test of English tolerance and political balance, might be more properly considered as the recipient of the tribute which, in England, is customarily paid by conformity to non-conformity. But English eccentricity is always qualified. It is only permitted within the framework of the law or, at any rate, within the bounds which are laid down for it by social usage.

Once these bounds are transgressed the eccentric becomes a criminal or, even worse, a bore.

In the history of English literature there is nothing similar to the French Academy, and it is individual writers rather than schools that are remembered, even though these writers will naturally take on the traits and undertones of their time. It is possible to speak of an Augustan Age in English literature, or of the Gothic novel, or of neo-Georgian poetry. But the great, the dazzling periods in English literature are associated not with schools of thought but with the skill or the genius of the craftsmen who worked in them. And although the political pamphlet has always been a force in English politics, the English writer of genius has not generally or naturally harnessed himself to any specific social or political purpose; more normally he has been interested, like Shakespeare or Walter Scott, in the getting of money. Swift is remembered as an imaginative writer, not as a political pamphleteer, and it may not be unreasonable to predict that H. G. Wells, who exercised so wide an influence upon English thought in the early years of the twentieth century, will be remembered for *Kipps* and *Tono Bungay* when *The New Utopia* or *Joan and Peter* have been utterly forgotten, or that Kipling's immortality will come from *Kim* or from *Puck of Pook's Hill* rather than from any of the works which reflect more closely the social and political aspirations of the jubilee years. The English literary genius has always been essentially unself-conscious and it is quite untrue, of England at any rate, that great literature has been inspired by any social or collectivist ideal. An Englishman may write a great novel because he has to do so, or because he wants to build himself a country house; he will not sit down solemnly to compose an epic to compete with Virgil's, or even to write a novel to match Flaubert's. The only major work of English literature composed with such high motives was, indeed, written by an author who, if he shared with them a common religious background, was out of touch with his countrymen on every social issue. If ever there was an individualistic and eccentric writer Milton was that writer; and he was in no more violent disagreement with his countrymen on the subject of the divorce laws than in the deliberate and self-conscious nature of his literary inspiration.

Literature, of course, is essentially an individualistic art, and a degree of individuality which is proper to literature might be considered excessive in other fields of creative effort. One of the

most curious of the illusions which the Englishman has about himself (and which most foreigners have about him) is that his only genius is for team-work, and that he gets his best results as the anonymous member of an unremembered group. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The Englishman, in whatever field he may be working, prefers to work as an individual, and not as a member of a team. The Englishman uses the group, the team, however one chooses to express it, as he uses the community in which he lives. It is not his life; it is only the medium in which he expresses the essential individuality of his personality and of his purpose. Even in science, where group work is often successful and, up to a point, essential, the great triumphs of Englishmen have been triumphs of individuals, and sometimes of solitary workers like Newton or Darwin. The history of two world wars, of varying degrees of totality, has shown that English scientists can work whole-heartedly and with remarkable efficiency as a team organized and directed by the government; and it is likely that the atom bomb could never have been developed in any other way or, at any rate, that atomic energy could not have been exploited so quickly and ruthlessly. But it would be fair to say that English scientists have been most successful or, some might be inclined to say, least harmful, in just those fields in which the scientist has had the greatest scope for individual exploration and research. It is sometimes asserted that Russian science, in which the ambitions and the conscience of the research worker are alike subordinated to the needs of the State and the social purposes of the community, has some mystical superiority over the scientific work that is carried on in other lands, and that the search for objective truth is in itself an impediment to the growth of knowledge. It is more likely, however, that this subordination of the scientific spirit to the claims of the community, while it may make for a temporary technical efficiency in the application of science, makes also for a dead level of mediocrity in original scientific achievement. It is certain, at any rate, that it is incompatible with the Englishman's need for individual expression, and that in the scientific as in other fields the yoke of a communal as distinct from an individualistic inspiration will never sit lightly and easily upon the English neck.

In the field of physical exploration the same English tendency can be discerned. The voyages of Columbus were State enterprises as those of Drake or Frobisher were not, and there is no

equivalent to Pizarro in the history of English colonization. The motive behind the spreading forth of Englishmen all over the globe was the urge for individual betterment, sometimes, as in Massachusetts, in the moral sphere, but more often, as in the plantations of Virginia or in India, it was a simple desire for material gain. At any rate there was never any conscious purpose of national aggrandizement, and the Englishman's sense of an imperial mission was derived from his achievements in the colonial field; it was not antecedent to them. And in modern times there has been nothing comparable in England to, say, the polar exploration inspired and directed by the Soviet Government or the flamboyant and slightly ludicrous aerial armada which, in the twenties, carried the flag of fascist Italy across the South Atlantic. Exploration, as distinct from colonization, has been inspired, in modern England, by a genuine passion for scientific inquiry, a missionary zeal or a disinterested hankering after adventure. It has never been the expression of a national purpose even in those cases where, in retrospect, it has become a cause of national pride. The inspiration of the Italian Balbo and the English Scott was as dissimilar as the degree of their achievement, and the quality of the estimation in which they were held by their respective countrymen.

The history of English politics has been a record of individual achievement and of the assertion or domination of individual character. The great names have always been great characters, although they have not so invariably been good characters. From Alfred to Victoria the outstanding English sovereigns have been men and women whose personality has been more important than their intellectual capacity; in some instances, indeed, intellectual capacity has been severely limited. But simple benevolence and good intentions have never of themselves made a good king; not infrequently they have made a very bad one. And so it has been with the great parliamentary leaders. They have generally been clever men. Often they have been good men. Sometimes they have had genius. But always they have owed their position to personal influence, and if they have been eloquent, as of necessity they have had to be, the power of their eloquence has derived from their personal character, from their personal position in Parliament and their personal hold upon their followers in Parliament, and not from the magic of their oratory. It may well be that Fox was the most brilliant orator who has ever sat in Parliament, but his

generous gifts of speech never influenced the House of Commons as the coldness of Pitt, the giant weight of Gladstone, or the glitter of Disraeli influenced it—for each of these men had what Fox lacked, a personal position and a personal influence which added authority to eloquence and turned speech into action.

And nothing is more remarkable, in the House of Commons, than the influence which is exerted on occasion by men whose claims to distinction, whether of speech or of thought, would seem to be entirely negligible. It is very rarely that a powerful minister, however eloquent and however skilled in debate, can influence a single vote on a critical division. On those occasions (and they are rare indeed) when an issue is decided, one way or the other, by the weight of argument and the course of debate, it is generally the intervention of some obscure back-bencher which counts in the balance, some individual, little known, perhaps, to the public at large, whose experience, character, and freedom from personal ambition have given him an unusual degree of influence with his fellow-members. It is not that he speaks for an interest or for a group which can be relied upon to follow his lead. It is not that he convinces by the force and persuasiveness of his argument. It is his judgement that counts, not the argument which has led him to it. It is an example of the power which is exerted, not in Parliament alone but in the English community, by personality and the strength of individual character.

The House of Commons is in some ways the most typically English of our institutions. And certainly it has never been mirrored, in all its completeness, anywhere else. It has had its imitators: no comparable institution has been so freely imitated. But nowhere else, neither in foreign countries nor in the countries of the Commonwealth where the historical forms have been most closely preserved, has the authentic atmosphere of the House of Commons been reproduced. What gives its Unique character to the House of Commons, however, is not its relative efficiency as a piece of constitutional machinery. It is not that the House of Commons combines informality and spontaneity with a strict regard for the rules of order. It is not that a strict party discipline is combined with great variety of expression, or that an institution which is remarkably sensitive to public opinion is not amenable to public pressure as, for example, the Congress of the United States is. And certainly it is not that the House of Commons

represents the quintessence of the intelligence of the nation. It **does not. It** is the expression, rather, of the whole mind of the **people,** with its limitations as well as its free-ranging intelligence, **its** prejudices as well as its enlightenment, and with its stubborn, practical, earthy, limiting common-sense, as well as its flights of imagination or genius.

Indeed, the whole character of the House of Commons is derived from the fact that it is not a distillation of what is best in the community, but a reflection of the community as a whole. It is a body in which the individual exercises his influence not as the representative of a class or even of a constituency, not as an expert, but as an individual, working through and with the community of which he is a member.

'To express the common-sense of the community', writes an English historian, 'has always been the function of English parliaments, and the predominance of the layman has ever appealed to the English mind. The expert has seldom been at home in the atmosphere of parliament, and from first to last its communal organization has forbidden its separation into "estates". . . No organized class is long successful in English politics; whenever a class acts as a class in politics, whether clergy or doctors or manual workers, it betrays a lack of political wisdom; and the most prudent as well as the most ambitious claim of the Labour Party is to represent all those who work for their living, and not merely those who toil with their hands.'[1]

V

It is in this respect, no doubt, that the House of Commons is most completely characteristic of the community of England, in that it is a reflection alike of the class structure of English society and of the class struggle which, while it has never been pushed to extremes, has always permeated English society. For the class structure in England is so strongly defined that to an American observer, for example, it would seem to constitute a serious limitation on individual freedom, if not its actual negation. At the same time it is so flexible, and the passage of the individual from one class to another is so easy, that the limitations which it imposes have always been more apparent than real. And the sharpness of the class struggle has been mitigated by the fact that the Englishman's relationships have always been with the community as a whole and not exclusively either with the government or with **the particular** class of which he happens to be a member. The

[1] A. F. Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament.*

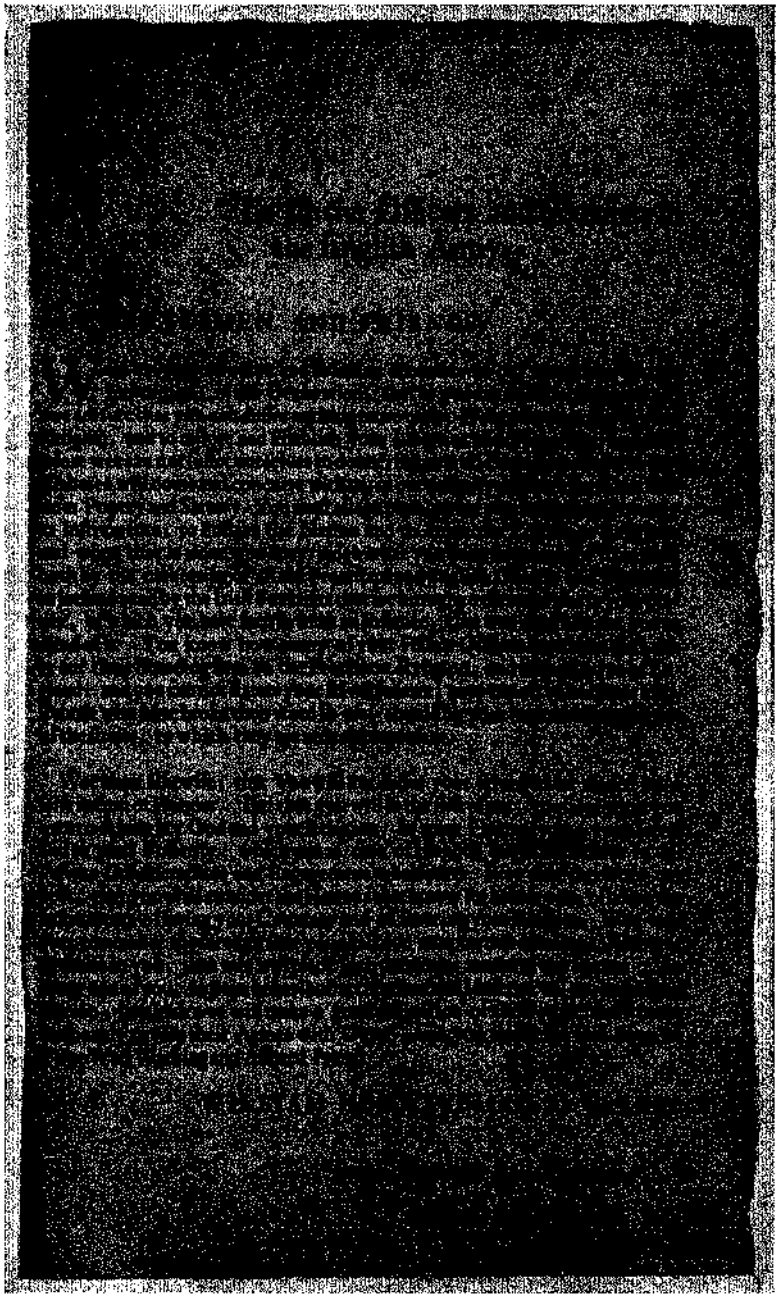
Englishman has always, and in the last analysis, associated his personal liberty with the fact that he is a member of a free community, that he is an Englishman, rather than with the political complexion of his government or the economic interests of his class. The English working man, although he may protest otherwise on political platforms, has but an imperfect sympathy with his opposite number across the channel, and in general he feels more akin to another Englishman of a class remote from his own than he does to any foreigner, however congenial the latter ought in theory to be from his economic status or his social background. And the English aristocracy has always been as nationalistic as the middle or working class, and there have been few of those international affiliations for which the continental aristocracy is alternatively praised or blamed.

The class system in England, which is apparently a denial of that principle of freedom which permeates English life, is in fact profoundly modified by the emphasis which is placed upon the individual as an end in himself. The Englishman thinks of himself first as an individual with specific rights (and consequently with specific duties) and only secondly as a member of a class, religious group, or other social unit. Indeed, the basis of English feeling about classes is a vague and modified form of the idea which is often called feudal, but which perhaps it would be more accurate to describe as Elizabethan, the idea that while men are essentially equal their equality belongs to their humanity itself; and that their social functions may be very different, so different in fact as to involve the relation of superior and inferior, without in any way derogating from their equality before God and before the law. Even before the development of any theory of social or political democracy in England, no class or group has ever stood in any special legal relation to the State since the final extinction of villeinage in the early part of the sixteenth century or the latter part of the fifteenth (it is typical of the development of English society that the status of villein was never formally abolished by government decree). The only exception to this principle has been the right of peers to a seat in the House of Lords, a privilege, however, which was purely political and carried with it no exemption from taxation and, apart from the right of a member of the House of Lords to be tried by his peers, no special position in relation to civil or criminal law.

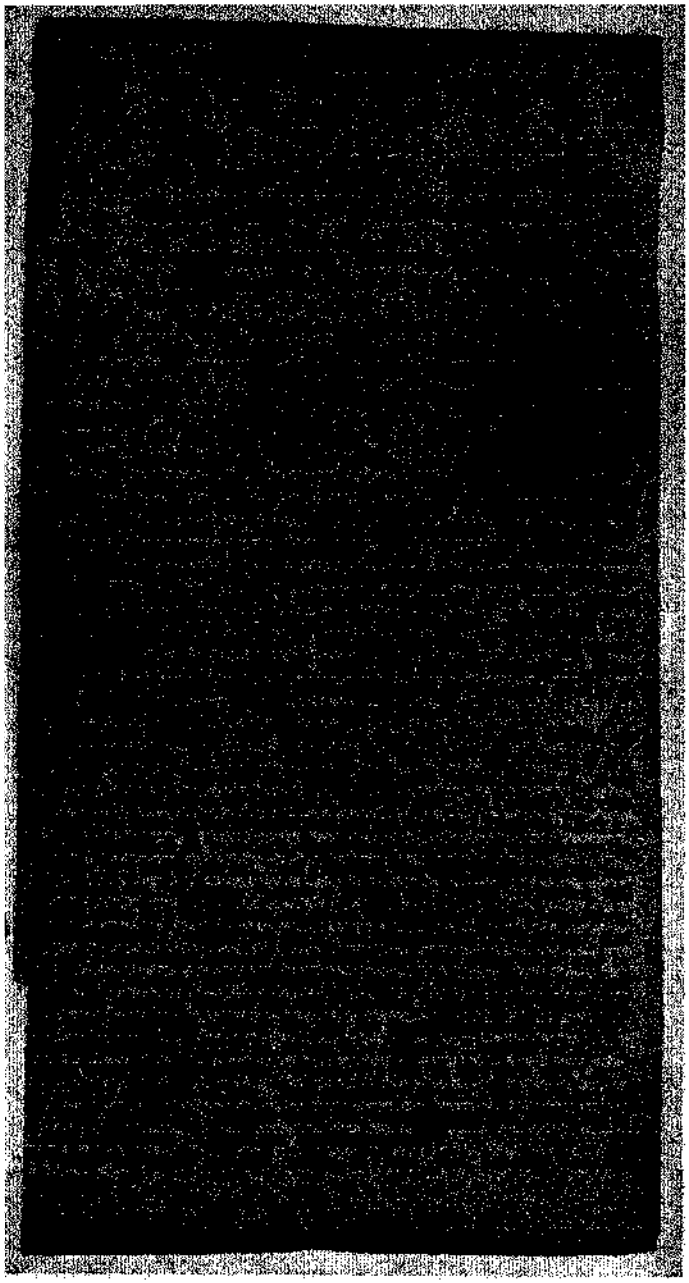
The rigidity of the class structure of English society has been

modified, too, by the facility of the ascent, or the descent, from one class to another. The class system in England has never degenerated into a caste system. In no period of English history has it been impossible for the man of exceptional gifts to raise himself by his own efforts to any position that he might desire, and it is a relatively modern convention, now being discarded, which sought to prevent a man falling in the social scale from one class to another. One of the minor consequences of the social revolution which began, or, at any rate, manifested itself, in England after the first world war was the influx of members of the landed aristocracy into the city, into retail trade, and even, in one publicized instance, into the business of hotel management. But this was not in fact a sign of revolution; it was a reaction. For it was only during a relatively brief period, roughly covered by the nineteenth century, that it was considered to be socially lowering for a member of a landed family to engage himself in trade and commerce. From the days of Elizabeth, indeed, until the days of the Industrial Revolution it was the established custom for younger sons, for whom no permanent provision could be made from the family estates, to make their own way not only in the Church or at the Bar or in overseas adventure but also in trade and, often enough, in branches of trade which would have filled their collateral descendants with the deepest mortification. So much is evident from the correspondence which was exchanged during those early centuries between the squire in his manor and the younger brother in his comfortable house in Holborn or in Cheapside. Thus the constant intercourse between the classes, which contributed so much to the resilience and homogeneity of English society, was a two-way traffic. It was not simply a matter of the industrious yeoman raising himself to the status of a squire or, as more frequently happened, no doubt, of the shrewd trader buying himself an estate and the patents of nobility. There was a continuous interchange between one class and another of the elements that were most vital in each.

The same kind of development can be traced in.the history of English education. The idea of a special education to mark a special kind of class distinction is a relatively modern one and, it may be, is already similarly outdated. Until the days of Dr. Arnold, at any rate, the squire's son and the farmer's son studied the same books at the same desk, played the same games and, no doubt, spoke with the same accent. What has often been re-



AN APPEAL TO THE ENGLISH LOVE OF FREEDOM
Handbill printed by William of Orange in Holland for distribution to the English army to prepare the way for his landing



ANOTHER APPEAL TO THE ENGLISH LOVE OF FREEDOM
Manifesto written by James II at Rochester as he fled the country

garded as the undue rigidity and exclusiveness of a public school education is sanctified far more by the force than by the antiquity of its tradition.

The structure of English society has no doubt changed greatly from its glorious morning in the Elizabethan age. And the term 'Merrie England', which is generally used to connote the supposed light-heartedness of Elizabethan as compared with Victorian society, would more correctly indicate the greater social freedom of the earlier day. In Tudor England there were distinctions of rank and wealth as great as any which exist to-day, but it is probable that there was a greater feeling of community. At any rate there was a sense of community which, even then, distinguished English from Continental societies. It is possible that the contrast between the classical drama of England and the classical drama of France, to which reference has already been made, can be accounted for by the difference in the audiences for which the plays were written. All classes went to the play in the Elizabethan period, except those whose religious scruples kept them away; and they all went to the same theatres. The classical drama of France, on the other hand, was written for the Court alone; the bourgeois did not go to the theatre, still less the fish-wives and porters who crowded to see Shakespeare and Webster. The structure of English society changed greatly in 300 years, but the general hardening of the class structure which is expressed in the development of the public school system and which is apparent, for example, in the rapid transition from Fielding's novels to those of Miss Austen, served a social purpose even when it was not consciously inspired by one. The fabulous riches which flowed in from India at the end of the eighteenth century or, at home, from the Industrial Revolution, created an immense class whose newly acquired wealth was matched by no corresponding sense of social obligation. It was certainly Arnold's purpose to instil into his pupils a consciousness of social duty. And the rigidity and severity of class distinctions which marked Victorian as compared with Elizabethan society were the sign not so much, perhaps, of an effete society settling down into its final mould as of a community adjusting itself to meet new conditions and to absorb into itself new and powerful elements which, without such a strict discipline, might have destroyed it.

That the class system in England, even at its most rigid, has never degenerated into a caste system is due also to the fact that

the individual has always regarded himself first as an individual and as a member of the community of England, and only secondly as a member of a class. It is this characteristic of English society which, more than anything else, accounts for the stability of English institutions. When the individual thinks of himself primarily as an individual, and only secondarily as a member of a group, he will be loyal to the community, not to a section of the community. More than that, he will tend to believe that his political opponents have the same loyalty, so that he will think of them as making mistakes rather than as committing crimes. It is notoriously easier for individuals to co-operate than it is for groups, and the difference between the behaviour of individuals to each other and the attitude of states towards another state is only an extreme example of a universal rule. The fact that the English think of each other as men and women and not as typical figures has been a real factor in making conflicts, whether between classes or between religious groups, less deadly in England than elsewhere.

Conflict, of course, there has always been, and sometimes it has been economic and social in its origin. But the harshness of the class struggle has been mitigated in England, partly by the fact that classes have always merged into one another and partly because the Englishman's instinct is for political rather than purely social action. Even where a popular movement has had its roots in economic discontent, and where the line of cleavage has conformed generally to broad economic or social groupings, there have always been enough people to see a point of view opposed to that which their own immediate interests would have dictated to them and to act upon it, to maintain an underlying social harmony even at moments of acute tension. As Professor Trevelyan has pointed out, the Civil War was not a social war, and 'the theorists in the ranks of the New Model Army advocated manhood suffrage for Parliament, but not a socialist redistribution of property\ In the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 burghers as well as priests were to be found on the side of the serfs. In the nineteenth century, although the impulse for Reform came from the manufacturing interests and the dispossessed poor, champions were by no means lacking among the landed classes and aristocracy. Thus an English army officer, the younger son of a family which had enjoyed uninterrupted possession of its estates since the Norman Conquest, could write home from India:

'I am terribly grieved to hear of the sufferings of the people and cannot help thinking that more might be done by the legislature than Ministers are willing to allow. . . I hope these disorders have not extended either to the Isle of Wight or to Parnham. Sir Wm. is likely to have done what is prudent and right regarding his rents, and to have exerted his influence for the proper provisionment of the poor... It is high time that the state of the lower orders should be seriously considered, for, if their misery and demoralization be not checked, the glory of England will pass away.'[1]

And in our own day, conversely, the Labour Party was unable to gain power until it had persuaded the electorate, even if it did not wholly convince itself, that it was no longer a class party.

VI

Conflict, indeed, has been the normal condition of social advance in England, and the balancing of opposing forces, in parliament, in the church, or in society, has created tensions that have forced change and development; but it has also created an over-riding equilibrium, like the equilibrium which, it is said, resides in the centre of a cyclone, or like the mechanical principle which allows a cantilever bridge to gather strength and resilience from the very stresses and strains to which it is subjected. It is this kind of equilibrium, derived from force and movement and not from the power of inertia, that has given to English society a strength and suppleness which other contemporary societies have lacked and which has enabled it to pass through storms in which other vessels, seemingly as stoutly built, have foundered; and to pass through them not, indeed, unchanged, but with its inner harmony still undisturbed.

In these days, when the conditions which created that harmony no longer exist, or are hotly disputed, it is impossible to avoid asking oneself whether the essential characteristics of English society can survive in a world so unpropitious to them. The insularity which was the condition precedent to the unity and cohesiveness of the community has been qualified, if it has not been swept away, by the development of modern science. The robust nationalism and the consciousness of absolute security from external menace, which nourished the Englishman's feeling for personal independence and fortified his instinct for personal freedom, are luxuries not easily to be enjoyed in an island from which the possibility of absolute security has vanished, or in a

[1] **C. Aspinall-Oglander, *Nunwell Symphony*.**

world in which nationalism that is too robust has become an affront to common sense. Is it not likely that the aeroplane and the radio, which have bridged the dividing seas and linked England with the mainlands of the world, have broken down also the defences of the English spirit so that it is open at last to the doubts and misgivings from which, until now, it has been free? Is it not certain that a community, so loosely organized as the community of England has been, will be at a desperate disadvantage in a world which, if it is not to disintegrate utterly, will demand an increasing degree of organization, an increased measure of regimentation? And if the community is to be planned and regimented in England as the condition of its survival, what is to become of the Englishman, and of his easy, loose-fitting relationship with the community of which he is a member?

The answers which one gives to these and other questions will depend, no doubt, not so much upon one's view of politics as upon one's view of the nature of man. The master or, perhaps it would be fairer to say, the victim of Hegelian dialectic will find no place for the individual or for his community. There will only be the State. But even to those who take a different view of man's destiny, and who still cling to a belief in the unique value of human personality, there is no easy answer. There can only be faith, that a creature who has travelled so far will not readily abandon his journey, and that the experience which he has gained through many centuries will not fail him overnight. Of England it can be said, at least, that we have been this way before; and Englishmen, a hundred and a hundred and twenty years ago, were faced with the same kind of questions that face their descendants to-day. The gathering momentum of the Industrial Revolution, although it had not then reached its climax, brought with it social problems as acute, perhaps more acute, than any we have known. The impact of the French Revolution upon English society in the early nineteenth century was as challenging as the impact of the Russian Revolution in the twentieth, and for a time it, too, seemed to be threatening the established ways of English life.

History does not repeat itself, and it may be that here the experience of the past will be misleading. But it cannot be unreasonable to hope that the inherited aptitudes of the Englishman, and not least his aptitude for adapting himself to changing conditions, will be able to maintain the character of English society even in a rapidly changing world. The purpose of the community is

expressing itself, and has expressed itself for some time past, more and more in terms of governmental action and less and less in terms of individual adventure. But no matter how far the State has carried its encroachments into fields which have hitherto been preserved for the community, the individual has managed to find new outlets for his private endeavours. It may be, as Lord Lindsay has pointed out, that the 'Concern', as Quakers call it, of the individual Englishman, his desire to do something for his fellows over and above what the law requires, manifests itself indirectly now where, in the past, its influence was direct, and that the reformer to-day starts an organization to prevail upon the Government to do what, a century ago, he would have done himself. Captain Coram, passing down Holborn to-day and seeing an infant lying in the gutter, would not collect funds for a Foundling Hospital, but at least he would be able to telephone to the Town Hall. Lord Shaftesbury would no longer teach in the Ragged Schools; he would be a member of his Local Education Authority. And the young lady who used to teach in Sunday School, in the novels of Miss Charlotte Young, would by now have got herself a seat in the County Council or in the House of Commons. Ways still exist and, it may be hoped, will always exist in England, to check the pretensions of the State and assert the vigour of the community against it.

It may be, too, that the Englishman with no more worlds to conquer outside his island is discovering new worlds within himself, new ways of asserting his individuality in a highly organized society. It is remarkable, for instance, how the Englishman has taken to the sea in the last half-century; it is probably the case that to-day, when opportunities for adventure upon the sea seem to be utterly closed to a seafaring race, there are more Englishmen who are familiar with the behaviour of boats in water than ever before in English history. It is not because England is a sea-power, and that the Englishman is anxious to train himself in her defence. England has always been a sea-power, and she has never lacked defenders. It is as though, now that the wide sea-ways of the world are policed and regulated like a city street, the Englishman is sublimating the instincts which moved his forebears by challenging the sea as they never did—for the sake of the battle itself, and for the opportunity which it affords him of developing the characteristics which distinguished them, the same sympathy with the elements and independence of them, the same sureness

and quickness of judgement in the face of danger, and the same ready acceptance of responsibility for life and death*

Urbanization, hideous and overpowering as it has become, has not altogether succeeded in divorcing the Englishman from the land, or in stifling the instincts and aptitudes which come to him from the land, instincts which are the assertion alike of his sympathy with nature and his aversion from a man-made state. The development of hiking, which leads increasing numbers of young people into the countryside, has nothing in it of the self-conscious State-inspired purpose which characterized a similar movement in Germany. Artisans and bank-clerks and public schoolboys, mill girls and typists, do not wander over the hills and dales and seacoasts of England in order to fit themselves the better to fight for England, or to make themselves ready to be the mothers of English heroes. The stream of perspiring youths and maidens which can be observed any fine Sunday on their bicycles pounding remorselessly along the great arterial roads are not seeking exercise and the country air in order to set up new production records in the coming week for the sake of the community or the State. And even though their production may meet no insignificant proportion of the needs of the community, and although they may pride themselves on the performance of a national service, the allotment-holders who can be seen tending their dark and begrimed vegetables in the soot and brick-dust of any industrial city are animated by no Stakhanovite fervour and look forward to no grant or commendation from the State. They are only seeking food and interest. These and countless other activities, most of them pursued under some form or other of voluntary association, are the expression of the Englishman's fundamental social instinct, the instinct to do things for himself, with others and without the assistance of the State.

It is possible to believe, if experience is any guide and if the innate characteristics of human beings govern in any way their actions, that the essential quality of the Englishman, his passion for freedom and his unique capacity for living in a community without losing his personality (but rather increasing it), will assert itself even when the balance of material things seems to be against it. It is possible to hope that the Englishman will not turn his back altogether upon the past, and that the centuries of individual responsibility which have made him what he is will stand him, and the world, in good stead in the future. For the forces that

threaten the freedom of the individual are not confined to this country alone; they are a part of twentieth-century civilization. The question of how to reconcile the freedom of the individual with the claims of the community is a world question. May it not be that England holds in her hands the answer? Far from being, as is so often asserted in these days, the outdistanced competitor in the race of history, the small, antiquated country obscured by the power of the giant communities of East and West, may it not be that England is the predestined mediator between the past and the future? The earliest solver of the crucial problem which faces mankind to-day, she is still capable of solving it in its latest manifestations, provided only that she does not, by her own act, dry up the sources of her strength by weakening the sense of responsibility of the individual Englishman for his own acts and for his own future.

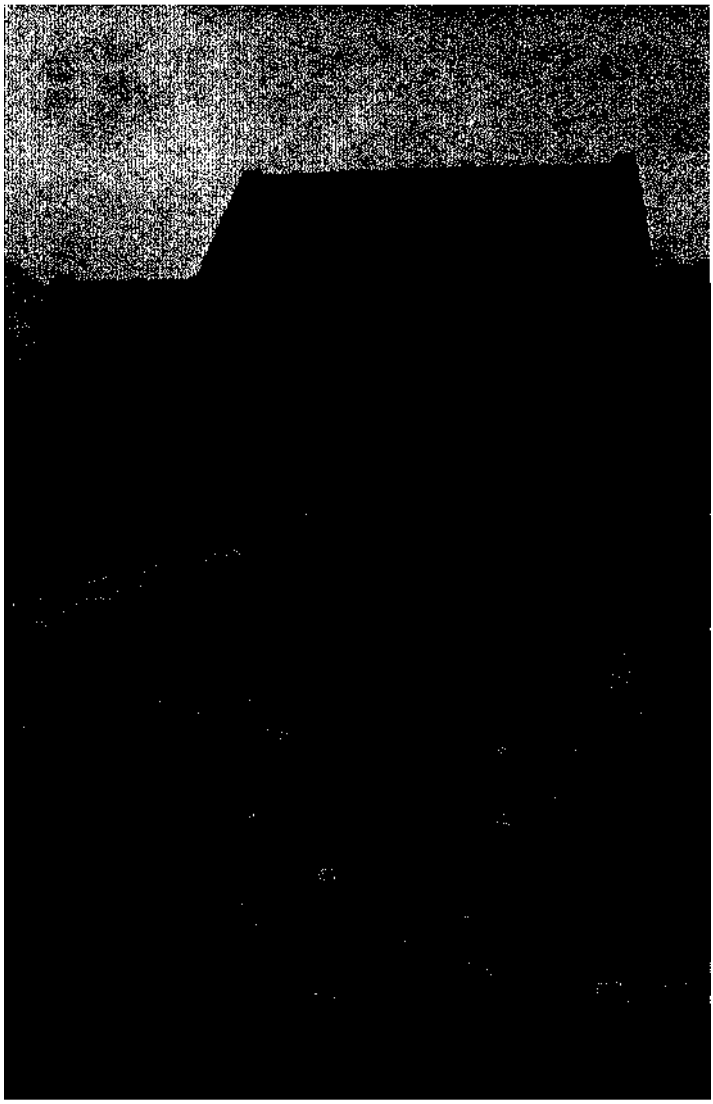
III

RELIGION

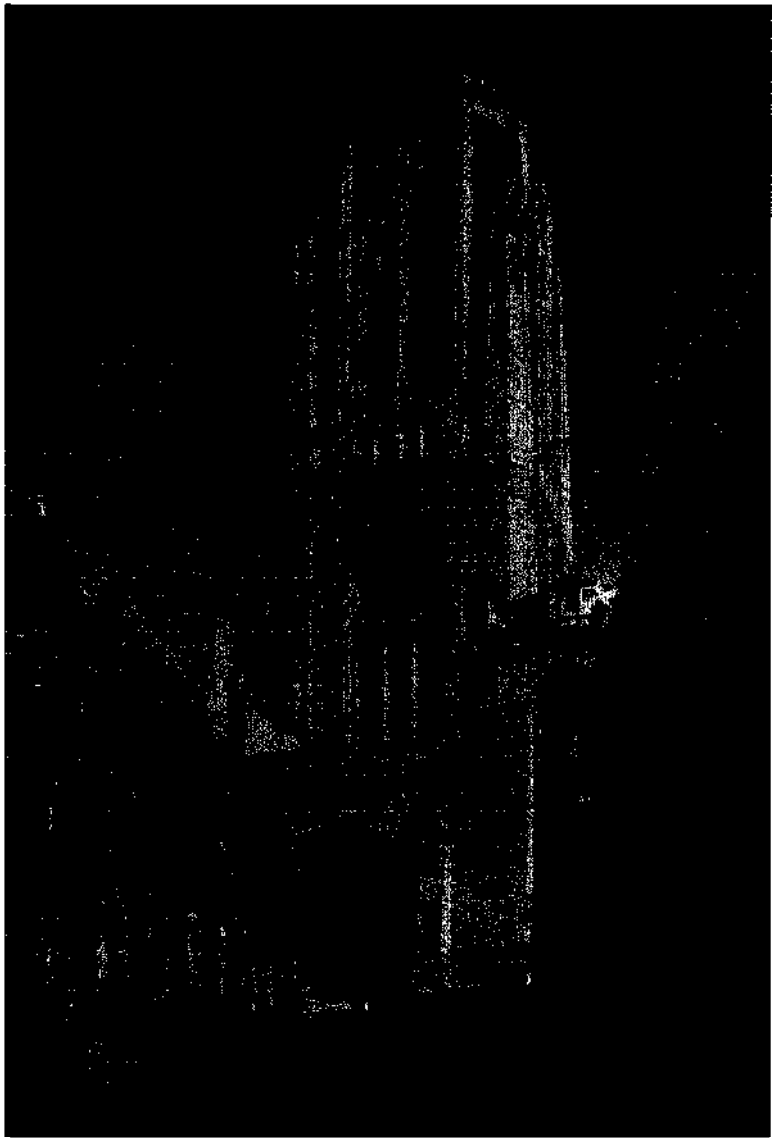
By **THE RT. REV. A. T. P. WILLIAMS**

I

THE debt of English religion to 'Greeks and barbarians' is immeasurable. Our Church institutions, the language of our worship, the history of our controversies, bear witness to it at every turn. We shared in common with our neighbours a great medieval heritage, itself the rich deposit and trustee of centuries of thought and devotion. The many invasions of our early history cast upon our shores the spiritual traditions, hopes, fears, superstitions of varied multitudes of men. These penetrated and coloured the conquering force of Christianity, itself a gift to England from Ireland and Scotland as well as from Rome. And the narrowness of the seas severing us from the Continent allowed foreign influence to find its way peacefully, long after the times of raid and conquest. The mingling and kneading of vigorous stocks under a government of more than common strength and elasticity brought into being a people well able to use and to develop the legacies it inherited, and no less able to mould them into new shapes. It is a fascinating but generally a futile pursuit to attempt to trace the origins of the threads which form the confused tapestry of English religion: the Celtic, Latin, Scandinavian, threads are there, and many another, but so interwoven by long time and masterful hands that their separation can only tease our thought. A 'clear picture' is beyond our vision. Yet we can sometimes discern the currents in the river, if we cannot find their source or measure their volume. And not a few of the currents can be seen or dimly felt far up-stream and followed down. Many of Bede's characters and situations are 'mere English' at its best: his own character and sober wisdom, devoted yet not uncritical, austere yet widely acquainted with human need and interests, have many times seemed to be reincarnate in the best figures of our history. The Scandinavians, who ruined so much that Bede described and loved, brought their own gifts, a contribution perhaps as distinct and lasting as any, that strong if limited sense of honour, manliness, and contempt of adverse odds which have often seemed the main ingredients of English charac-



TENTH-CENTURY ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH AT BRADFORD-ON-AVON, WILTSHIRE



TOWER OF TWENTIETH CENTURY CATHEDRAL AT LIVERPOOL

designed by SIR GILES GILBERT SCOTT

ter, and have at least strongly tinged our morals and our faith. In later days, when the country lay open to the full influence of antiquity's thought, there comes into the reckoning the classical tradition, so long deeply entrenched in English education, so strong in its hold, above all through Platonism,[1] upon some of the greatest names in English religious history. Time would fail any attempt to recount or exactly measure the enrichments of our vision by immigrant individuals, by the sojourn of persecuted Englishmen abroad, by foreign leaders in religion. But it can safely be said that while England has been hospitable, all that she has taken has suffered a sea-change. That is another way of saying that English religion offers difficulties to the inquiring, and above all to the logical, mind.

We cannot begin to understand it in its modern shapes without considering the medieval scene. There are a score of reasons for this. Many of them have force in other countries, and in Italy or Spain we may be far more sharply reminded than at home of a host of ancient customs or beliefs. But in these Roman Catholic countries, as even more obviously in others, there has generally been a cleaner cut, severing medieval conditions from modern, than in England. Here there has seldom been any strong persisting anti-clerical party or movement: here there has been no 'Revolution* in the Continental sense: here there have been many centuries of domestic peace and order. The best visible witness of all this, and of much else in our religion, is the English parish church in all its variety, ubiquity, and continuity of life. At the centre of thousands of villages and towns it links the generations of those who have lived around it, accepting it whether with affection or indifference as familiar and part of 'home', using it, as it is still so widely used, at the turning points of life, personal or national. To trace the system in which it plays its part is to discover a wide range of medieval inheritance: the parish priest may still live where he has lived for centuries; he will still often draw his livelihood from ancient benefaction; he will still commonly be nominated to his office by a layman or by the Crown, by a bishop or by a college, as his predecessors for long ages were; he comes under the authority and enjoys or endures the advice of rural deans, archdeacons, and bishops, officials who counselled, exhorted, and attempted to discipline the long roll of those who served the parish in the past. He has often come to his work from

[1] Cf. W. R. Inge, *The Platonic Tradition in English Religious Thought.*

a university born in the Middle Ages: the Cathedral of his diocese will often be a noble monument of medieval art and aspiration: the service books he uses embody the characteristic devotions of many ages, but certainly not least do they bear the deep marks of the medieval hand and mind.

But the Middle Ages did more than create in England a multitude of buildings for the service of religion, organize their worship, and provide for the ministrations of their priests. In all these ways, indeed, the modern Church of England is their debtor, and Anglicanism unintelligible if they are forgotten. But English religion is wider than Anglicanism. The debt to the medieval past is shared by that great diversity of communions, variously described as dissenting, nonconformist, or free, whose history and whose rivalry with Anglicanism have given so much of its distinctive character to English development.[1] Here the debt is of a different kind. If it be described as spiritual rather than material, as the inheritance of ideas and emotions more than of buildings, form of worship, or organization, that must not be taken to imply that Anglicanism is without a share, too, in its characteristic quality. But as our knowledge of the Middle Ages, and above all of their closing centuries, increases, we discover a wide growth of individual religion, the expression of personal devotion breaking loose from old-established forms of accepted observance. We discover, too, a strong strain of Puritanism: the witness to it is found alike in monasticism, in the history of the Friars, in the vast volume of medieval preaching whose exploration is but recently begun, in the religious brotherhoods so influential among some of the early reformers in northern Europe. It is plain enough that when the English Reformation, in its method and contrivance an 'act of State', had begun to take form, when its limits and strict rules of conformity came to be felt, a growing mass of opinion grew dissatisfied: from within, and later from without, the Church of England, it claimed and struggled for that part of the medieval religious inheritance which seemed to find little place within the Elizabethan settlement. In the end it won and enlarged it. On another side, a powerful branch of English Dissent inspired by Calvin renewed the Hildebrandine protest against state control of Church government, and thus extended into the modern world another issue of

[1] Cf. B. L. Manning, *Essays in Orthodox Dissent* and *The Making of English Religion.*

medieval controversy. The stage was set for the struggle of that long drama in which so much of English history has been played out: the play is not finished yet, but the players know better than of old that their parts, though often rewritten and reshaped, owe much of their framing to a mould which is 'the mother of us all'.

In that English Middle Age there is one figure, well-known yet baffling, isolated yet clearly setting a course which many were to follow, whom no study of English religion can pass by. A well-known book[1] on English Nonconformity regards John Wyclif as the very embodiment of the Nonconformist spirit—'the spirit which exalts life above organisation'. In him, 'the paramount Nonconformist principle found in some respects a clearer and more adequate expression than at any subsequent period it received'. Perhaps it is nearer to the whole truth to think of him, in B. L. Manning's phrase,[2] as 'the conscience of his own generation'. It was a generation in which the evils of contemporary religion and churchmanship were oppressive indeed to a sensitive conscience. The form and expression of Wyclif's mind have prevented him from becoming an intimate or popular figure. But if he is not popular (in the sense of 'familiar' or commonly read) he is certainly representative of many leading strains in English religion. He might not have seen eye to eye with Henry VIII or Elizabeth, but he was ready to give the State much power in Church concerns: in this he is hardly a nonconformist teacher. He was a strong upholder of lay influence, an enemy of the Papacy in its essential being, not only in its abuses. His whole turn of mind was Protestant in many senses of that historic word. He looked to the Bible first, though, unlike many of those who have claimed him as their prophet, not to the Bible only, for true tradition, and, whatever his own actual work in biblical translation may have been, the obligation to him there is deep. The philosopher and the logician were too much part of his being for him to be typical of his countrymen, but he would have appreciated the 'pious Englishmen' of many generations, nor have they been wrong in thinking of his life and work as proof that the main ideas and forces of their Reformation were born at home, much as they owe in stronger definition to a Luther, a Calvin, or a Zwingli. William Langland with his *Piers Plowman* is there, too,

[1] H. W. Clark, *History of English Nonconformity,*

[2] *C. Med. Hist.* vol. vii, and cf. E. A. Payne, *The Free Church Tradition in the Life of England.*

to remind us of the searching power with which the things of heaven and earth were scanned long before printing press and new learning came to broadcast the seeds of change. Even were we without these great names, our late medieval mystics, our glory of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century religious lyric poetry, the strange but illuminating book of Margery Kemp, and the stubborn heroic survival of Lollardy, testify to the vital store of personal religion ready to bear fruit in the new world that was coming.

II

It is no wonder that the English Reformation still presents our judgement and our sympathies with many a perplexity. Some of the edges of controversy have been blunted. No one out of Bedlam now thinks that the Church in England was 'Protestant before the Reformation and Catholic afterwards'. The medieval Englishman had been a faithful, though often grumbling, son of the Papacy. He had shown unusual respect for ecclesiastical property. He had watched his king and the pope playing into one another's hands to defeat those statutes of Provisors and Praemunire which, lurking in the background and only occasionally showing their fangs, were a testimony to the latent vigour of English monarchy and to English determination that in the last resort we would follow our own way. If he had plainly ceased, save here and there, to feel any enthusiasm for the monastic life; if friar was now often a name of contempt and the crusade a diplomatic expedient, he was still remarkable for devotion to his parish church; still he enlarged, adorned, endowed it; still his life was pervaded, and in some increasingly unwelcome ways controlled, by ecclesiastical influences, sometimes denounced, often resented, but seldom clearly measured or steadily opposed, for they were part of all that he had known or dreamed. Yet their hold was weaker than he could have guessed, weaker than we could have known, did we not have the record of what followed. The power, the prosperity, the knowledge of the layman had grown vigorously enough to strain and snap old restraints; monastic life was in a score of ways controlled by lay interests and lay finance; the sense of national independence and of a national way of life had grown mightily; Papal prestige, in the days of 'captivity' and schism had long been waning; the Tudor monarchy had won deep confidence, and when the hour struck for the breach with Rome the skill and subtlety of its method were as remarkable as the shamefulness of its actual occasion.

The acts of government which disturb or enrage the ordinary man are those which interfere needlessly, as he judges, with his ordinary way of life or with his deepest convictions. But the Tudor Reformation seldom appeared plainly guilty of such acts. Its work was done gradually, with many hesitations, withdrawals, revisions, after the essential statutes which placed the king in possession of the power that had once been the pope's. Men had time to adjust themselves to new conditions: the Reformation lasted for generations rather than years. The external frame of religious life largely remained: the diocese, the parish, the parish church, the accustomed ministers, all were there. We can allow for and acknowledge much discontent, and even more honest doubt and confusion of mind, and yet understand how the great change was accepted. There were some who warmly welcomed it, and, as time went on, the church, inheriting much that was familiar, won new strength from its prayer-book, its open English Bible, and the sacrifices made for it under the grim rule of Mary Tudor. Then came Elizabeth, a more generous settlement, a steadier tradition, the pride of victory against priest-ridden Spain, the beginnings of a true Anglican loyalty, the spacious eloquence of Hooker.

The hesitations and doubts besetting our picture of the Reformation are, however, not due only to difficulty in interpreting the national mind in a time of change, nor to our large measure of ignorance about the degree in which the medieval Church and habit of thought had lost their grip. The true 'climate of opinion' in a long-past day, when many were inarticulate, is always hard to gauge. But judgement is particularly liable to err when many of the questions at stake are still living issues of controversy. If we can trace many of the diversities in English religion far behind the Reformation age it is yet clear that only in and after it do they take their own vigorous form and colour and set themselves in plain opposition to one another. From that opposition have sprung all manner of social and political consequences, a vast literature, a hardening of distinctions in belief and practice. These things have largely formed English life, enriching it on many sides, not without countervailing loss: even more certainly they have greatly complicated it. For from the Reformation date not only the cleavage between Church and Nonconformity, but deep differences within the Church of England itself. Historical judgements, then, are liable

to be coloured by later situations; and, moreover, there was often intentional vagueness in the language of religious formularies at a time when even the strongest of governments were sailing unfamiliar and dangerous seas. The 'Elizabethan Settlement' is an accepted and justifiable description. But there was much that it did not settle.

One thing at least is plain. Henceforward there is distinctiveness in English religion. No doubt it can be traced in our medieval faith and its expression, but in relatively trivial forms. Then we shared the beliefs, the worship, the ideals of medieval Christendom. The liturgiologist, the hagiographer, the historian of art may be able to tell us of rites and ceremonies, of particular devotions, of pictorial or architectural fashions pointing here and there to the peculiar interests and enthusiasms of Englishmen. It was natural that there should be English customs, followed in England alone, just as within England it was natural that there should be various 'uses' in worship, without any disturbance of broad agreement in essentials. But these petty divergences, national or local, sink into mere insignificance when compared with the post-Reformation scene. The great change was wrought by a national monarchy, and at each stage of its progress the nation's temper had to be watched and reckoned with. It was now a nation better educated, more sure of itself: the printing press spread ideas and enabled their communication. Vernacular services brought much that had been unintelligible within the laity's grasp: the Bible was increasingly known. Uniformity was the governmental aim and law, and much was done to achieve it. But the quest for uniformity was hopeless in a country of adventurous temper which had passed or was passing through the zigzag channels of our sixteenth-century history, and whose established Church was served by ministers of widely different ecclesiastical inclinations. However true it be that many of them showed remarkable power of adaptation to circumstance, the record shows too that many bowed the knee unwillingly, slightly, or not at all. English religion begins to display familiar features—an established Church characteristic in its reconciliation of the apparently irreconcilable, and Nonconformity in many shapes and degrees.

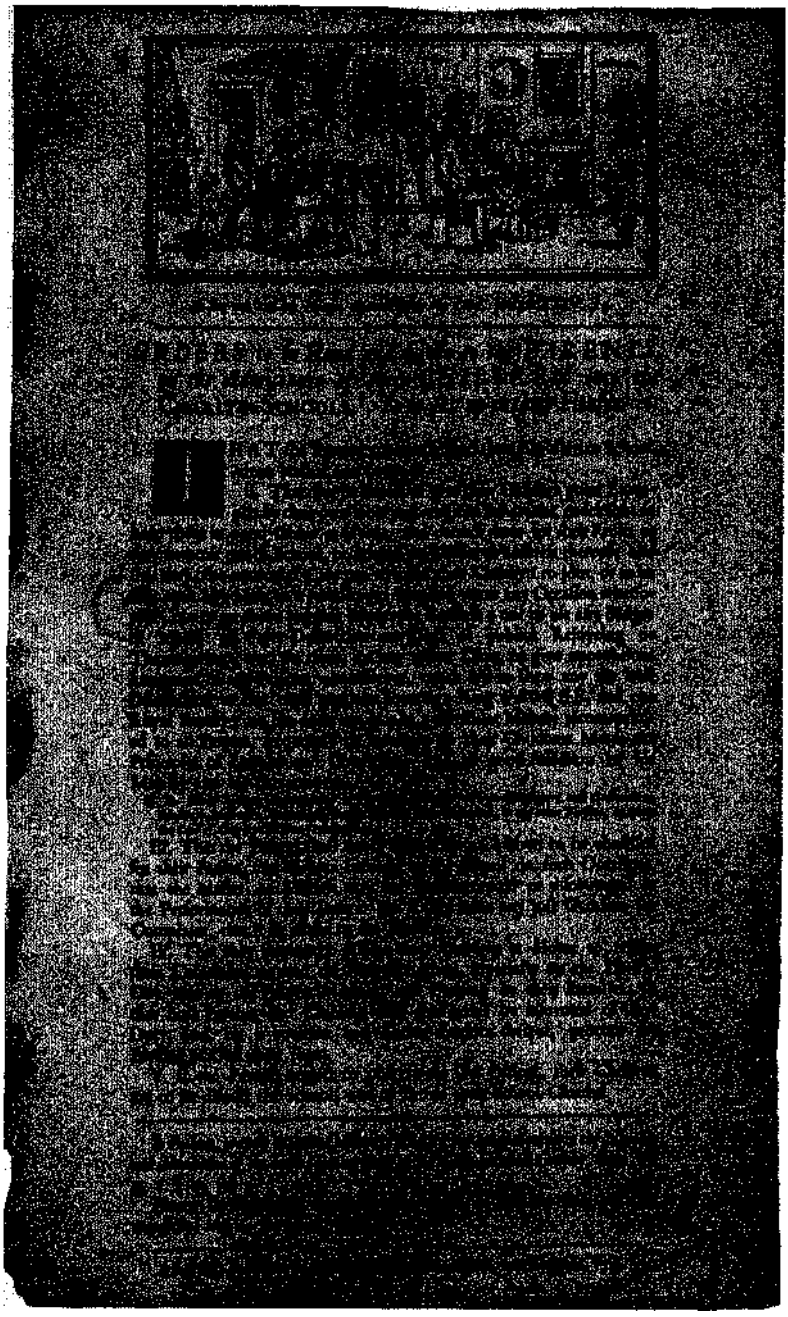
From the first, then, it was evident that the Reformation settlement aroused many discontents. A considerable part of the people remained faithful to the Roman allegiance: among those

who conformed there were many who did so under protest: to their minds the Anglican position was half-hearted in its Protestantism: they agitated for a more rigid adhesion to the model of the 'best reformed Churches' of the Continent: they formed the later Puritan party within the Church of England. Some early broke away to form separate and therefore persecuted communions. As Independents of one type or another, Congregationalists or Baptists, they maintained the right of each individual church, that is, separate congregation, to order its own affairs and to choose its own minister. Others were drawn to Calvinism and its strongly compacted Presbyterian system. In the seventeenth century a stern struggle arose. A more self-conscious and rigorous Anglicanism, guided by Bancroft and above all by Laud, supported by the Stuart monarchy, and insisting on the 'divine right' of king and bishop, gave no encouragement to suggestions of toleration or comprehension. Presbyterian hopes rose high when king and archbishop involved themselves and their cause in hostilities with Scotland, and when a Scottish army joined Parliament in Covenant and alliance. But Cromwell and his army proved fatal to Presbyterian dreams. Under Cromwellian rule Independency triumphed, and the religious organization of the country was for a few years a mosaic, with wide toleration for all but extremists, Roman or anarchical. But though toleration was wide, the use of the Anglican Prayer Book was forbidden (not always effectively), prelacy was abolished, and many Anglican clergy were evicted. At the restoration of Charles I I, the Church of England, too, was restored, in vengeful mood. The King, for purposes of his own, and by temperament, was willing enough for generous measures. Church and Parliament were not. A series of laws of extreme severity deepened the breach between Church and Nonconformity: a revision of the Prayer Book, emphasizing the Anglican position, brought it into the form authorized then and since: the stage was set for the church history of the next three hundred years. It is true, and of the greatest importance, that only a short generation passed before the Romanism of James II brought about a temporary alliance between persecutors and persecuted, with the famous Toleration Act of William I I I as one of its most notable results. But the toleration it afforded was but limited: for the next 200 years the Nonconformist Churches, greatly reinforced in the eighteenth century by the rise of Methodism, were engaged with varying

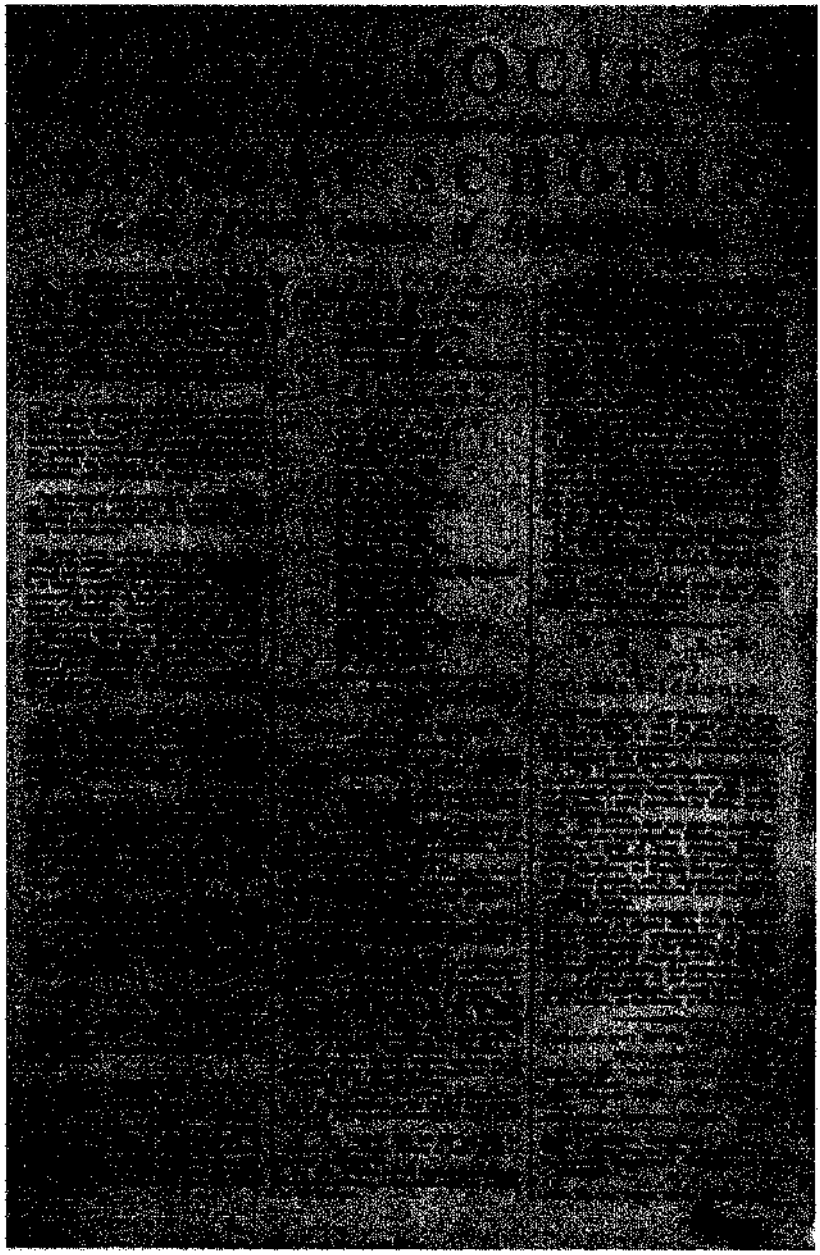
energy and in a multitude of ways in winning for themselves the privileges, religious, political, social, educational, long denied them. That victory was finally won, and it can fairly be said that religious equality prevails in England to-day both in theory and practice, subject to the qualification entailed by the continuance of the 'national* or 'established' Church.

In the long struggle, some of whose stages have been thus baldly outlined, it was natural that there should be times when the flames of controversy burnt low, only to wax hot again. The differences between Anglicanism and Nonconformity were and remain real, but the strictly religious differences have not always been keenly felt, nor, save at times when they were complicated by keen political issues, have they excited the laity of the church to the same pitch of opposition as their ministers. If, for the present purpose, we leave aside the Roman Catholics, we can discover, and not in our own generation only, much common ground in English Christianity. It is well to bring this into clear view for many reasons. It helps to explain the fact that, deep as divisions have been, they, like the political divisions which they have helped to shape, have often been fruitful: they have not been so radical as to make some co-operation, and much mutual understanding, impossible: there have been elements of fundamental agreement making it possible to speak of'English Religion* without absurdity. Some consideration of these elements will throw light on our subject.

It can hardly be wrong to put first an influence quite immeasurable in its scope, that of the 'Authorized Version' of the Bible. There was for some time a danger that even Protestant Christians in England would continue to use variant versions; that, for example, Calvinists would cling to the Geneva Bible. The danger was averted not only by the official character of the James I version, but by its supreme merits. In this magnificent achievement of scholarship and literature, Anglican and Nonconformist found common ground and a common court of appeal. Their interpretations might and did vary, but the extent of their agreement is more significant. A full understanding of the Bible's influence in post-Reformation England has become difficult for a generation like our own, which is not only peculiar in its ignorance of the text but also finds it hard to conceive the immense weight of authority ascribed by our forefathers to every part of that text. But we can hardly exaggerate it, or easily overrate the



THE ENGLISH CHARITY SCHOOL
A broadside of 1716



THE ENGLISH SUNDAY SCHOOL
A broadside of 1785

value of its common use by men who held, perhaps, little else in joint respect. Yet there were from the first, apart from nationhood, many other links. There was for long the fear and hatred of Popery, most plainly shown during the 'Glorious Revolution' but latent always. There was the strong individualism of Englishmen disinclined to accept the rigid divisions required by ecclesiastical theory, and ready to display that undenominational temper which at times marks our modern history. The parish church and the nonconformist chapel often share men's affections. In both, after the Methodist enthusiasm had swept the country, there was the singing of those numberless hymns which we owe above all to the genius of Charles Wesley and which, with the Prayer Book, have been the profoundest teachers of English devotion. If, again, the cleavage between Church and Nonconformity was often social as well as religious, it was mitigated in that it was no cleavage between rich and poor. There was wealth on both sides: trade brought riches to nonconformists at times when it was impossible or difficult for them to follow many other callings. And in every generation there have been men who found little to choose between the pastoral ideals of a Baxter and a Herbert, and drew inspiration alike from Cranmer's Prayer Book and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. For three centuries, too, there have been powerful forces making for toleration, and stressing, whether through indifference to ecclesiastical interests or through a deeper than ordinary insight into fundamentals, the common concerns, beliefs, and duties of the Churches. Influences of these and other kinds will be found in the more detailed description which must now be attempted of religion in England as it has come to be.

in

That description must needs be historical in method. It would otherwise be unintelligible. Religion is no creature of a day: it is as a rule intensely conservative in its forms and manifestations, however essentially revolutionary in spirit: certainly it has been so in England, despite its many vagaries. The judgement that 'newfangleness (as much as may be with the true setting forth of Christ's religion) is always to be eschewed'[1] finds a deep echo in the English heart, and the Anglican at least has seldom overstressed the qualification. His embodiment and interpretation of religion in the Church of England has been so characteristic, and

[1] *Of Ceremonies* **(Book of Common Prayer 1549 and since).**

our other communions are so often best understood in the light of its strength and weakness that for these and other reasons it demands first consideration. Although this 'Established' Church has never succeeded in comprehending all non-Roman Catholic Englishmen, still less in winning acknowledgement of its claims from Rome, it has been a comprehensive Church. Often this familiar and, indeed, platitudinous statement has been followed by enumeration of the 'parties' in the Church. These parties are indeed an important fact. But the 'parties' have been held within the bounds of Anglicanism largely because the great body of Anglicans have belonged with steadiness to none of them, while many even of the party men have displayed refreshing inconsistencies. Bishop Stephen Gardiner, a very typical Englishman, speaks of those many of his countrymen who are 'led to good lyfe by imitation rather than hearing. They move in the body of the Church with much simplicity.'[1] T m a plain churchman now, just as I used to be before doctrines came up', says Mr. Vincy in *Middlemarch*.[2] It is a lasting type and the despair of the partisan. The cynic will say with Lord Melbourne that the Church of England is the 'least meddlesome' of Churches,[3] and this has indeed accounted for some of its retentive power. The Englishman's unwillingness to draw or to respect rigid lines, his often unreasoned but not unreasonable conviction that the nature of the evidence makes many questions unanswerable, will account for more. The English Church has given him large latitude. It did so in fact and partly in intention from the first, despite Acts of Uniformity. The clergy were and are strictly required to accept and use the Book of Common Prayer and to assent to the Thirty Nine Articles. Both have served the cause of comprehension, and in more than one way. The Prayer Book incorporated, in language of peculiar beauty, a great body of prayer and praise which had served the devotional needs of Christendom for centuries: under Cranmer's hand it took account of recent experiments in revision and rearrangement: later work upon it did something to modify his judgement at a few critical points. No Prayer Book could have satisfied Protestantism in England as a whole: to some its form and most of the prayers seemed to be 'taken from the Church of Anti-christ', but even they made the large admission 'saving that the gross errors and

[1] **Muller,** ***Letters of Stephen Gardiner.*** [2] **C. xiii.**
[3] **Lord D. Cecil,** ***The Young Melbourne.***

manifest impieties be taken away\ It did satisfy an increasing number of people of various temper and tradition; soon it gained a lasting hold on Anglican affection; extremists within the Church were able to interpret certain rubrics and directions in the sense they desired. Speaking very broadly, the provision for Morning and Evening Prayer, with its prayers, psalms, and liberal reading of Scripture, has marked and moulded the sober tradition of the ordinary churchman: in the 'Occasional Offices* those who have laid special stress on the Catholic heritage have found their main support: the Order for Holy Communion, as recent controversy proves, has been found to win a wider allegiance than any alternative so far proposed. A later page will indicate some of the strains to which the Prayer Book has been subjected, but no one can question its long and beneficent uniting power. The Articles have naturally played a less prominent part, but their general effect has been the same; they are definite enough to outline a direction; they are capable of wide interpretation at some points, and at others they deal with questions no longer of burning interest. They have been a standard, but never in fact an 'iron law\ If the Englishman were by nature theologically minded the story would have been different, but in Church as in State he has shown remarkable skill in creating and accepting 'conventions[1] to help the gentle accommodation of past laws to present needs.

The great work of the seventeenth century, with its astonishing array of scholarship set forth in noble prose,[1] was to give Anglicanism its standing in the tradition of Christendom. It was shown to be 'much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers', based on sound learning, wholehearted in its devotion to the Scriptures but following Hooker in rejection of a narrow servile Biblicism. It was clothed in the rich yet simple dignity characteristic of the English Bible itself. Scholars explored the life and history of Eastern Orthodoxy, entertaining hopes of union that have had their long history since. In an age of bitter controversy drifting into war, there was an inevitable deepening of the gulf between the Church and Nonconformity: the necessity of episcopacy was part and parcel of characteristic Caroline Anglicanism. Yet Puritanism was still strong within the Church. The view has been held, with justice, that at the Reformation the greatest loss suffered by the Establishment lay in its failure to satisfy those religious instincts or emotions to which medieval mysticism and

[1] **Well illustrated in *Anglicanism,* ed. More and Cross.**

the vivid 'popular[1] expressions of medieval faith had given full scope.[1] Those instincts and emotions had not died in men's hearts. The learning, the dignity, the sobriety of Anglicanism made no strong appeal to many people of simple and fervid faith, while, on another side, the ransacking of the ecclesiastical past and the stimulating influence of continental Protestantism had convinced Puritan scholars that they too had their title-deeds in history and could meet their enemies in the gate. Until 1662 there was some hope, never perhaps solidly founded, that means would be found to keep these diversities within the Church. That hope failed, and when a few years later the Non-Jurors carried away with them yet another body of enthusiasm, the Church of England was left greatly weakened for its mission at home, and, as experience was to show, long unconcerned about any mission abroad. There is truth in the judgement that with all its wide appeal, the Church of England has never been a popular Church as the Kirk of Scotland has been popular. Yet with all its limitations and despite the disappointments of its close, seventeenth-century Anglicanism left a grand legacy to English religion. There was living touch with the best thought of the time. The eloquence of Donne and Andrewes and Jeremy Taylor and many another stands in the great succession of our literature. George Herbert, and Walton's lives, and the story of Little Gidding remind us of the breadth and humanity of English life: to turn over the pages of Aubrey is to find many of its infinite humours under solemn ecclesiastical names. Laud's stormy history is not least significant for his conviction that his Church had a social duty to the community's life, irrespective of persons. It was a conviction not vigorously pressed for two centuries after his death.

There is perhaps some danger now that the age which followed, long dismissed as both discreditable and dull in all its Anglican achievement or neglect, may in reaction be too genially viewed. But neither a frown nor a smile does justice to the eighteenth-century Church. Its failings are hardly in dispute. For some of them—pluralities, absenteeism, and the like—the blame must be shared by many earlier generations. A heavier and irrefutable charge is that nothing was done to cope with the needs of a growing industrial population; the energy and enthusiasm needed for such a task were lacking; the lump of eighteenth-century

[1] See, e.g., H. Maynard Smith, *Pre-Reformation England.*

society was not quickened by Anglican leaven where that leaven was most needed. The damage was lasting: the positions then left unattacked have never been effectively seized. It is a commonplace in other fields of that time's history that corporate action was generally slack and short-sighted or worse: the great achievements are those of individuals. The Church, largely through its own divisions, was without any real direction; Whig bishops were suspect to a Tory clergy: Convocation was silenced: the convulsions of the past gave place to quiet which the Church did little to disturb, only to protest angrily when the strong disturbance came in the fire and light of Wesley's and Whitefield's great campaigns. Yet some of the best and most marked features of English religion appear or are more plainly seen in eighteenth-century church life. In the country at least and in the older towns clergy and people understood one another well: the clergy were drawn from many different ranks, and a large number coming from humble homes rose to great positions. Parson Trulliber was no doubt a common type, but there was more than one Vicar of Wakefield. Charity and charities abounded: monuments in a great number of our older churches attest their variety. Doubtless the charity sermon mentioned in a letter of Hannah More of 1783, wherein a dignified and popular ecclesiastic 'told the rich and great that they ought to be extremely liberal , . . they were happily exempted from the severer virtues' struck a not unfamiliar note. But the story of the Charity School movement forbids any general cynicism: it called out an immense volume of local interest and effort. Needless to say it aroused fears and opposition in many quarters; it would take children away from their proper work in industry or the fields; it would make them 'superior'; it was politically dangerous. Despite all this, the movement, often directed with considerable wisdom by the local subscribers, did much good, and led on to a Sunday School enterprise (children at home were a nuisance on Sunday!) of continuing importance in English life—an enterprise in its earlier stages largely undenominational. In all this the laity played a full part. In no century indeed is the 'pious Englishman' more in evidence, with his Bible, his dislike of extremes, his unecclesiastical temper, his genuine reverence. If Dr. Johnson was too learned and too strong a Churchman to be altogether representative, he yet reminds us of a characteristic type. And the reader of Boswell is continually impressed by the easy

relations of lay and clerical society and by the wealth of learned and antiquarian interest among the clergy. Perhaps no generation has done more to show the way in the fundamentals of religion and to apply its teaching to the business of life than that which brought the publication of Butler's *Analogy* and Law's *Serious Call*

It is time to turn to the Nonconformist Churches, to sketch some features of their rich contribution to English religion until the coming of Methodism, and thereafter to attempt a more synoptic view of the generations directly leading to our own. Perhaps it is often the experience of the reader of Nonconformist history that he seems to find there many sidelights on his path. There are good reasons for this. Men long subjected to persecution or heavy disabilities, but numerous, vocal, and profoundly convinced, were sure to display in their own lives and to reveal in their nation's character some lively elements of belief and practice which find less vivid expression elsewhere. But this is by itself a most inadequate comment. The depth and range of Nonconformist influence on English religious life and on the whole outlook of England are immeasurable. The small early harassed communities were sure that God had 'more truth yet to break out of His Holy Word'. Some of their members gave strange and violent vent to their conception of that truth, and to this day there is no lack of wild apocalyptic dreams and bizarre prophesyings among those on the fringe of all the Churches, but this was only the froth of a great tide making its way into the channels of the people's life. With it there came a deeper sense of individual responsibility for belief, of the freedom of the individual soul; the Army debates of Cromwellian times are a mine of democratic theory and practice, a classical assertion of the right of the 'poorest he' to put his faith to the test of action. There was, indeed, rigidity and intolerance in plenty among the 'sects'; the Presbyterian claim to complete dominion and the venerable ideal of enforced ecclesiastical unity were not easily dislodged. But their cause was lost before Charles II came home again: the struggle that continued was for freedom, and in the seventeenth century it was for that supreme gift that the stoutest blows were struck. They came from men whose names are the grandest of their time; the noble Anglican calendar is outsoared by Bunyan and Fox and Milton and Baxter and Cromwell. Even the briefest consideration of these men's achievement must

establish their lasting hold on English memory, and their creative power in widely different fields* Milton's famous words about the influence of a good book have never been more wonderfully illustrated than by the *Pilgrim's Progress,* a supreme piece of English prose, a tale of adventure for every age, a simple yet profound interpretation of the heights and depths of human life, the greatest of commentaries upon the Bible. Fox the weaver is in his way as great a man as Bunyan the tinker. The writer of one of the few great spiritual autobiographies created also a community which has taught the world the power of charity in life and simplicity in faith. Milton, combining a humanist's love of beauty in nature and in the work of man's mind and hand with the 'intellectual love of God' reveals that grandeur and majesty and undefeated strength of heart which give him his place apart. He reminds us, as Baxter, or John Owen, or Thomas Adams, or many another in their diverse ways remind us, that English Puritanism has not been dull nor limited in its appreciation of human interests. The Puritan spirit is indeed a deep lake filled by many tributary streams: some are morose and dark, and English religion is often enough marked by an ugly narrowness neither unknown to nor peculiar to Puritanism. But its main element has been healthy and strong; it is no reproach that it has been serious; the men who built the Nonconformist Churches had to wage stern war and it may be that they saw more clearly than their privileged adversaries the manifold evil in the world they felt themselves called to convert. Nothing is more remarkable in Baxter than the width and the growth of his sympathies, deep-rooted Puritan saint as he was: yet no man was more hardly tested by the disappointments of a long public life. It is Cromwell's answer to that same test, in a position of supreme political responsibility, that has made him perhaps the best remembered of our statesmen; if he was long regarded by history as the worst of hypocrites, history has revised her verdict and sees in him a man of faults and misjudgements doubtless, but a man who believed himself guided in political as in private action by the faith he held. Other Englishmen in high place or low have held the same conviction and suffered the same charge of perfidy.

By the end of the seventeenth century, a limited toleration won, Nonconformity had greatly increased in strength, above all in the prosperous middle class. The practice of 'occasional Conformity' and the measures of indemnity which lightened the burden of the

long-surviving repressive Acts brought material benefit and moral danger. The temperature of religious energy fell in the Churches generally, established and 'free'. Deism of many types infected them: Presbyterianism was tending to become Unitarian. There was much dissension both on matters of doctrine and of organization among Nonconformists, while on the Church of England after the stirring days of Queen Anne quiet came with the early Hanoverians. A detailed picture of course reveals signs of life, and quiet did not hold sway for long. Centuries are convenient but artificial divisions; some of the characteristics generally held to mark the eighteenth are largely limited to its earlier middle years. And into those years there came the portent of Wesley and Whitefield. No movement in English history compares with theirs, whether we consider its wider bearings on national life, or its direct influence on the Churches. A vast number of people, hitherto untouched by Christian teaching, listened to Whitefield's tremendous eloquence proclaiming a fiery Calvinism in any place where multitudes could gather. John Wesley gave to the same work of wide evangelism throughout and beyond our island a long life unequalled in its never-tiring devotion, a mind and utterance of astonishing power and clarity, and a capacity for masterful organization which put him without question among the dominating figures of history. These leaders won followers of equal zeal, and as the century moved on its way the results of their work took shape. The impact upon the Churches naturally varied. Wesley and his Methodists, preaching 'free grace', were opponents of Calvinism, and since Calvinism was still strong among many Evangelical Churchmen, his direct influence upon them and upon many in the Free Churches was less than Whitefield's. It is to be remembered too that Wesley's general political Toryism and his declared devotion to the Church of England in one of whose parsonages he had, like so many of the greatest of his countrymen, been born, were not attractive to the main body of Dissent. There were many cross-currents, and more than one distinct 'revival'. The outstanding facts for English religion were that the impulse of new life was felt sooner or later almost everywhere, and that Wesley's own following, estimated to number 60,000 definite members before his death in 1791, not only grew far greater but stimulated a like growth in the general Nonconformity. Before the nineteenth century was far advanced, there was a rough balance with the Church of England.

Methodism, though troubled by many disputes about order and some elements of belief, was already one of the great churches; and save for Quakerism, strong in its own life, and for those Free Churchmen, largely of Presbyterian origin and Unitarian inclination, whose faith was more intellectual than 'enthusiastic', there were few who had not felt the swell of the sea.

IV

We have reached a time when religion in England must be surveyed against the background of the sweeping changes wrought during the past century or two in every department of life. We find, as we might expect, many illustrations of the tenacity of religious belief and habit, yielding only gradually to the pressure of new knowledge and of profound alteration in society and politics. But on the whole the scene is for long one of far-expanding activity: the Churches seized fresh fields of enterprise and, through much controversy, there grew some increased understanding of their common task. It was more than ever apparent that religious differences largely determined the course and character of political strife in England. In Stuart and Hanoverian days the party of conservative tradition, claiming divine sanction for the authority of king and bishop, had been ranged against a party whose main strength lay in a demand for wider freedom in the expression of individual faith and in the conviction that the divine call is made to common men, 'priests by the imposition of a mightier hand' than that of any human authority. The Whig party had been steadily supported by Nonconformists generally; Wesley's Toryism was not followed by the mass of his followers; it was under the long Whig dominance that a large measure of actual if sometimes grudging concession was made to Nonconformist demands. The struggle against the French Revolution then kept the Tories in power for many years and, by making all reforming measures suspect, long delayed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts which had for more than a century and a half buttressed Anglican privilege against Rome and Nonconformity alike. Repeal at last achieved, and the great Reform Act soon after passed, a mass of disabilities still awaited and received the assault of Whigs, Liberals, Radicals, with Nonconformity as their spear-point. Inequitable burial laws and church rites, tests restricting admission to or full equality in the Universities, the Establishment of the

Church in Wales, were some of the objects of attack, coming down almost to our own day. Educational controversies arose repeatedly and inevitably, for in the whole field of education the Church of England had held an overwhelmingly strong position. The dissenting academies and many schools established by Quakers and other bodies had, indeed, done admirable work since the Restoration; the Academies in particular had not only provided a trained ministry but had more effectively than any other educational institutions brought the curriculum into touch with the growth of the country's social and economic life. But Nonconformist education was segregated, to its own loss and the nation's. The rivalry between the Anglican (Bell) and the Quaker (Lancaster) schemes for the rapid education of younger by older children led to the establishment of competing societies, and it was certain that when the nation concerned itself with schooling, Nonconformity would claim its rights. So began a long and often bitter struggle, leading characteristically enough to results neither logical nor fully satisfactory to the keener spirits on either side, and perhaps for those very reasons acceptable to a fair-minded but puzzled electorate. Nonconformist principles would properly have demanded the 'secular' plan, leaving religious education to voluntary effort, but these principles had been long transgressed by the acceptance of public grants for some Nonconformist schools. The system now established after many Acts and stages of contention requires religious education for all in 'Council' schools, on an undenominational basis, precluding the use of any catechism or formulary distinctive of any denomination, and allowing withdrawal for conscientious reasons, while it provides also, within the national scheme, for denominational schools of varying degrees of independence. The settlement is a remarkable illustration of the general acceptance of 'Bible teaching'; strong churchmen of various allegiance question the lasting value of any religious teaching which does not put active membership of a Church in the forefront of its purpose, but they have not convinced the public mind.

If the education question, so directly involved in religious differences, has been a main element in modern political strife between Liberal Nonconformity and Conservative Churchmanship, something has already been said to show that it was far from the only element. The extraordinary growth of commerce and industry began to outweigh the agricultural interest; Nonconformity

ROYAL BENEVOLENCE.

RESPECTED FRIEND,

PERMIT me to submit to thy benevolent notice, an ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, began by the KING, QUEEN, and ROYAL FAMILY, to raise a Fund to enable me to establish Schools in the country, for TEN THOUSAND POOR CHILDREN. It is designed to instruct them in Reading, Writing, and the Elements of Arithmetic : to* take a guarded care *6f* their morals: to form them to habits of industry, sobriety, and virtue: to imbue their tender niinds with the knowledge of Christianity, as contained in the Language of Scripture, without comment, *or any thing like sectarian inferences ;* Wherever Schools may be instituted, the children of Members of the Establishment and of Dissenters who may participate in the benefit of them, will be left, as to RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, under the care of their own Clergy and religious friends.

I hope my disinterested motive for this intrusion on thy time, and THE SANCTION under which the plan is undertaken, will excuse it. I make an earnest appeal to thy benevolence, and hope for the favox of thy name as a Subscriber to a Plan, calculated to increase the happiness of mankind.

The first School is now open at *MAIDEN BRADLEY, WILTS,* the seat of the *Duke of Somerset,* and will gradually spread over the west, and Other Part* of England. THE FAVOR OF AN ANSWER IS REQUESTED BY

Thy respectful friend,

Free School, Borough Road, Southward
10th of 3d Month 1806. J

JOSEPH LANCASTER.

JOSEPH LANCASTER'S APPEAL OF 1806
This is the second of two printed letters sent out in that year

A SCHOOL

WILL, BE OPENED

On MONDAY Morning, the 6th of NOVEMBER,

IN THE OLD NATIONAL CURLS' SCHOOL-ROOM,

FOR BOYS,

FROM FIVE TO FOURTEEN YEARS OLD.

This School will be conducted on Lancaster's or the Royal British Plan.

No Creed will be taught in this School, but the Children will learn to read the Scriptures without Note or Comment. Every Child will be required to go to the Sunday School to which his Parents belong.

The Charge will be Two-pence, per Week, to be paid to the Master.

The Boys must come to School with their Hair cut short, and their Faces and Hands clean.

Any Parent wishing his Children to be admitted into this School will apply to the Master, at the School Room, at Nine o'Clock on MONDAY MORNING NEXT, the 6th of NOVEMBER, or on any future Day (Sundays excepted) at the same Hour.

A SCHOOL FOR ADULTS

Will also be opened from the Hours of Six to Eight in the Evening.

Aylesbury, 3d *of November,* 1826.

MAY, PRINTER, AYLESEURY.

ELEMENTARY AND ADULT EDUCATION IN AYLESBURY IN 1826

had long been powerful in London, in other great cities, in the newly crowded industrial areas; and whatever may be said on the famous theory of the intimate connexion between the spirit of Puritanism and commercial enterprise, there is no question that economic interests and ideals often divided the parties, giving new grounds for attack on privilege to those whose whole history had been a war against it. Wherever we take our stand we cannot fail to see the significance of the reactions between religion and politics in modern England; often religion provided an element in the subject-matter of dispute; far more often it stimulated opposing views on all manner of issues at home and abroad. But this division never became a rigid line between classes, between rich and poor. Nonconformity, it is true, had little support among the older landed gentlefolk. But their political and social influence was waning steadily though slowly, and in other ranks of the community, of all degrees of wealth and poverty, there were to be found members of all the greater Churches. Moreover, the nineteenth century, through all the dust of religious differences, some of them petty and ephemeral enough, saw the coming of new life to Anglicanism; with new life there came, doubtless, a new growth or a sharper definition of distinctive points of view; yet the broad result was to bring into the foreground the country's religious needs, and the common aims, deeper than any hostility, of all the Churches.

The springs of this revival were many, and they brought energy not only to Anglicanism. It is, however, within the Church of England that a long-needed movement was both most impressively seen and most plainly illustrative of fresh influences in English life. At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century the main elements of opinion in that Church may be broadly grouped in three parties or types, two of them Evangelical in temper, the other tracing its tradition from the 'classical* Anglicanism of the seventeenth century. Of the Evangelicals, one great group, with the famous 'Clapham Sect' as its leader and with strong support from a host of Nonconformists, was stirred to action, long-sustained and at last successful, for the abolition of slavery, and carried a strong consuming zeal into the cause of missions and the moral and spiritual welfare of the poor. Lord Shaftesbury, later, drew his inspiration and many followers from the same Evangelical source: his name and career, like that of Wilberforce and his friends, are a reminder that 'enthusiasm'.

suspect to the eighteenth-century gentleman, was finding its way into places of power. Another group, less easily defined because more intellectually critical and therefore conveniently labelled 'Broad', was more concerned to welcome new light on biblical and ecclesiastical history and not afraid to encourage political reform. Anglicans of the 'high* tradition had for their part begun to advance to new action before the Oxford Movement quickened the pace, in part changed its direction, and in no long time radically altered the character of large areas in Church life. The Movement grew from many roots: one was hostility to the contemporary State policy towards the Church—a policy which in fact produced valuable reforms, sweeping away the old abuses of plurality and sinecures, and transferring the surplus revenues of episcopal sees and cathedral chapters to a newly created Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the benefit of ill-paid parish clergy. This policy was supported by some vigorous and progressive churchmen, but the men of the Movement saw behind it the spectre of that 'liberalism' in doctrine and mental attitude which was to Newman, in Oxford and later, the dreaded enemy. Another branch grew from that far-spreading interest in the past, in historical tradition, which Scott and many a lesser mind had helped to create and foster. In a time of general change and political upheaval it was not surprising that a small group headed by a man of genius should, as in the day of Wesley, set out along new paths. The heart of its purpose was to strengthen the church as a spiritual body by fresh emphasis on its continuity with the ancient Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, and by insistence that the Prayer Book and Articles not only justified but required that emphasis. Newman has described in his *Apologia* the reasons and emotions which in 1845 carried him into the Church of Rome. Many went with him, but the strongest of his friends, Pusey, Keble, J. B. Mozley, stayed. The movement passed from Oxford into the world and, in its earlier stages, especially into the slums of the great towns. The influence it exercised on many who were no extremists in doctrine or ritual is best seen in the work of such men as Hook in Leeds or Samuel Wilberforce in the bishoprics of Oxford and Winchester; the range of that influence spread far beyond the circle of any one party or type of mind. It did much to shape the modern parish with its many organizations, its magazine, its mission churches; the modern diocese with its conference, its societies and boards,

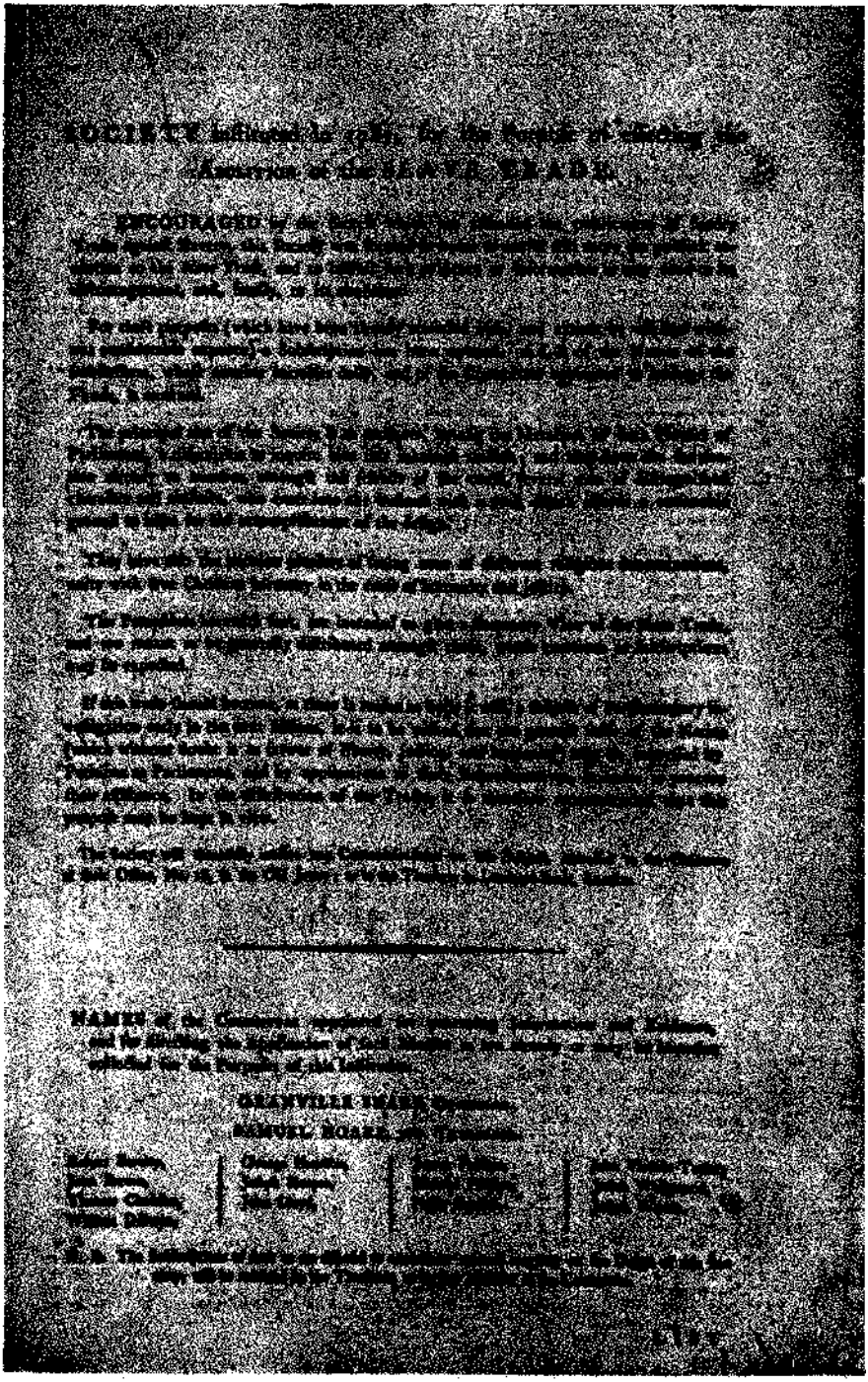
its busy officials; religious communities for men and women; the revival of the Convocations of Canterbury and York. The Church had begun to measure itself against its task in a country under rapid transformation from a land of villages and market towns to the England of modern industry: it must have changed in any event in so fast changing a world, but the character of the change, its strength and weakness, is due in large degree to the Oxford Movement.

That strength and that weakness can only be fairly judged by widening our survey of the country's religious life at a time when the discoveries of science and the advance of historical criticism were sweeping away old forms of thought, shaking the old dogmatic frame, and throwing new and often unwelcomed light on the story of man, his institutions, and his beliefs. At the same time the country was passing, and would for long continue to pass, through a series of social changes and revolutions of habit resulting from the new knowledge and its applications. In many ways, as we have seen, the Church of England was fitting itself better to cope with this changing society. But in some profoundly important respects this was not so, and the results of this partial failure have become more apparent in our own day. Division within the Church was deepened by the growth of an Anglo-Catholicism, expressing itself outwardly in an elaborate ritual often copied from modern Roman models, whose increasing hold upon the clergy has not been accompanied by any comparable conquest of the laity, despite the frequent devotion and ability of its adherents. A movement which had begun with a strong insistence on the duty of obedience to ecclesiastical authority became in fact often lawless: the Prayer Book ceased really to define the frontiers and satisfy the demands of Anglican worship. Almost everyone agreed that an ancient book called for some changes or additions: but there was no agreement on that critical ground where change might mean a real shifting of emphasis or alteration of doctrine. Thus there has been disunion enough to weaken the common action of English churchmen, and their controversies have often dulled public sympathy. Moreover, the drift of Anglicanism towards Anglo-Catholicism, with its insistence on episcopacy and its conviction of the solidity of the historical basis for 'apostolic succession', has built a stronger barrier against reunion with Nonconformity. Politer methods of controversy, the growth of social equality, the removal of Anglican

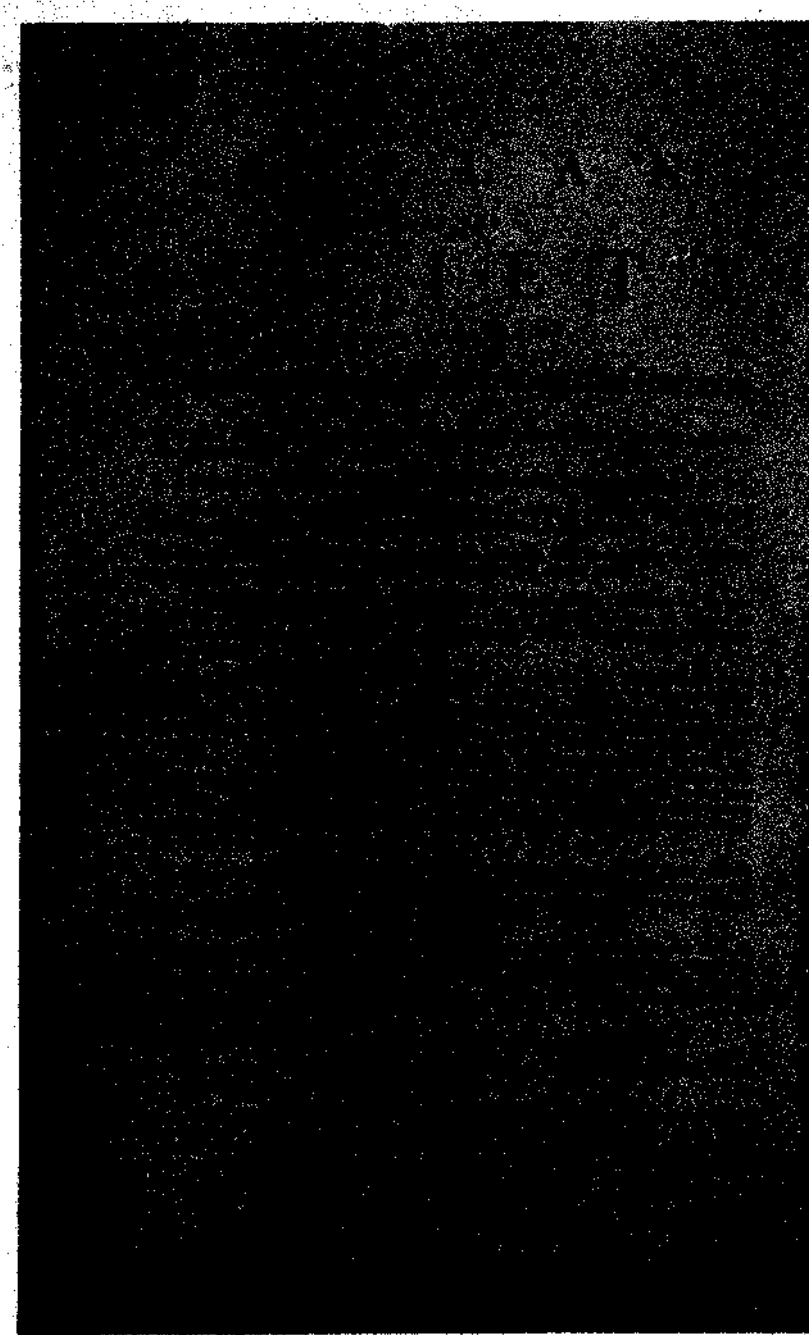
privilege, common work in the fields of scholarship and in many charitable enterprises brought friendliness and a new understanding by no means superficial or lightly valued. But the barrier remains, and many of those who survey it most steadily, with strong desire to see it fall, know that it still stands firm. And meanwhile it is as true now as in sixteenth-century days that a 'sort of men there be that will not be troubled with hearing tyll learned men agree better'.[1]

Yet perhaps we can already see that the tendencies, progressive or reactionary, which group themselves round the Oxford Movement and develop in its later history, must take a merely secondary place in a true scale of significance when they are weighed against the interaction of religion and science (in the widest sense of the term) in the past hundred years. And, unfortunately, the churches were not well equipped to meet the questions set them, nor has the weakness been yet remedied. The older universities in which most of the Anglican clergy were educated gave no systematic theological teaching until the last generation of the nineteenth century; Nonconformists were admitted to full university privileges only at that same date; theological colleges had begun to do their indispensable work, but they had many of the defects as well as the strength of seminaries: the University of London, long suspect as a hotbed of secularism, grew up with the later civic universities in considerable, if not complete, isolation from ecclesiastical influences and interests. Durham University was an exception, but small and mainly local in its membership. The country's educational tradition, in its higher ranges, had been predominantly classical: it was not surprising that the greatest achievements of our religious scholarship lay in Biblical criticism and historical theology; there indeed the work of English scholars of many Churches was outstanding for its thoroughness and sober wisdom. But there was coming into being a society increasingly dependent on scientific discovery, increasingly interested and trained in the exact sciences. The leaders of the Churches were largely engrossed in controversies remote from the questions of deepest concern; the 'Broad' or 'Liberal' churchmen who were most active in the endeavour to understand the new knowledge and its bearing on religion often met with suspicion and distrust. For all this there are many excuses, but the result was a growing alienation between the Churches and the

[1] Muller, *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*.



THE SLAVE TRADE



MISSIONS TO THE HEATHEN
The 1784 plan formulated by Dr. Thomas Coke, Methodist Bishop

most influential thought of our time. It may well be true that a fundamental cause of weakness has lain in the recent remoteness of philosophic thought, with a few notable exceptions, from the needs and interests of ordinary mankind. 'Thought' has not 'wedded fact'. The extreme specialism of modern life hinders understanding. This is now perceived, but the remedy remains to be found, or at least to be effectively applied.

There are, however, two directions in which religion has moved to great achievement during a century and a half of unparalleled complexity. And in both all the Churches have gone forward together. They have become missionary Churches; and religion has often led the way in the wide field of social betterment. The story of English missions, finely told in many biographies and special works, has never yet found its due place in general histories: here it can hardly be more than mentioned. It begins with a Baptist Society and the great name of William Carey in 1792; for the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, though nearly a century older, had limited its work to our own people abroad. In a few years' time came the London Missionary Society, mainly Nonconformist, and then the Church Missionary Society, and the full activity of the S.P.G., and many another adventure into nearly every part of an expanding world. The missionary has been a pioneer not only of his faith, but of discovery in unknown country, of medical care, of anthropology, of education. He has broadened and deepened his fellow-Christians' conception of the meaning and power of their religion. There have been many thousands of English people whose life at home and whose understanding of the world's need were raised to a higher level by their knowledge and support of the devoted campaign abroad. There have been mistakes and inadequacies, but missionary statesmanship and co-operation have grown to correct them. It has been characteristic of Anglican churchmanship at least that its missionary task has been carried out by societies within the Church, not by the Church as one body: characteristic too that these societies have sometimes shared the rivalries that we know. It may be that, as in our politics, so here an essential duty undertaken by 'private' and sectional enterprise will increasingly become the responsibility of the whole.

There is a not altogether dissimilar tale to tell of the bearing of religion on all that we describe as social reform. The work of the parish parson in the older England went generally, and certainly

at its best, far beyond the limits of his legal duty, though that was sometimes wide enough; he was concerned for the bodies as for the souls of his parishioners. And Wesley, with his unnumbered battles against squalor and ignorance, backed by the intimate connexion of his societies with classes of people hitherto outside religion's influence, gave an impulse to social improvement felt far beyond the limits of Methodism. Though it is sadly true that for long neither the Churches nor the State met the industrial development of the country with the concentrated energy needed to apply more than occasional palliatives to its disordered frame, yet it was religion which inspired the earlier attempts, and religion which for several generations marked the crying evils and tried to find the way to heal and, later, to prevent them. Here, again, all the Churches took their part. The protection of children against cruelty, destitution, and overwork; the cause of temperance—not always temperately urged; the prevention of sweated labour; the sweeping away of slums; the encouragement of co-operative trading; the establishment by universities and schools of settlements in the poorest quarters of great cities; the beginnings of adult education—these are a few activities undertaken at the call of religion and increasingly establishing themselves as a power in national life. Many of them have now become the recognized concern of the State and of local authorities; but the co-operation of officials and Voluntary' workers, a valuable tradition in English life, still continues. The work of a Shaftesbury or a Maurice, of the Methodist local preachers with their notable influence on trade-union growth, of the Salvation Army's rescue of the degraded and its constructive achievements in places of most need, will stand, with much else no less deserving memory, as the foundation of the vast and growing structure of social reorganization. The English mind, generally concrete and practical, has more often been won to respect for religion by such visible effects on the community's life than by any other cause.

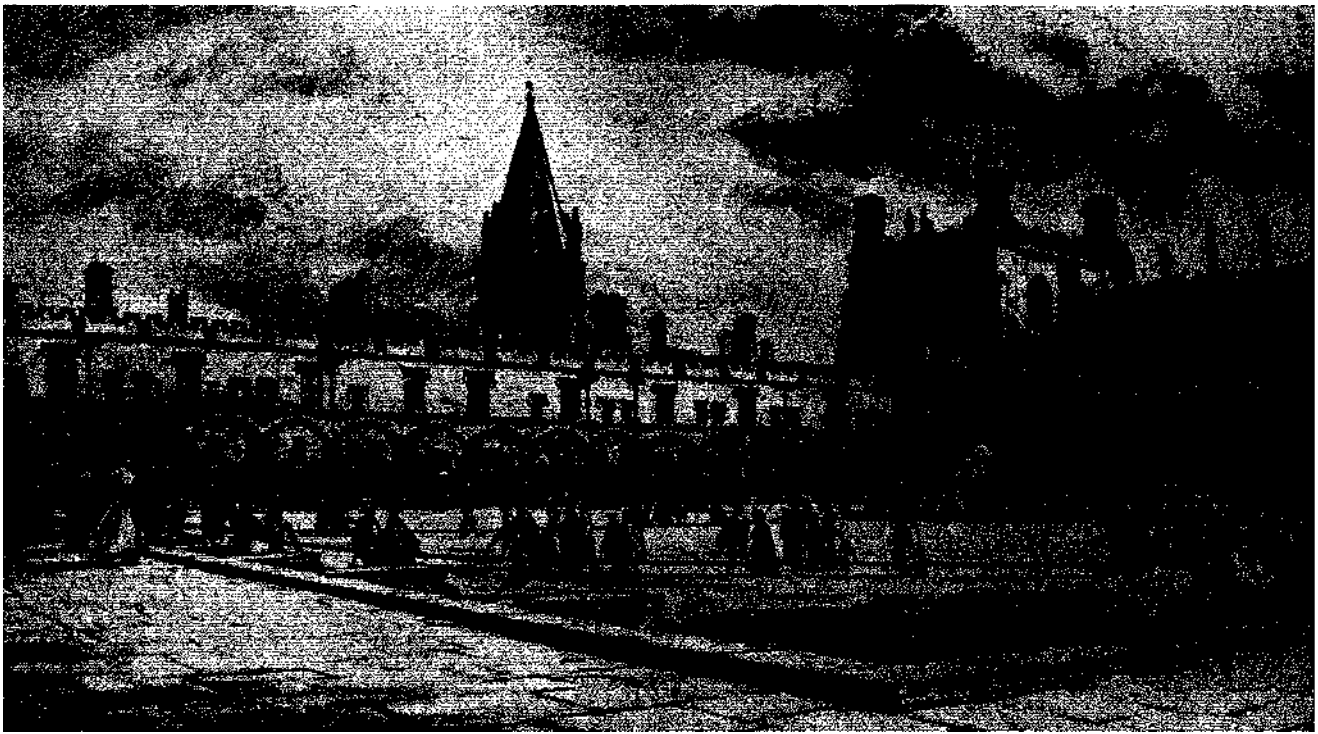
V

And if some general reflections on English religion may bring this essay to its close the phrase 'respect for religion* seems to cover a good deal of the Englishman's attitude towards it. He is seldom its lively enemy, seldom even anti-clerical; he is no mystic and on the other hand he has little sense of corporate

religion; only on special occasions in national or family life does he find himself with great numbers of his countrymen or friends in church or chapel. The shattering effects of two world wars and the shifting of great populations, the growth of easy common enjoyment in normal times and the apparent inadequacy of traditional moral obligations and principles to convince the mind or control the will of people far removed in place or circumstance from old restraints or old encouragements, are the commonplaces of attempts to diagnose our time. Clearly they have their bearing on religion. In the light of his religious history it is not strange that the Englishman is an individualist, impatient of and now long unaccustomed to the authoritarian direction of faith or morals, convinced of the rights of the amateur. Nothing is commoner in our national life, our fiction, and the correspondence columns of our newspapers than superficial comments on religion whose assurance is only equalled by their ignorance. Ordinarily there is much reserve on the deepest questions, yet the moral perplexities of our time are forcing them into more general discussion. The sermon has lost the place it once held as a foremost means of instruction, but great numbers listen to broadcast services and addresses. There are frequent demands that 'the church should give a lead'. If 'morality touched with emotion' is a poor definition of religion, it is not altogether inadequate as a description of many Englishmen's conception of it. But morality is now confused to its depths, and enough respect for religion remains to suggest to many minds that it may hold a secret not yet discovered, or long lost.

In face of these vague uncertainties, this real sympathy and good feeling mingled with a large measure of indifference and ignorance, stand the many Churches, each with its regular worshipping membership, each, too, with a nominal following. They are still divided, though perhaps the deepest real distinctions are not vertical. The Church of Rome, of which little has been said because it was for long excluded from large reaches of English life, and for longer still remained weak in numbers and limited in influence, has gained ground by skilled leadership, strong discipline, and admirable exposition of its faith in a period when a rigidly defined position has been more than ever an advantage to those who can hold it and a magnet to those searching for assurance. It stands apart, and where it is strongest there most definitely apart. Between the other Churches, with some limited exceptions,

there are the bonds already described in the tasks of scholarship, in social causes, in many endeavours for the furthering of Christian work throughout the world. They, or their leaders, understand one another better than of old. They have learned much from one another's forms of worship and methods of evangelization. They are far less insular in outlook than a century ago. Their weakness lies in their continuing disunion, in some grave perplexities about the form and content of the faith they jointly profess, in the separation that has grown between the ways of thought of a technological civilization and the preachers of a spiritual gospel. Their strength is in a growing sense of that civilization's need and in the realism with which they increasingly see their task and plan, *adjutore DEO*, to do it.



THE CENTENARY OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT, CHRIST CHURCH, 18 JULY 1933

Drawing by SIR MUIRHEAD BONE *for the Oxford Almanack of 1934*



COVENTRY CATHEDRAL RUINS DRAWN BY SIR MUIRHEAD BONE

Plans for rebuilding have included a Christian Centre and Chapel of Unity linking Anglican and Free Churches

IV

GOVERNMENT

By **G. M. YOUNG**

I

EVERY government that has been in this world, or is ever likely to be, is a system of injunctions and restraints: do this—abstain from that. It may be more, but that it must be. And in the last analysis we can determine the distinguishing character of the system by asking: What is the authority behind the command? According to the answer, we have the types of government familiar in the tradition of the schools—monarchic, aristocratic, popular, with all their variations and compromises. But if we ask: How did it come to be authority? then we leave the field of political science or philosophy and commit ourselves to history. Or, to put it another way, every institution raises two questions: one, Why does it exist? and the other, Why should it exist? If I am charged with some serious offence I am tried before a jury. Many reasons doubtless could be given why I should be. But to explain why I am it would be necessary to go back many hundred years and observe that jury gradually disentangling itself from other ways of trial—possessory assizes and presentments, wager of battle and ordeal—and establishing itself, by experiment, as the best way of getting at the truth.

So regarded, politics is an experimental science, and history is the record of the experiments. But men cannot be experimenting everywhere and all the time. So, in the life of a nation, we are aware of two elements which need to be kept in adjustment—the irrational element of custom, tradition, habit making for stability, and the rational, critical element making for improvement. Whatever it be, our food, our wages, our prospects or the weather, we are constantly passing judgement in the form—this is good and I should like to keep it: this is bad and I should like a change: this is tolerable but it might be better. These judgements, applied to the institutions of a country, set its political course from one generation to another: and public opinion is the summing up, at one time and on one topic, of a debate, a conversation, which is going on all the time and on every topic. From which it follows that a good government is one whose injunctions and restraints

are found, in the long **run** and on the whole, to be in accordance with the views of those who have taken some trouble to inform themselves, have thought things out and talked them over with their neighbours, and come to the conclusion that things are best left alone, or that they should be changed this way or that. Theirs, we may say, is the authority behind the command: and as it is their command, they will see that it is enforced.

This conception of public opinion, forming and exercising itself through an uncensored press and open discussion, and acting as the ultimate regulator of politics, first becomes articulate and clear in the generation succeeding the Battle of Waterloo. In the great struggle over the Reform Bill, we see the customary and critical elements almost in arms against each other on an issue which could not be evaded. Are the middle classes as a whole capable of a sound judgement in politics or are they not? Do they in fact take trouble to inform themselves, do they think things out and talk them over with their neighbours? If you say no, how do you explain the astonishing progress which England is visibly making in all the other arts of life? If you say yes, how can you justify the exclusion of the middle classes from the franchise, from all participation in the art of politics?

With the passing of the Bill in 1832 the ascendancy of public opinion was formally acknowledged. Materially, the traditional and habitual element of deference to the old legislative class, the nobility and gentry, showed an unexpected tenacity of life. The classical conception of the Mixed Constitution—a balance of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy—still kept its dominion over men's minds: not the less, perhaps, because of a certain mystery surrounding the Crown. What did it do? When the younger Pitt, silently and decorously, but quite firmly and plainly, transferred the greater part of the royal authority to the Cabinet, what had he left? If Parliament had passed an Act that all powers exercisable by the Crown should henceforth be exercised by five privy councillors chosen by lot, what difference would anyone have noticed or would anyone notice to-day? A certain absence of splendour, perhaps: five elderly gentlemen driving down to open Parliament would be so unimpressive that our sense of humour would probably abolish the ceremony altogether, the most august ceremony, perhaps, surviving in the world. And would anyone be the worse? To the question—Why is there a Monarchy—the answer is simple. Down to the seventeenth century few had

thought of any other form of national headship. The Republican experiment showed that no more convenient and attractive form could be thought of. Successive changes of dynasty left the Monarchy itself untouched: it was not so much an institution as a form of political thought. But the nineteenth century was intensely critical of all forms of thought, whether in Church or State, which could not justify themselves by reason, and in 1837, when Victoria came to the throne, it was very far from certain that public opinion, the opinion of the middle classes, would tolerate the survival of an institution which to a radical eye was no more than an expensive fiction, certainly useless, perhaps mischievous.

The reactions of human nature towards a man, or woman, in exalted place may range from hatred to idolatry. But among them there is one to which the students of political philosophy seem not to attach so much importance as it merits—affection: and in the history of the English constitution one of the most important facts is that people were very fond of George I I I, the Berkshire gentleman who gave organs to churches and wrote papers, signed Ralph Robinson, in the agricultural journals. They liked to see him riding in Windsor Park or bathing at Weymouth: to repeat stories of his good nature, his courage, his memory for faces: his simplicity, his piety, his patience in affliction. It is, after all, more agreeable to be fond of people than to dislike them: and no doubt there is something in human nature which is gratified by liking people of exalted rank: the object elevates the sentiment, and the sentiment once evoked will not be content without an object. George I I I gave to the Monarchy something at once of domestic intimacy and domestic sanctity. Victoria inherited a part which she could not have created, and which, without Prince Albert, she could hardly have sustained. But she did sustain it, and the republicanism, both rational and sentimental, of the nineteenth century was thrown into shadow by the glow of personal affection which, in the end, surrounded the old queen.

Yet, if things had fallen otherwise, it may be questioned whether affection alone would have kept the Monarchy in being. There was another claimant to popular regard—the Leader. The affair of 1835, when King William accepted Melbourne's too willing resignation and sent for Peel to form a government, proved in the outcome that when two parties are in the field the party which has a majority in the House of Commons has a constitutional right to office. In 1880 we went one step farther. Victoria was more

than willing to keep Gladstone out of Downing **Street. But the** victorious party left her in no doubt that Gladstone it must be, and Gladstone it was. In choosing a leader the party does in fact decide who shall be Prime Minister if ever it comes into power, and it is hardly conceivable that the Crown should do other than accept its choice.

The situation is different when, as happened in the years of confusion after 1846, parties are broken and no clear line of division behind which they can arrange themselves is apparent. Then, admittedly, the Crown has a duty to help the country, we may say, to find the Government it wants. Some one, after all, must be commissioned to form an administration; this commission can only proceed from the Crown; and the Crown, in such cases, must try, in effect, to anticipate the judgement of Parliament, and estimate who is most likely to command a majority. It is the one personal decision which the Constitution requires the sovereign to make.

Confidence, then, in the wisdom and impartiality of the Crown, is the second element in the public attitude to the Monarchy. A sovereign who was disliked might be endured in hope of better things to come. A sovereign who was distrusted might be the last of his line. And the wearer of the Crown is a human being, subject to all the human limitations of age, experience, character, and capacity. A man of sixty who has seen administrations come and go, and has been intimate with the leading statesmen of a generation or more, clearly will carry more weight with his ministers than a young sovereign new to his duties and charged with the natural partialities of youth. On the other hand we have fair evidence from the acknowledgements of a line of ministers that nothing does a politician so much good as having to explain things to the king. He cannot, as Johnson said, be in a passion; he cannot rant; he cannot rely on the phrases which sometimes pass muster for reasons in Parliament. He may find himself confronted with experience far wider than his own, the winnowed and hoarded experience which almost serves for instinct. And he knows that to whatever height of power and popularity he may have risen, he is not in the long run nearly so interesting a figure to the public as the man to whom he is talking. He is the servant of the people—until they dismiss him: their leader, perhaps, so long as they choose to follow. That other is their head: and the stability which it is the prime object of every Constitution

to assure is with us best pictured as a domestic stability; a projection, almost, of that primitive and most intense desire, the desire of the child for safety in the home. Anyone who remembers the Abdication must own that in the English feeling for the Crown there is something deeper than can be calculated by the canons of political science.

11

It is in the nature of things that, where government by party is the rule, public men should never be wholly trusted and never generally liked. In the hundred years following the Reform Palmerston, perhaps, was the only Prime Minister for whom the public at large felt any real and lasting affection. And the closing decade of Palmerston's long life saw England in an almost dream-like serenity of well-being. Only at his death did party spring to life again, and the field was set for the great encounter of Disraeli and Gladstone, which gave a new colour to the office of Prime Minister. Pitt had defined it as carrying the chief weight in the counsels of ministers, and the first place in the confidence of the Crown. Peel deliberately, but with all the caution and restraint of his character, had, in the Tamworth manifesto, addressed himself to the electorate as a body. But agitation in the country was out of keeping with the senatorial conception of Parliament, as a body which directed the Government, and did not itself need to be directed by any force from without. A general election gave the House of Commons its commission to conduct affairs of state in a Tory way or a Whig way for the next six years or so; and within those easy limits Parliament was free. The conception of the party leader as demagogue, making his appeal to the masses direct, was created by Gladstone, and carried forward into the next age by Chamberlain, Lord Randolph Churchill, and Lloyd George. To Pitt's definition we must add—and holding a conspicuous place in the eye of the electorate.

But a place which he has reached by Parliamentary service. The processes which conduct a man to the front bench are very intricate. The Crown appoints on the advice of the Prime Minister, and what balance of unrevealed considerations directs the Prime Minister's selection is a question to which no general or simple answer can ever be given. But, on the whole, it is fairly safe to say that the deciding element is parliamentary standing. The House of Commons is a very good judge of what it wants, and its

collective sense indicates pretty plainly from what group or circle the chief offices had best be filled, and the Cabinet therefore constructed. Every government contains a few surprise appointments. But they are rarely numerous or startling. If the victorious party in Parliament settled the principal appointments by vote the result would probably not differ greatly from the Prime Minister's choice. And, if the party is in harmony with itself, it has already nominated the Prime Minister by accepting him as leader. If it is not, then either it must close its ranks and heal its dissensions or it will fall to pieces, and its chance of office has gone. To be a good and acceptable Prime Minister a man should be at once a popular figure, a party figure, and a parliamentary figure: and it would be interesting, though very difficult, to estimate in what proportion these qualifications have been blended in those who have held the office in the last hundred years. Popularity comes and goes: from the moment he is chosen, a leader becomes the object of all manner of internal jealousy and intrigue: but, in office or in opposition, an achieved reputation for parliamentary capacity is an abiding gift.

III

His Majesty's Servants, as they are described in the summons to a Cabinet Meeting, may be defined as a Committee of the Privy Council, a Committee of Lords and Commons in Parliament, or a Committee of the party in power as a result of the last election. And all three definitions would be historically true. By usage, more powerful than any law, a medieval king was required to take counsel regularly with his great men. Their concurrence was needed to any departure in policy, any substantial change of custom, and any tax beyond the ordinary payments due to the sovereign as lord of the land. They were also a court of justice in suits among themselves or between one of their number and the Crown. But, as a matter of convenience, the king needed a council of another sort: educated men who could see to his revenue and expenditure, regulate his household, advise him on the customs of the country, and, in his name, do justice in all common cases, it might be at Westminster, it might be in the shires. An admirable instrument of government, regular, efficient, well-informed, and, if discreetly wielded, a highly popular instrument, bringing the king's own justice within reach of the small freeholder, the mercer, and the wool-broker. But, in the

hands of an avaricious or self-willed king, it was a dangerous instrument, charged with menacing possibilities. These permanent counsellors, though for dignity they may be called knights and barons, were, after all, only the king's clerks. How were they to be kept in their place and the king's business still carried on?

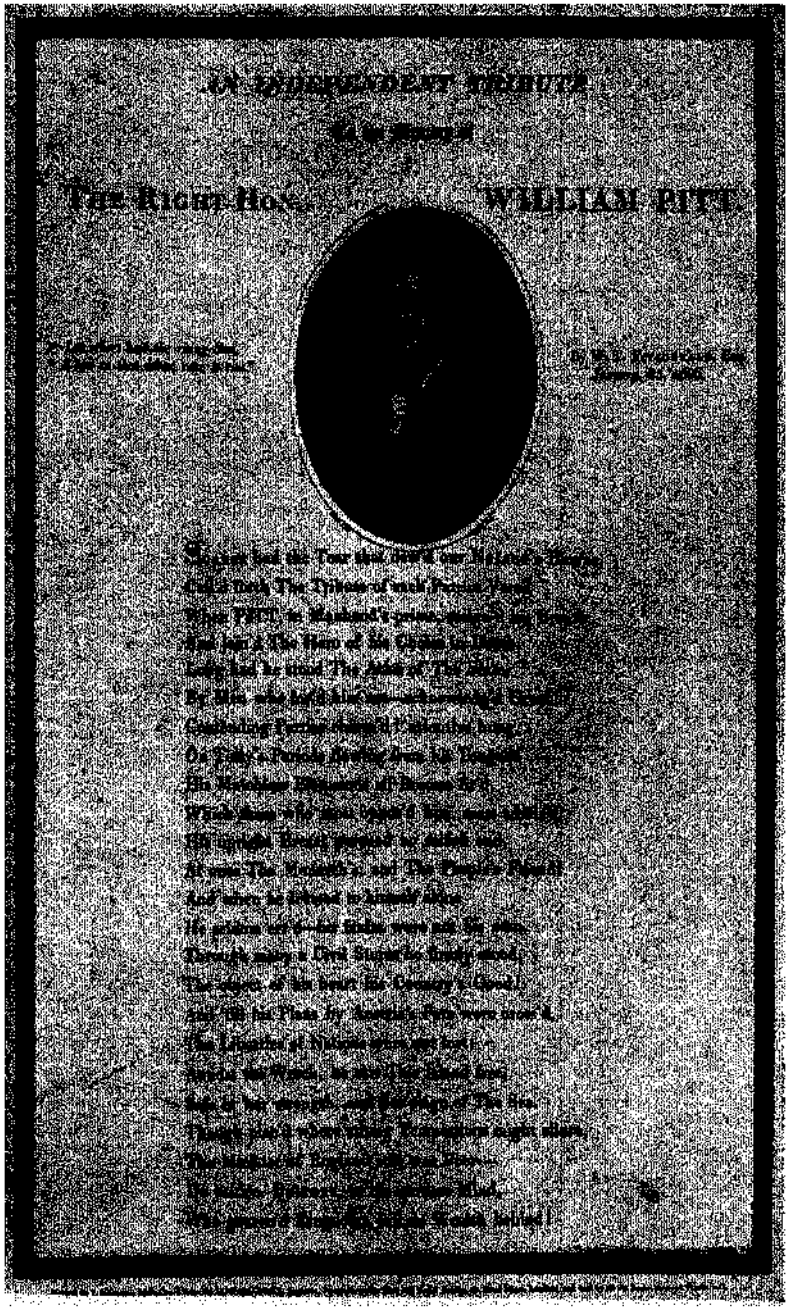
First of all it was necessary to state with as much clearness as possible what the rights and powers of the Crown really were: to mark out its acknowledged and lawful sphere of activity; to indicate what would be regarded as encroachment and what was allowed as the custom of the land. The second step was to call into existence a body with a common resolution to see that the bounds once set were observed. Of these two aims, one was attained by Magna Carta: the other by the assembling of a body which should be something more than a council of great men, something more than an inner group of professional advisers. They were both there; but along with them were the rural knights who knew what the country was thinking, the burgesses who knew how a tax could best be raised and where the burden would fall; and the merchants who understood—if the king needed money for a foreign war—how to raise a loan in Florence or discount a bill on Ghent. Whether this body, which somehow or other came to be called Parliament, was a conference, a court, or a legislature, we should, if we had attended one of its earliest meetings, have found it exceedingly difficult to say. It was everything all at once. But, somehow again, it established in the process of years two propositions—that no other body could make a new law and no other body could levy a new tax.

At the same time that inner council was, by professional necessity, dividing into two—those who administered the king's justice and those who managed the king's affairs. It is this second group that ultimately emerges as a Cabinet. They are the king's creatures—can they sit in the House of Commons, there to seduce and perhaps intimidate honest knights and burgesses by their control of the royal purse, by threats of the royal indignation? Can a man do his duty by Parliament and the king at once? On the other hand, can Parliament do its work properly unless it is fully advised of the royal policy and the state of the royal exchequer? And who can advise it so well as those privy councillors who are charged with the great offices of state, the Lord High Treasurer, the Lord High Admiral, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary? If they are peers they have of right a seat and voice in the Higher

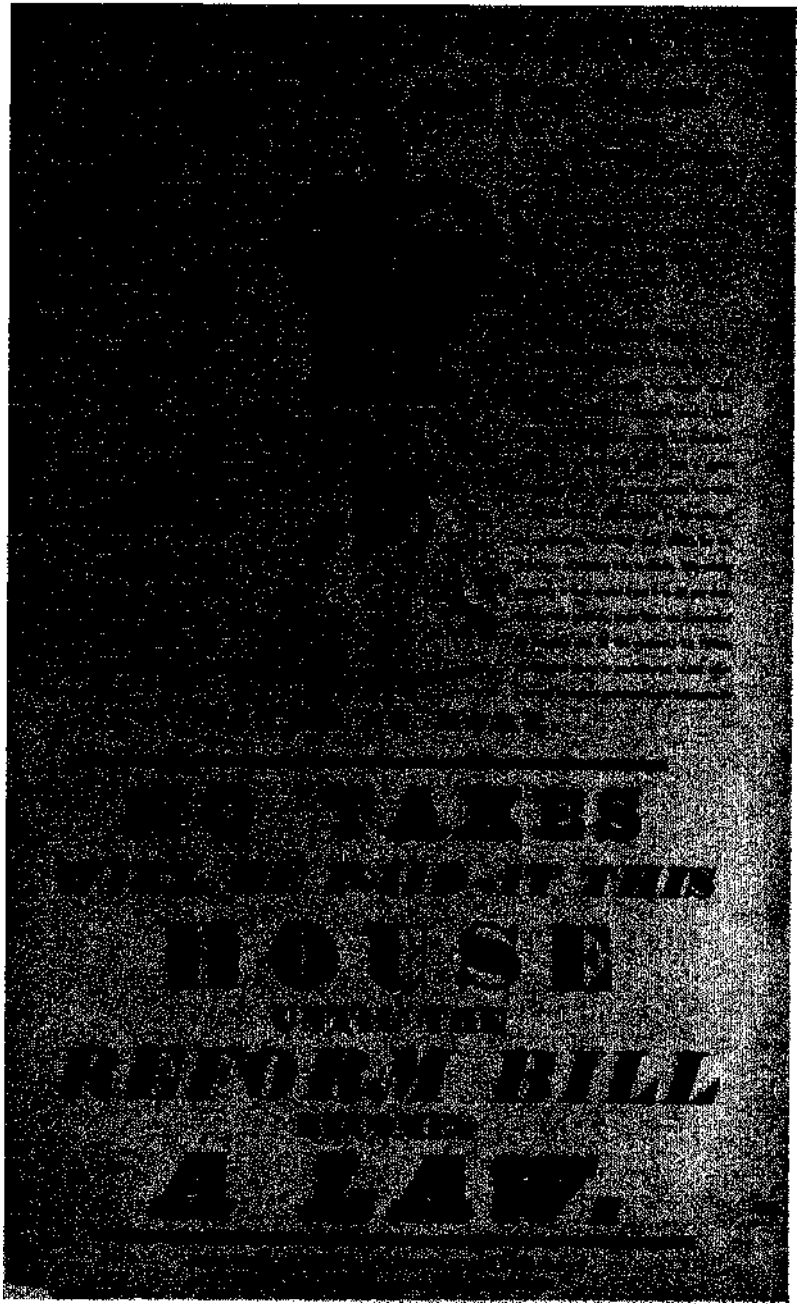
House. Are the Commons, then, to be excluded **from** great office ?

In the end the issue settled itself. As with Parliament, so with the Cabinet: we cannot point to a day or a year when it passed from possibility to actuality: we can only say that in 1690 there was no Cabinet and in 1710 there was. His Majesty's Servants were no longer a Committee of Privy Councillors chosen by the king: they were not quite a Committee of the party in power: they were a Committee of Lords and Commons designated for office by their standing in Parliament and the country, and their known conformity with the views and policy of the Crown. One step remained to be taken. When it became acknowledged law that the views and policy of the Crown were determined by the party having a majority in the House of Commons, then the Cabinet of necessity became a committee of that party. The evolution was complete—from the king choosing his own servants to the Prime Minister choosing his own colleagues very much on the same grounds as he himself was chosen leader: parliamentary standing, party standing, public regard. None of which, nor all of them together, necessarily make a good administrator.

Almost every Cabinet contains some members who are there for no better reason than that they could not be left out. And the burden of their shortcomings must be borne by all their colleagues jointly, unless the peccant minister relieves them by resigning. *A united Cabinet? There never was such a thing.' The doctrine of Cabinet solidarity, or collective responsibility, does not mean that in council differences of opinion are to be concealed. It means that, when deliberation is ended and decisions taken, a Minister who cannot conscientiously act any longer with his colleagues must make way for someone who can. While deliberation is proceeding he must not publish his differences. Only if he resigns may he state his reasons, and then by the permission—which is never refused—of the Crown. Whether the internal dissensions of His Majesty's Servants should be made known to the sovereign is a fine point of constitutional propriety on which the highest authorities have differed. Gladstone kept the door of the Cabinet room firmly closed against the Queen. Disraeli entertained her freely with reports of what his rebels were doing and what he meant to do with them. It is understood that modern practice allows the Prime Minister to lay before the Crown, in matters of the first importance, a statement of diverse views upheld in Cabinet.



W. T. FITZGERALD'S ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF PITT



THE REFORM BILL

Placard of passive resistance used as a weapon to secure the passage of the bill

IV

But the Cabinet is a secret conclave of privy councillors bound by oath to tender to the Crown such advice as in their conscience they think right. Parliament, except on rare occasions in time of war, meets in public and is for the most part engaged in keen disputation. Its rules of discipline are therefore very different. As an assembly, it is governed entirely by standing orders of its own making, applied by a Speaker of its own choosing; and those orders, which have been in regular evolution from Tudor times, show the House continually adjusting itself to its double part of a debating assembly and a sovereign legislature. In its search for good ministers the House of Commons is limited to those members whom the electorate has seen fit to send to Westminster. But what is the prime qualification for entrance within those historic walls? Since it is impossible for all the king's subjects to seek election, on what principle should the pre-selection be made?

Under the old constitution, the constitution which Burke and Canning, Peel and Wellington were equally ready to defend against innovation, the answer was on this wise. In the well ordered state of England, certain families, chosen by a natural process which everybody understood and nobody could explain, were always available to furnish the House with members and the Crown with ministers. These families formed together the governing or legislating body, out of which the shires and boroughs chose their representatives: they, in the mixed Constitution, were the aristocratic element, restraining the excesses of the Crown and the multitude, and in their turn restrained, or stimulated, by both. Some of these families were titled: the majority were not. They were not a closed caste, because commerce and the law, the East Indies and the West Indies, were constantly adding to their numbers. They made up the two Houses of Parliament, which was not yet thought of as being in the main a legislative body. Its function was to control the Executive, to vote supplies and see that they were prudently spent, to decide the issues of peace and war, and call ministers to account. Indeed, so long as a man paid his taxes and his debts, and committed no crime, he might pass his life without once coming into contact with the Government or the law: and the departments of state resembled rather the household of a great nobleman than anything which in France or Germany would have been called an administration. A battle royal

once a session lasting eight or nine nights; and the rest of the time, election committees, turnpike committees, or inclosure committees, in the most entertaining society that England could bring together, such was Parliament before the Reform; and the change after the Reform was neither so rapid nor so complete as Radicals might have hoped.

Still, change there was, and it is visible already in the last Parliament of William IV and the first Parliament of Victoria. The new Poor Law may, on its merits, as a piece of drastic surgery designed to cut the canker of pauperism out of the body politic, be diversely judged. But it was the first Act of Parliament which did, directly and intimately, concern the people at large. And it confronted a bewildered Parliament and Cabinet with a new instrument of government—the public investigation. Inquire—report—legislate—administer—amend: and make your organ of administration your instrument of inquiry. The Poor Law Commission—and its inspectors—are the nucleus of the modern Civil Service: the investigations which they opened are the source, and the model, of those libraries of reports and statistical reviews on which all our administration, and most of our legislation, is founded. Never had any country submitted itself to such ruthless and searching examination. The contemporary who described the evolution of parliamentary speaking as a passage from Humbug to Humdrum was not wide of the mark. By 1840, one might say, the first qualification of a member of Parliament was that he should know his facts. In 1820 there had been hardly any facts to know.

Thus Parliament was enabled to become a legislature, just when circumstances were compelling it to be a legislature. We may wish that it had taken in hand a generation sooner the problems—health, housing, labour, education—which the enormous development of industry and the growth of the great towns had created. But it is barely possible to imagine the old legislative families, Whig or Tory, setting their minds to a task, the nature and magnitude of which they could not have comprehended. Not until the new Benthamite formula had been absorbed into the Constitution, and an administration brought into being to give it effect, was it possible for Parliament to take in hand the government of a great commercial and industrial community—a community for example where the economic and social relationships of a whole countryside might in a few months be changed by a new invention or a new railway. By Whig and Tory doctrine



THE TWO AUGURS.

DISRALIUS. "*I always wonder, Brother, how we Chief Augurs can meet on the opening day without laughing I*"

GLADSTONIUS. "*I have never felt any temptation to the hilarify you suggest, Brother; and the remark savours of flippancy.*"

DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

Punch cartoon by TENNIEL of 8 February 1873

alike, Parliament was meant to represent, not public opinion in an indistinguishable mass, not even the several opinions of the constituencies, but rather the chief interests, the natural estates oi the realm: land, commerce, industry, with an acknowledged leaning towards the land as the stablest element in the social structure. With the enfranchisement of the middle classes the balance was beginning to tilt. They still preferred to be represented in Parliament by a gentleman, but a gentleman who could cut a figure in a debate on Banking Bills and Railway Bills; who knew his tables of imports and exports, and where the incidence of a new tax would fall; who, above all, could hold his own and defend the interests of his constituents on the great issue of Protection or Free Trade.

Thus the ground of selection, which had once been birth with capacity taken for granted, shifted to capacity, though with some regard still to birth. But of parliamentary capacity no constituency can judge, and so some kind of pre-selection is inevitable. As early as the forties we hear of a *caucus,* a meeting of the county gentlemen to settle who shall be put forward. The boroughs were more independent, and the party candidates might find themselves confronted by a local manufacturer standing 'at the request of a numerous and respectable body of citizens'. But the growth of the electorate required a stricter party management; the independent member faded away; the pre-selection tended to pass into the hands of the party organization, local and central: and how much influence either of them may in any case exercise depends on circumstances and personality and a host of imponderables. There are seats which are as much in the gift of the Trade Union as Calne was in the gift of Lord Lansdowne, or Chester of the Grosvenors, in the days before Reform.

V

Freedom of speech in Parliament means that a member cannot be called to account for words spoken in the House, by anyone outside the House. First claimed in the fifteenth century, this privilege was finally established in the seventeenth and is solemnly acknowledged by the Crown, when, at the opening of a new Parliament, the Speaker is presented for the royal acceptance. To abuse it is a mark of bad parliamentary breeding: and the privilege extends to any faithful report of a debate in the press. It was not always so. In 1837 the Inspectors of Prisons, investi-

gating Newgate, reported that they found the inmates solacing their leisure by the perusal of an obscene book with plates issued by one Stockdale; the report was laid and in the usual course ordered to be printed by Hansard. Stockdale, conceiving his character as a publisher and a man to be at stake, took proceedings against Hansard for libel, and Denman, Lord Chief Justice, ruled that if a man libelled another in his business it was no defence to say that a third party had bidden him to do it, even though that party was the House of Commons. Stockdale bought another copy of the peccant report, renewed his proceedings, and was awarded £100 damages. Having discovered this easy way of adding to his income there seemed no reason why Stockdale should not pursue it so long as copies of the report were to be purchased, and for nearly four years the public was entertained by the spectacle of the Commons spasmodically vindicating their privileges by committing an obscure printer to gaol, along with his clerk and his attorney, for conduct which Queen's Bench had pronounced to be lawful.

Freedom of speech is a very simple conception. The procedure of Parliament is exceedingly intricate, and to the observer often bewildering, having been designed and developed to serve another purpose as well—to make a programme and carry it through. All legislation of any consequence is now government legislation. In principle, it must conform with the doctrines of the party in power: in detail, it is worked out, and thrown into legislative form, by the Civil Service. Once drafted and presented, time must be found for it, in a House which has also to control the administration, sanction all taxation, direct all expenditure, and give a hearing to any complaint of wrong-doing by the king's servants or by Parliament itself. And if any one detail of parliamentary procedure is traced to its origin it will nearly always be found to have been designed to this end—to give Parliament whatever opportunities it needs for these four purposes: redress of grievances—this came first; control of the national finances; control of the executive; and legislation—but opportunities limited by one consideration, that Parliament is not only a debating body but a deciding body. Therefore everything that is laid before it must be laid in the form of a question, and the ultimate rule of procedure is the one which says: We have talked long enough: let us say Aye or No, and go on to the next business before us/

From all which it follows that the individual member is the centre of a threefold relation—with his party, with the House, and with his constituents. To his party, Parliament is primarily a sovereign assembly, designed to get things done; to carry out the party programme. In this aspect he is a man under discipline, who may be characterized either as a staunch party supporter or as a voting machine worked by the whips. From the outside either description, or both together, may be taken as true. And it is from the outside that the great mass of the public views its representatives in Parliament. But shift the point of observation from outside to inside and the observer realizes what the common elector, whose interest in Parliament is an intermittent excitement rather than a steady concern, finds it not easy to understand, that Parliament is something more than the meeting ground of two opposing parties; that it has a being, an intelligence, and a temperament of its own; all which arise from the consciousness of its double part. It resents obstruction—because it is a legislature working to a programme. Equally it resents encroachment by the Government —because it is a debating assembly where all arguments must be heard. And finally, in his relations with his constituents, the member is discharging a parliamentary function even more primitive than legislation or debate—the presentation of grievances needing redress. They may be dealt with by correspondence with the Minister concerned. They may be raised at Question Time. And if Question Time leaves the member dissatisfied he has his remedy on the Adjournment. Here the Commons are exercising—it may be for a pensionless widow or a West African soldier who has been unduly caned—one of their most ancient and essential privileges. They are not confined to the business laid before them by the Crown and its Ministers. They can debate what they like, and they need not break up till they have debated it. These nightly talks at the end of business are among the most lively passages in the Parliamentary record. They are not often reported in the papers. But a collection of discussions on the adjournment would show the House of Commons in its most friendly, one might almost say, its mostpaternal mood. The grievance is discharged, the Minister shows there is nothing in it—if there is, he will do his best; and Private Ogguwinki can pride himself all his life long that his canings were once a matter of debate in the Imperial Parliament.

The Member who does his duty by his party, his constituents, and the House, is, in fact, a heavily burdened unit in a heavily

burdened assembly. It might be no difficult matter, by the provision of office and secretarial facilities, to make life easier for him. On the other hand, much of the weight of legislation has already slipped from the shoulders of the House into the silent hands of the Civil Service; it seems probable that what might be called the outlying provinces of debate will be transferred from the floor to committee rooms upstairs, and that the House of Commons as such will revert to, or rather towards, its earlier functions, determining policy, voting supplies, controlling the executive, and presenting grievances.

VI

Burke reckoned the political population, the people, at about 400,000, or, say, one householder in seven. So many, he thought, were qualified by education and experience to make a good choice of representation and as Macaulay said; 'the very principle of all representative government is, that men who do not judge well of public affairs may be quite competent to choose others who will judge better'. The Reform Bill, which the young Whig is here defending, did in effect endorse Burke's calculation. The electoral body from 1832 to the next extension in 1867 comprised approximately one householder in six. Thus the electorate was a small and privileged class, coinciding to some degree of closeness with the literate class, politically informed and acting on behalf of the politically ignorant. Indeed, one of the arguments most commonly urged against the ballot was that the outer ring had a right to know how the inner ring were voting on their behalf.

Before the Reform, it was to the counties and the open boroughs like Southwark and Westminster that political calculators looked for the trend of public opinion. Reform left the counties very much as they were, and greatly increased the power of the boroughs. But, in the boroughs, association for all purposes was easier, and the Englishman of the nineteenth century, a stiff individualist in his attitude to the State, was the most gregarious of mankind in his relations with his fellows. The Englishman without a club, a union, a society, or a church to belong to, was a rare thing to encounter; and it was in these unofficial, natural groups that political opinion was mainly formed. The coming together of such groups creates a movement. So the Wesleyan Church had come into being, and the Methodist example had a powerful influence on the formation of the Trade Unions. The secret society,

especially if it was caught corresponding with other secret societies, was a natural object of suspicion to government. But to the innocent society, carrying out its objects and practising its ritual in the light of day, the Friendly Society cultivating self-help and thrift, good fellowship and good cheer, the law was indulgent. Between the two, the Trade Unions floated in somewhat uneasy equipoise. The law hardly knew what to make of bodies which in one light were benefit clubs, in another conspiracies in restraint of trade. The act of 1875 which finally legitimated the Trade Unions went some way to revive the conception of Parliament as an assembly of estates, the land, the clergy, the merchants, the manufacturers, and now, the estate of labour.

But about the time when this new estate was beginning—still faintly and remotely—to make itself felt as such, we become aware that the ground on which the old estates had stood since the Revolution of 1689 is cracking or shifting beneath them. It was their common faith that the constitution contained within itself the necessary means of adjustment and improvement; that its capacity for self-adaptation was unlimited. And they could give reasons for their belief. As each new interest had risen into importance the constitution had modified itself accordingly; the king's peace had never been broken. And each modification, on the whole, had tended to give more and more weight to the findings of public opinion. It had found for Parliamentary Reform in 1830; for Free Trade; for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church; for compulsory schooling; for the admission of dissenters to the universities; for the extension of the franchise, downwards and outwards, until manhood suffrage was in sight. So considered, the trend of public opinion may be called Liberal, moving always towards the abatement of political or social privilege; with a left or Radical wing pressing forwards to a direct attack on the Church and the House of Lords, and a right wing, of a more Whiggish cast, by no means ready to replace the ancient order of government by a regime of popular orators and nonconformist manufacturers, without tradition and without experience.

But side by side with this liberal movement in the purely political field, we are aware that in the mixed or border area of politics and economics, a forgotten force is at work with a steadily increasing power; a feeling, rather than a reasoned conviction, that the State is something other than a tax-collecting policeman charged with the removal of obstruction to free enterprise: that

the abatement of privilege has left untouched the privilege of the man who has something to fall back on over the man who has not, and that government ought to do something about it. This sentiment had never lacked exponents even in the legislative classes—in Southey and the Quarterly Reviewers: in Oastler and Sadler and the leaders of the Ten Hour movement: among the humanitarians headed by Lord Shaftesbury, the romantics who gathered round Disraeli and called themselves Young England, and the Christian Socialists for whom Kingsley spoke. And this mode of opinion could count its victories, too, in the great Factory Acts of 1847 and 1877; in the creation of the School Boards; in a host of minor measures for the health and comfort of the people; in the activity of inspectors; the new energy of progressive municipalities. The régime of *laissez-faire* had in fact been very brief: the pressure of the State on the individual, hardly felt in 1830, was beginning to be sensible in 1870, and to the factory owner, the mine owner, the ship owner who sent a vessel to sea ill-found, or the parent who did not send his children to school at all, by 1880 it was beginning to be uncomfortable, if not yet menacing.

Changes of opinion in England have, or used to have, the massive slowness of a geological process; and it would not be easy to say by what degrees the conception of the State as an authority to be watched, controlled, and in the last resort resisted, gave way to the conception of the State as a power to be employed for the general good. It was by such a change that the monarchy of Charles II became the monarchy of George I, the general good being taken here to mean the Protestant succession, the ascendancy of the Whig aristocracy, Habeas Corpus, an uncensored press, and the Toleration Act. A simple conception, doubtless, but one which sufficed the needs of an island without territorial ambitions on the Continent and rarely exposed to any serious danger of invasion: an island, too, with a social structure not less simple. *A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman—that is a good Interest.' So Cromwell had said, and the good Interest kept the pyramid on its base. A landlord, a tenant, a labourer; a merchant, an apprentice, a porter; a mill owner, a foreman, a manufacturer, as the word went in the early nineteenth century. But the pattern, the tradition, had never had occasion to find a place for town-government on any greater scale than the market town or the provincial capital. Often enough such places were seats of sound and serious culture. But they were not places of sound or serious

government; and one might search long in English literature to find a mayor or alderman who is not a butt for the author's humour, a corporation which is not harmlessly idle or mischievously corrupt. A certain conflict between the landed interest wanting high rents and a manufacturing interest wanting free imports was inevitable. In 1846, with the repeal of the Corn laws, it was settled—and the land took no harm. What remained, though it never came so clearly to the surface, was the conflict between the parties of good government and no government at all. And the arena was the town.

The town, we may say, was the great and almost insoluble problem of Victorian statesmanship. Take London. The inner square mile known as the City was governed, more or less, by the lord mayor and corporation. But by 1850 it had almost ceased to be a place of residence and the imperial capital, which sprawled over four counties, had long absorbed the twin City of Westminster and was swallowing up the villages with which it had once been encircled. What with parish councils and vestries —Karl Marx was a vestryman of St. Pancras—special commissions for lighting, draining, and paving, grand juries and petty sessions, it was reckoned that ten thousand individuals had a finger in the administration of the metropolis, and the results are recorded for all time in *Oliver Twist* and *Bleak House.* But the same uncontrolled expansion had created the Black Country, the West Riding, south Lancashire, south Wales, and the north-east of England.

If, now, we endeavour to break up the public opinion of the age, in face of this problem, into its elements, to recover, as it were, the debate that went on in those natural groupings of which I have spoken, we can discern six main elements or trends. First is a direct, physical recoil, a revolt of the senses, against the conditions in which great multitudes were living; a recoil which at times sharpened into keen alarm at what might happen if nature had her revenge, if cholera broke out, or the underworld broke loose. Not far apart on one side is the aesthetic trend, a repulsion from the ugliness of modern life; on the other, the religious, the desire to lead the multitude into a way of life more becoming Christian men and women; or, if religion did not enter, the pure humanitarian impulse to do good, to save the multitude from itself. Finally, we must reckon with a new force, the scientific craving to understand, to analyse, to trace effects to their causes, and this in its turn is closely linked with the administrative need to set things—and people too, perhaps—in order.

Amended Dietary.

BRIDGWATER UMIOW.

To the Guardians of the Poor of the BRIDGWATER UNION ;—*To the Clerk or Clerks to the Justices of Petty Sessions^ held for the Division or Divisions of the County\ in which the Parishes and Places comprised in the said Union are situate ;,,-and to all Others whom it may concent,*

WJKTWj* THE POOR LAW COMMISSIONERS FOR ENGLAND AND WJE,;' WALES, in pursuance of the Provisions of an Act passed in the Fourth and Fifth Years of the Reign of His present Majesty King WILLIAM the Fourth, intituled " *An Act for the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales?* do hereby Order and Direct that from and after the Fifth Day of June next, the Paupers of the respective Classes and Sexes described in the Schedule hereunto annexed who may now or hereafter be received and maintained in the Workhouse or Workhouses of the BRIDGWATER Union, ahull, during the period of their residence therein, he fed, dieted, and maintained, with the food and in the manner described and set forth in the said Schedule, any thing in any former Order to the contrary notwithstanding.

And we do hereby further Order and Direct, that every Master of the Workhonse or Workhouses of the said Union shall cause two or inure Copies of this our Order and of the said Schedule, Printed in a legible manner and in a large type, to he hung up in the moat Public Places of such Workhouse or Workhouses, and to renew the same from time to time, so that it he always kept fair and legible, ou pain of incurring, in case of disobedience, the Penalties provided by the aforesaid Act.

(Signed)

Given under our Hands and Heal, this Twentieth day of Way, in the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-seven.

L.S.

T. FRANKLAND LEWIS.
J. G. S. LEFEVRE.
GEO. NICHOLLS.

DIETARY
*For Mle*bodied Paupers.*

		Breakfast.		Dinner.					Supper.		
		Bread. oz.	Milk or Broth. Pints.	Cooked Meat. oz.	Potatoes or other Veg. lb.	Soup* Pints.	Bread. oz.	Cheese. oz.	Bread. oz.	Cheese. oz.	Broth. Pints.
SUNDAY	Men	7	1½				8	2	6	1½	
	Women	6	1½				8	2	6	1½	
MONDAY	Men	7	1½	4	1½				5		1½
	Women	6	1½	4	1½				5		1½
TUESDAY	Men	7	1½			1½	6		6	1½	
	Women	6	1½			1½	6		6	1½	
WEDNESDAY	Men	7	1½	4	1½				5		1½
	Women	6	1½	4	1½				5		1½
THURSDAY	Men	7	1½				8	2	6	1½	
	Women	6	1½				8	2	6	1½	
FRIDAY	Men	7	1½	4	1½				5		1½
	Women	6	1½	4	1½				5		1½
SATURDAY	Men	7	1½				8	2	6	1½	
	Women	6	1½				8	2	6	1½	

OLD PEOPLE

Of Sixty Years of Age and upwards

May be allowed 1 pint of Tea Morning and Evening, properly sweetened, and 5 oz. of Butter per week, in lieu of Broth or Milk for Breakfast, if deemed expedient to make this change

CHILDREN

Under Nine Years of Age

To be Dieted at discretion.

SICK

To be Dieted as directed by the Medical Officer

* Soup with Peas in Winter and of legs and cheeks of Beef in Summer, with Vegetables.

And here the debate grows hot. From the other side we hear the loud assertion that the Englishman's home is his castle, and, if his home, then his mill, his factory, his shop as well. There he will brook no interference, and it is not very easy to question his belief that he knows better how to manage it than anyone can tell him. It is rather when we leave the factory and go out into the streets where the operatives live that doubts arise and refuse to be suppressed. Macaulay put the opposing cases with his usual trenchancy when he brought the individualist on to the stage arguing in this wise: Tour doctrine is that everybody should be at liberty to buy cheap and sell dear'—a phrase, almost become proverbial, from the Merchants' Petition on Free Trade in 1820—'Why then may I not run up a house as cheap as I can and let my rooms as dear as I can? You do not like houses without drains. Then do not take one of mine. You think my bedrooms filthy. Nobody forces you to sleep in them.' And he answers him thus: 'It concerns the commonwealth that the great body of the people should not live in a way which makes life wretched and short, which enfeebles the body and pollutes the mind/ It is a remarkable, but instructive, coincidence that while he was speaking the Bill repealing the Corn Laws was before the Lords. It was in these new circumstances and under these new conditions that the issue—good government or no government—began to clarify.

VII

It is one of the commonest experiences of history that what to a later age seems an issue of almost obtrusive plainness was to contemporaries masked by controversy over an entirely different—it may seem an entirely irrelevant—matter. It is difficult for a generation like ours, which probably does not think of Ireland once in a month, to recover the atmosphere, the sentiment, of a generation which thought of nothing else. Ever since the Union of 1800 Ireland had been the great exasperator of English politics: from 1880 it was the great preoccupation. Here within a few hours' crossing was a community which, abundantly and even excessively represented in Parliament, was on its own soil a standing challenge to the doctrine: one king, one people, and the king's peace over all. Let us, in imagination, set aside or strike out the old problem of Ireland, the new problem of Empire: let us forget Gordon and Afghanistan, Parnell and Lord Frederick Cavendish, the bombardment of Alexandria and the defeat at Majuba Hill, and narrow

our view to England in the eighties. What we observe is, first, that the ancient ascendancy of the Landed Interest is rapidly passing away. It had fought hard but the stars in their courses were too strong for it; and a social order which had withstood the shock of Parliamentary Reform and Free Trade succumbed to the wheat of the American prairies. But on a more exact view we must allow that this order had become something of a make-believe, and that it rested not so much on the supposed stability of landed wealth as on the past profits of the land, now stored away in urban property and industrial investments at home and abroad. Wealth, visible and traditional; wealth associated with famous names and famous houses, with generations of public service and authority, was yielding to wealth invisible and new, with no historic roots, no memories, and few responsibilities.

In the second place, the optimism, the social confidence, of the mid-Victorian years had been chilled. To the economist of 1830 the great and growing cloud on the horizon was over-population. For a while it seemed to have been dispelled. A limitless demand for English manufactures promised work for all, and if work failed, then North America and Australia held out a limitless prospect to the emigrant. But again, on a closer view, the labouring class is seen to be stratified. There are the skilled workmen of the great industries, coal, cotton, wool, shipbuilding, engineering. There is also a great mass of unskilled urban labour. And between the two, the rural worker, highly skilled in his own craft but not adaptable to any other, steadily drifts from ill paid labour in the country to precarious labour in the town.

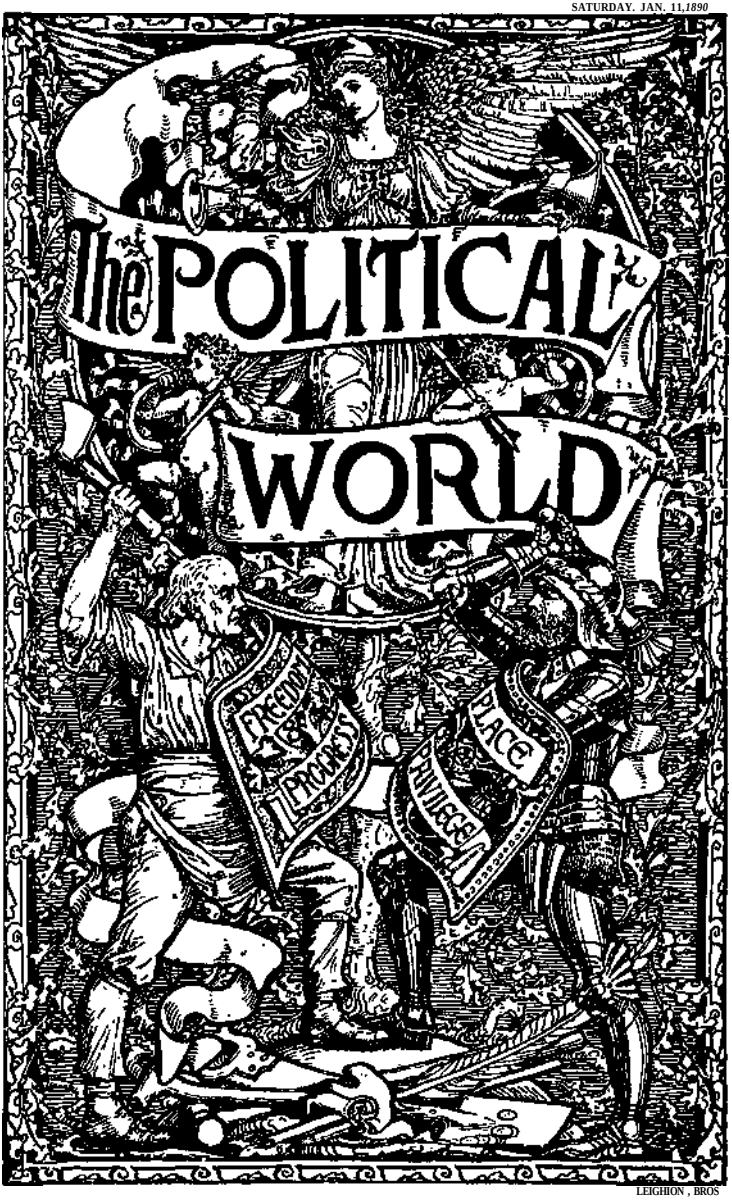
Always to that word we return—'An age of great cities needs strong government.' And the conception of strong government had to be lodged in those great cities, there to prove its virtue by results, before the inherited dislike of governmental interference could be abated to a reasonable acceptance of reform not otherwise to be accomplished than by the action of the law. Self-help and the sporting chance had done wonders, doubtless. But they had not touched that lowest stratum, that inner core, of those who could not help themselves and might truthfully declare that they had never had a chance.

Thus it came about that the immediate reaction to the warning of the eighties was an increased vigour of local administration, radiating, we may say, from Birmingham; in the years when Parliament and public opinion at large were more deeply en-

grossed in foreign and imperial affairs. It is as significant as it is remarkable that the Bill creating the county councils, drafted by a Radical and carried by a Conservative minister, went through both Houses without a division. We may truly suppose that Parliament hardly knew what it was doing. What it had done was to create an instrument for redistributing the wealth of the nation. These authorities, permitted, and indeed encouraged, to spend liberally on the welfare of their people, could only finance themselves by local taxation. As their range of activity enlarged, it was inevitable that they should call more and more loudly for help from the Exchequer; for grants-in-aid to be given on proof of necessity, efficiency, and good management. To what lengths the process might be carried few politicians of the eighties could have conceived. But at a much deeper level doubts were stirring, doubts directed, we may say, not to the mechanism of the State and its functioning, but to the common assumptions on which the political fabric was reared. Let it be granted, first, that a man's duty is to make provision for himself and his family, and second, that there are many desirable and necessary things which by his own efforts he cannot provide. Here, then, he can properly call on his neighbours for help. And that help may come in any of three ways—by voluntary association, by charity, or by a levy on his richer neighbours. But suppose all these have been tried —the friendly society, the charitable society, the poor rate—and still there are many thousands of families living below the standard which a civilized nation can countenance ? Then the balance can only be made good—within the existing order—by a national levy, by taxation. But the proceeds of that taxation must be applied, in a regular and impartial manner, by a trained, experienced administration. In other words, the social welfare, the domestic welfare, even the personal welfare, of the people imported a measure of interference and control by Government incompatible with those assumptions of independence and self-help by which, on the whole, English society had directed itself hitherto.

VIII

Thus we reached a compromise to which the old estates, reluctantly or willingly, conformed and to which the new estate of labour took no vehement exception. The production of wealth was subject to little control, but the distribution of wealth was a matter of public concern, the chief agency of distribution now



LEIGHION , BROS

GLADSTONE VERSUS SALISBURY

Cover design by WALTER CRANE, well known not only as an illustrator of children's books (see page 216) but also as a leading artist of the liberal movements of the time

being the local authority acting under the eye of the central administration. In popular usage, Socialism commonly meant a liberal application of money raised by local taxation for the benefit of the poor at the expense of the middle classes. But an interpretation, at once more scientific and more stimulating, was beginning to find its way downwards from thinkers who had come under the influence of a foreign doctrine. The new creed was not confined to criticism of the institutions in which the existing order expressed itself. It assailed the order itself, and showed therewithal a somewhat remarkable indifference to the institutions of the new order. To the question—What needs to be done? it was voluble in reply. To the question—How shall we do it? What bills shall we lay? it answered uncertainly, if at all. Only after its exponents had obtained some experience of authority and administration did Socialism begin to reveal itself as a practicable, a parliamentary alternative to the traditional policies of the great historic parties.

Those parties had come into being on a purely domestic issue —whether the prerogatives of the Crown, determined by law, should be exercised by the Crown in the ancient manner, or transferred to the leaders of the party which had a majority in the House of Commons. As so often happens, a later generation found no difficulty in solving a problem which was too abstruse for the political intelligence of their grandfathers. But, the problem once solved by the invention of Cabinet Government, party policy was little more than the playing of temperamental variations on an agreed theme, the theme being acceptable to almost all, and every variation to some substantial element in the country. Did you dislike factory owners and new money worse than landowners and old money? Then you were a Conservative and voted for a ten-hour day in the cotton mills. Did you dislike landowners more than factory owners? Then you were a Liberal and voted against the game laws. And the new estate of labour, confident that it could make its way by the tried methods of collective bargaining and the strike, was not very strongly disposed to criticize a political order which enlarged its range of influence without in any way restricting its range of action.

But the economic order, while it had enormously increased the wealth, and greatly improved the welfare of the nation, had at one point failed. It had not abolished unemployment, and, therewith, unmerited poverty and the privilege which the man with something to fall back on has over the man with nothing. In other

words, the historic parties had done their work. They had between them maintained the stability of the political fabric through changes which might have been convulsive, with such amendments as public opinion demanded or approved. And that opinion was, on the whole, the opinion of those in whom the doctrines of self-help and personal liberty were ingrained. But if the rewards of self-help were to be progressively confiscated for the benefit of the less fortunate: if individual liberty was to be increasingly restricted by authority, central or local, by laws and by-laws, was there not a danger that, as the incentive lessened, the springs of energy might fail? On the whole it seemed that to be under-regulated suited the English temper better than to be over-regulated: to be under-cared for better than to be over-cared for. How much can you take from people—whether of money or authority—and leave them working their hardest for the rest? How much can you do for people and be sure that what remains they will do for themselves? On what diagonal we might have moved if the twentieth century had been as peaceful as the nineteenth, or its conflicts no more destructive, it is impossible to say, though fascinating to guess. But fate did not mean that the experiment should be tried. Two great wars habituated the people of England to a rigorous discipline and an unlimited expenditure directed to a common aim. In these circumstances it was inevitable that they should at least speculate on the possibility that discipline and the direction of wealth might solve the problem which on the assumption of the nineteenth century had proved itself insoluble, the problem of employment.

But these same wars had other consequences, the scope and outcome of which the future will reveal. To what degree could the English character be read as a function, or exponent, of its material setting—of wealth, ease, security, and power? One by one they have fallen away from us, and perhaps no great nation, undefeated in war, has ever fallen from high to low so swiftly. Wealth may replace itself, and wealth fairly distributed brings ease. But for generations England had sustained a part in the world beyond her resources, except it had been that those resources were magnified by insular security and sea power. And, having lasted just long enough to save her from destruction in the latest war, they too have gone.

By the convergence of these processes, internal and external, a situation has been created for which neither precedent nor parallel is to be discerned. Hitherto we had always employed the

relief and security of victory to master some domestic problem. After the wars of Elizabeth the issue of Crown and Parliament, long latent, emerged to demand solution. The eighteenth century saw the development of Cabinet Government from an expedient to a settled constitutional principle. After Waterloo we were for the most part occupied with problems raised by the conversion of an agricultural into an industrial state. So, on a sanguine view, it might be thought that we are back at the corresponding point on the historic spiral. And so we are: but with the difference that we can neither feed ourselves, nor, without foreign assistance, buy our food, nor can we even guess how long this period of impoverished dependence will be drawn out. Since the Norman Conquest there has been no such solution of continuity in our history.

If the analogy be thought extravagant, let this be considered. The Conquest worked a revolution by the transference of land, and the consequent change of status in all ranks of society. It imposed on the traditional relationships of the people a firm and clearly articulated law. But it left untouched, it even invigorated, the ancient conception of the king, the council, and the shires, with the king's peace over all; out of which in due time grew the doctrine that the law is settled by the joint agreement of the shires, the council, and the king. Now, it is certainly remarkable that though isolated voices have sometimes been heard calling for the supersession of Parliament, and government by administrative decree, yet no party of any substance has proposed to alter the constitution of the House of Commons, to change the mode of election, to modify or vary its powers, or its relations with the executive.

Thus one strand of continuity has been preserved in the general severing of the social tradition, and, if speculation may be allowed, the shape of the future will be determined by the capacity of parliamentary institutions to direct the changes which the social fabric must necessarily undergo. Two things alone can be with any confidence predicted. One is, a further development and extension of delegated legislation. The other, considerable changes in the financial institutions of a State which will in future be a great industrial and mercantile corporation.

The making of laws may be devolved either on government departments directly dependent on the Cabinet and therefore invigilated more or less closely by Parliament, or on local authorities. The chief difference is that in one case the law—call it regulation or order—is of general application; in the other, as

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FOURTH—TO explain the various Improvements and Patent Processes now in use, which lessen the cost of manufacture and increase the illuminating power of Gas.

FIFTH—To take steps to place the Gas Lighting of the Metropolis in the hands of the Parochial Authorities, so that the profits may be applied to the reduction of Taxation.

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GEO. FLINTOFF, CE.

(ENGINEER TO THE LONDON GAS CONSUMERS' ASSOCIATION).

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PUNCH CARTOON BY E. H. SHEPARD OF 26 MARCH 1947

its name by-law signifies, it is operative only within a stated area or—as with the by-laws of railway companies—over a certain class of transactions. In imparting these powers Parliament can, at its entire and unrestricted pleasure, enact that the exercise of them shall, or shall not, be subject to review by the courts of law. The tendency unquestionably of late years has been all one way—to withdraw government regulations from the scrutiny of the courts, and so to give them the full effect of law. No such process is yet observable removing local legislation from the jurisdiction of the King's Bench. Yet it might be argued that the counties and boroughs, already enjoying unlimited powers of taxation, and chosen by popular vote, have a better claim to such autonomy than government departments, operating under the somewhat remote and occasional control of Parliament; and the case will be strengthened if, as many propose, the existing authorities are thrown together in larger unities, called regions. We may not have a demand for Home Rule in Northumbria or the East Midlands. We may very likely hear a claim for Regional Rights; for a legal delimitation of the powers of Parliament and the regional assembly; for an infusion of Federalism into the constitution.

On the other hand, by the development of the advisory council or the consultative committee, public and professional opinion can be brought directly to bear on the legislative activities of a department. Withdrawn from such influences and contacts, it tends to become a legislature without a constituency, and therefore, in Cromwell's phrase, to think less of what people want and more of what is good for them. Within one generation, and twice accelerated by the necessities of war, these powers have grown prodigiously. But in war they were exercised for two clearly defined and acceptable purposes—the concentration of the national strength and the even distribution of national resources, under conditions approximating to beleaguerment, conditions which have been only in part modified or mitigated by the raising of the siege and the return of peace. What is of greater significance, what really is the determining element in our condition to-day, is that whereas, during the war, those resources were in large part borrowed, or given, henceforth they will have to be earned, and the earning will, very largely, be conducted, regulated, and controlled by Government departments, that is, by the Cabinet, responsible to a Parliament designed for very different purposes. That is where we stand to-day. But where we are going, no man can even guess.

V

LAW

By LORD SIMONDS

I

THIS brief essay is written in the summer of 1945. In this hour, from the hearts of men all over the world, the cry goes up for law and order, for peace and security, for justice and liberty. Here there can be no debate upon those large questions which must be solved between nation and nation. It is the law of England in relation to these pressing human needs that can alone be discussed, though the solution of international questions also may be made easier by the fact that the spirit of that same law has been carried east and west across the oceans. What then is the law of England? Whence comes it? What is its sanction? What impress has it made upon English character? How far has its genius been affected by the traits which we regard as peculiarly English? Here are questions upon which volumes have been and will yet be written. In these few pages the critic will find ample illustration of the truism that all generalizations about law are dangerous: for there is none that does not require qualification.

To the questions—What is the law of England and whence comes it? the familiar answer must be given. It is derived from two main sources. The first is statute law, that is, Acts of Parliament: in this must be included the great and growing body of subordinate legislation, i.e. orders, rules, and regulations made under the authority of statute. The second is so-called case-law, sometimes called 'judge-made', sometimes 'unwritten* law, by which is intended the law as laid down in the decisions of His Majesty's judges in courts of law.

Something may first be said about this second source of the law. To most laymen, whose ignorance of the law is no less than when Blackstone bewailed it nearly 200 years ago, it will perhaps be a shock to learn how much of the law that touches them in their daily lives is not the result of the careful deliberation of wise men in Parliament assembled, but is the product of a thousand years of growth, a plant nurtured and fertilized and brought to maturity in the law courts.

Some examples may be usefully given. The first shall be taken from the criminal law. By far the greater part of this branch of the law is now statutory, a beneficent result of the reforming spirit of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But there remains the crime of murder for which the awful penalty still is death. He who would kill his fellow man will not find the definition of murder in any Act of Parliament. It is only in the law reports which record the decisions of the judges that he will find what is murder and what is the provocation or other circumstance which will reduce the killing to the lesser crime of manslaughter or even justify the fatal act. There, too, and there alone, he will find laid down the rules which are to guide judge and jury in determining whether the defence of insanity has been established. Grave have been the responsibilities of those upon whom the issue of life and death has thus fallen.

The next example may be taken from that branch of the law known as torts, which may be defined as wrongs done by one man to another in respect of which the latter has a right of action against the former. The same act may be both a crime rendering the actor amenable to the criminal law and a tort rendering him liable to civil action. It is the latter aspect alone that is here considered and it is of special significance that almost the whole law of torts is still judge-made law. Let one instance be taken. It is a tort, a tortious act, if one man by his negligence injures another. What then is negligence? The word imports a duty and the breach of it. What then is the duty that one man owes to another and what, falling short of it, is an actionable breach? Here is an inquiry that covers the whole field of human conduct. From time to time the Legislature has intervened to prescribe this act or prohibit that, but, broadly speaking, it is in the courts that through the centuries the standard of behaviour between man and man has been determined and defined. Law and ethics here join hands. An action will not lie against a man because he has not loved his brother as himself: but let him beware if, pursuing his own ends, he injures another.

A third example shall be taken from a very different branch of the law. Here we approach its citadel, the position of the subject in relation to the Crown as the symbol of sovereign power. The liberty of the subject, his freedom from arrest, the sanctity of his home, these are a transcendent theme, upon which more will be said later. At this stage it is relevant only to observe that, though

the liberty of the subject now has the statutory safeguard of the Habeas Corpus Acts, yet the sanctity of his home, the immunity from search, still rests on judge-made law. Certain statutory exceptions giving the police a right of search may be found; but apart from these exceptions, and the single further exception (and even then only with a search warrant) where it was reasonably suspected that stolen goods were on the premises, the Englishman's home was and is his castle. So said the judges of England, and it was so.

Two other general observations may be made in regard to case-law. It has been possible to codify the law in many fields, and often the codification has been little or nothing more than the enactment in statutory form of judicial decisions: notably this has been so in regard to the sale of goods, partnership, bills of exchange, and a part of the law of Trusts. How much farther the process of codification ought to be carried is a debatable and much debated question. The infinite complexity of human affairs and the imperfections of human language combine to make it impossible to embrace in clear and unambiguous terms every case that may arise. So it is that when a code dealing with a particular subject-matter is framed with all the skill and ingenuity that can be found (of which the Sale of Goods Act is a good example) the code itself becomes the core round which a body of case-law is built. This introduces the second general observation. The division of law into statute and case-law is imperfect. It is a cynically low view of the legislative power of expression to say that in relation to statutes the word 'law' is a misnomer because until the judges have decided what a statute means no one knows what it means. But it is a fact, which a perusal of the Law Reports will disclose, that a substantial part of the time of the courts is occupied in determining the meaning and application of statutes. Nor is this true of modern statutes only. Few statutes have been more fruitful of controversy than an Act of the reign of Charles II, the well-known Statute of Frauds. Nor is it true of England only. How much of the constitutional law of the United States of America is to be found in the text of the Constitution, how much in the judgements of Chief Justice Marshall and his successors?

The expression 'judge-made law' has often been used in these pages. The question will be asked, 'Who are the judges that they should make the law? Are not the judicial and the legislative

functions separate?' A short answer is not easy: perhaps a longer one would not be satisfactory. The law of England, like many of our institutions, is a thing of long growth and cannot be understood except by a study of its development. It is true that the primary function of a judge is to interpret and administer the law, yet, as has been pointed out, the distinction is fine between 'making* the law and applying the law to a case to which it has never been applied before. But let us go back seven centuries or more and travel with the king's judges through the land. Then we shall see English law in the making. For it was their task to create unity out of difference and by a fusion of diverse local customs establish a body of law which was to be called the common law of England. It was declared to be the common law because it was the universal custom of the realm. It had its roots in English soil. Had not the Conqueror pledged his word that the English should enjoy their law', the rights they held when King Edward the Confessor was alive ?

But this unification was not complete, for many local customs still survived and were recognized as binding; nor was the native character of the law in its entirety preserved, for at once the Norman Conquest introduced a system of feudal tenure which changed the form of land ownership in England.

Thus was the common law of England born. Its story is one of continuous development to meet changing circumstance. To recur to an example previously given. The habits, standards, and beliefs of the subjects of King Edward I were widely different from those of the subjects of King George VI. Yet the law of torts has not (except in manner not relevant to this subject) during that long period been altered by statute. It has developed from case to case by analogy and by the application to new circumstances of the principle underlying or supposed to be underlying an old decision. It may be supposed that to a strong judge such a system gives great latitude, for it is not difficult for him to assert that he is not introducing a new principle but applying an old one in new surroundings. At this stage, before examining the other sources from which the common law has been refreshed, it is necessary to refer to a matter of far-reaching importance in the history of our law. It is a truism that the law ought to be certain. How can a man avoid infringing the law if he does not know what it is? Yet it is fundamental that ignorance of it does not excuse him. If the law is contained in an Act of Parliament he

can at least read and try to understand it **and** may assume **that** he can act upon his understanding. But if the law rests upon the decision of a judge, how can he tell what the judge will decide? The answer is found in the binding character of precedent. Whether the judge may be more truly said to make the law or to interpret it, it is logical, consistent, and convenient to treat as law that which he has declared to be the law. So it has been from the earliest times of which we have the reports of cases, the so-called Year Books of the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Like everything else in the law this doctrine was gradually developed and it was not until the nineteenth century that its rules were strictly defined. But it is generally true that a measure of certainty and uniformity in the law was reached by the rule of the court to treat precedent as authority. The same principle has been followed both in the declaration of the common law and in the interpretation of statutes.

We have attended the birth of the common law, the *lex et consuetudo Angliae.* Other elements had their part in judge-made law. Reference has already been made to the feudal law which has left a permanent mark on our system of land tenure, and we will note as we pass how the king's courts gradually absorbed the functions of Courts of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and borrowed from the canon law administered by those courts just so much of it as was thought desirable and useful to be introduced into the law of England, and how a similar course was followed in regard to the Law Merchant. Of this more will be said later.

We must mention, too, the largest element that blended with the common law in judge-made law, the system called 'Equity'. Its name indicates its purpose. The king was the source of all justice. If his courts failed to do justice because in the common law there was no adequate precedent or authority, if lawful rights were abused, if for legitimate grievance no remedy existed, then somehow the defect of justice had to be made good. Equity demanded nothing less. Thus grew up the jurisdiction of the Chancellor, Keeper of the King's Conscience, who to petitioners granted such redress as appeared equitable and was in a position to enforce his orders by imprisonment or fine. Inevitably that which was at first informal became formalized: in its origin extra-judicial, soon the Chancellor's office became for this purpose the Court of Chancery, and soon, too, a body of doctrine

grew up to which the name of 'Equity* was given. It is significant that here, too, the demand for certainty in the law resulted in the same rule of the binding authority of precedent being established. For if it is not so, relief may be capricious and judgement arbitrary. No man, judge or other, is to be trusted with arbitrary power. It is better to run the risk of hardship in particular cases than to submit to unlimited judicial discretion. It is fashionable to speak of Equity as an appendix to the common law. It is true at least that it assumes a *corpus* of law. But the description is barely adequate to the great body of substantive law which originated in the Court of Chancery. Of this more will be said later. At this stage it is enough to say that Equity has made a large contribution to the judge-made law which constitutes so important a part of the Law of England.

Little can here be said of statute law, the other source of the law of England. Sometimes a statute codifies the law, sometimes (though rarely) it declares it, sometimes it changes existing law prescribing new rules of conduct or prohibiting acts prejudicial to the community; and in such statutes may be seen the prevailing opinions of the people or at least of the governing classes of the people. But the vast body of statute law, and a gargantuan body it is, works in new fields of social activity and public service, which can by no means be brought within the purview of the common law or Equity. Here, too, may be seen the mirror of current political belief or prejudice. In the category of statute law it is usual to include the rules, orders, and regulations which are made under the authority of a statute. In an unceasing stream they flow out, ruling and guiding and directing and prohibiting His Majesty's lieges in the daily avocations of their lives. That they are not and cannot be duly considered and discussed by the people's representatives in Parliament assembled is very certain. It may all be necessary; it may be that no single legislative measure will brook delay until its predecessor has been discussed in detail. But, if so, safeguards too are necessary. Let it not be forgotten that to no man, or body of men, ministers or others, can arbitrary power be safely entrusted.

II

Before we turn to the mechanics of the law, the means by which justice is administered, it is convenient to look back and see whether any general reflections are suggested by this great body of case-law extending over more than six centuries, supplemented by hundreds of volumes of statutes and their satellite rules, orders, and regulations.

Perhaps in this summer of 1945 the first reflection of every Englishman may be of pride in the law of England. Listen to the words of Bracton, a judge of the thirteenth century (his words shall be put in English): 'Now the King hath one set over him, that is God: and likewise the law whereby he is made King.' And now listen to the words of a great English judge of the twentieth century: 'It is the duty of the Crown and of every branch of the Executive to abide by and obey the law. If there is any difficulty in ascertaining it, the Courts are open to the Crown to sue and it is the duty of the Executive in cases of doubt to ascertain the law in order to obey it, not to disregard it.' In the words of Bi'acton old England spoke, and in the words of that twentieth-century judge old England still speaks; the language is of different ages, the spirit is the same. From Bench and from Bar too, where need was, the rule of law was proclaimed. The old phrases, familiar as household words, seem pregnant with new meaning in a world that has learnt the lawlessness of authority set above the law. The sanctity of the law is an article of faith; this or that law may be derided but it is the law which is the safeguard of every man's rights and liberties. The Great Charter itself has its supreme importance in this, that it asserts the existence of a body of law which is above the king's will. Tn brief, say the great historians of English law, it means that 'the King is and shall be below the law.' The recognition and assertion of this principle is the proudest, as it may be the most enduring, achievement of English law. From it radiate those rights and liberties which English-speaking people have carried over half the world. To the Library of Congress at Washington where the Lincoln copy of the Charter may be seen, freedom-loving Americans make their pilgrimage. In the Library of the House of Lords in the Palace of Westminster, where these words are written, lies the Petition of Right:

'Amongst many other points of happiness and freedom which your Majesty's subjects have enjoyed, there is none which they have accounted more dear and precious than this, to be guided and governed by certain rule of law which giveth both to the head and members that which of right belongeth to them and not by any arbitrary or uncertain form of government.'

The old, well-worn metal still rings true. So important is this rule of law that it may be stated again in other words. Just as (using once more the words of the Petition) it is 'the indubitable right of the people of this Kingdom not to be made subject to any punishment that shall extend to their lives lands and bodies or goods other than such as are ordained by the common laws of the land or the statutes made by their common consent in Parliament', so no plea of 'necessity of State' will avail that man, however high his office, who exceeds or abuses his lawful authority. All men are subject to one and the same law. That is no vague doctrine of political philosophy: it is the law itself.

Another aspect of the law of England that may be worth noticing is its essentially practical character. The Great Charter itself is a good example. It is the very symbol of liberty. But no high sounding declaration of principle will here be found: in more than sixty articles it provides specific remedies for specific evils. No clarion call, yet in the sum of it freedom is born. It may be observed by way of contrast with what sonorous words the Declaration of Independence is introduced. Millions of Americans may have derived inspiration from them, but they have been safeguarded in their lives and their homes by the Ten Amendments to the Constitution which were adopted in 1791 and embodied, in effect, the provisions of the Petition of Right and Bill of Rights. It may be a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, but this truth must be buttressed by a provision of the law that their rights of freedom of speech and assembly, freedom in hearth and home, shall not be violated.

'Freedom': here is a keynote of the law of England. 'Habeas Corpus' are words that do not fail to recall an Englishman's rights. At least as early as the reign of Edward I the king's judges by the Writ of Habeas Corpus protected a subject of the king from imprisonment except by due process of law, and they did so not by virtue of any statutory authority (for it was many centuries before Parliament touched the matter) but because that freedom was an inherent right. Perhaps they might have anticipated the language of Jefferson and described it as a self-evident

truth. At least from that day to this Englishmen have been vigorous in the assertion of it. It is a right which whoever touches English soil can claim.

'The air of England', said Lord Mansfield, 'has long been too pure for a slave and every man is free who breathes it. Every man who comes into England is entitled to the protection of English law, whatever oppression he may have suffered and whatever may be the colour of his skin. "Quamvis ille niger quamvis tu candidus esses". Let the negro be discharged.'

And James Somerset, the negro, was discharged. With dark memories of hideous happenings in those countries which know not the rule of law, Englishmen will remain steadfast guardians of that ancient privilege.

Perhaps undue space has been given to one aspect of one branch of the law. If so, the excuse is twofold, the first that it is of all things most important, and the second that it is most truly characteristic of the make-up of an Englishman.

A comprehensive survey of the whole body of law seems to reveal other distinctive features. It has been said by students of language that the English language above all others is derived and has borrowed from many different sources and to this fact owes its richness and strength and infinite variety. Others must judge of this. But it is certainly true that the law of England has many creditors. From a Britain which had not altogether forgotten Rome, from Anglo-Saxons and Danes who introduced new and differing customs, from these and other sources the strand of the common law was woven. Nor, though the native spirit was strong enough to resist the dominance of Roman law at the time of its great reception in western Europe, was it possible for judges, trained as many of them had been in the Canon Law, to escape its indirect influence. It would be an easy and natural course to look to the *Corpus Juris Civilis* for a rational solution of any question which was not well settled by English custom. Experts will find in the common law, as it develops, many traces of this influence. In other fields, where for long ecclesiastical jurisdiction prevailed, in particular in the law relating to probate and the administration of personal property, many of the rules of Roman law have been thus incorporated in the law of England. In the second quarter of the twentieth century an English judge did not hesitate in a case arising upon a will, where no precedent could be found in the books, to go to a passage in the *Institutes* and adapt it and say This is the law of England'.

Reference has already been made to the Law Merchant. Here, too, it was natural that as the king's courts assumed jurisdiction in matters which had formerly been dealt with by special tribunals, they should adopt the rules theretofore prevailing. Thus out of the customs of merchants from the Mediterranean to the Baltic another element was brought into the body of English law. A further illustration may be given of the growth of that body. It is perhaps the most striking. If it has been the duty of judges only to interpret the law, by what process of inductive reasoning were they able to incorporate in it principles of private international law? Yet within the last 150 years an important and necessary addition to the law of England has been made by the introduction of rules which determine the rights of parties where a conflict of laws has arisen, i.e. where the dispute involves the consideration of the question which of two different systems of law is to govern the case. Is it permissible to suggest that here is a clear example of a fundamental characteristic of the Englishman and the English law? If a problem is set, it has to be solved. If a difficulty is met, it has to be faced and overcome. If there is no precedent, let it be made. Let a practical way out be found. Let justice be done.

The rights of the individual are the preoccupation of the law. It is in this respect that it is sometimes said that the greatest difference is to be found between the two systems of law that together rule the greater part of the civilized world, the English law and the Roman law. As a generalization it is well enough. But it leads at once to the reflection that if in the law of England the State is not exalted at the expense of the individual, yet it will not allow the rights of the individual to be asserted to the detriment of the community. This is something more than the familiar proposition that rights and duties are complementary, and it goes beyond the ethical basis upon which, as will appear, the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery was founded. For the law recognizes that the place of the individual is in an ordered community. The State exists for him, not he for it; but since he is in and of a community he owes a duty to it which cannot easily be brought within any of the obligations to which, at law or in equity, a man is subject in relation to his fellow man. Here, then, there was an opportunity for a typical English characteristic to be displayed. The divine right of kings or any other authority is denied; the freedom of the individual is protected by the rule of

law. But by a happy compromise the community is to be safeguarded by the development of the principle that the law will not sanction conduct which it deems 'contrary to public policy'. We do not speak here of conduct rendering a man amenable to the criminal law. From such conduct the community is sufficiently protected. By common law or by statute crimes are defined and punishment for them prescribed: it is not for judges to invent new ones. But in this sphere of civil conduct the courts have in the interest of the community and in the name of 'public policy' imposed divers restraints upon the freedom of the individual. An example may be given which is the more cogent because it touches the Englishman in matters near his heart, the freedom of his trade and the sanctity of his contracts. It is a general principle of the law of England that contracts in restraint of trade are void as being contrary to public policy. Trade is the life blood of the community; therefore, important though it may be that contracts should be kept, yet, if they are restrictive of trade, the law will not enforce them. Here there will be found a compromise within a compromise, for not all contracts that are in restraint of trade are unenforceable. But these are refinements for which there is no space. It is sufficient to note that, generally, contracts in restraint of trade are void. So are dispositions of property which tie it up beyond a prescribed period; so is a promise of marriage made by a married man (until at least a decree *nisi* of the Divorce Court has been pronounced for or against him); so is a contract for life insurance which provides that policy money shall be paid upon the suicide of the assured; and all this and more upon the ground of public policy. The comment is obvious that judges, who thus in the name of public policy declare what can and what cannot be lawfully done, assume the duties of legislators. What, for instance, distinguishes in kind the first example of void contract that has been given from such a contract as it required the Truck Acts to prohibit and render void? The answer can only be that largely it has been chance that dictated the course of the law in these matters. It would seem that sometimes the judges have forestalled the working of the public conscience and pronounced that to be unlawful against which the popular voice had not yet asserted itself; in other matters, of which such contracts as the Truck Acts make void are an example, the initiative has been with Parliament. Upon this topic a last word may be said. In the twentieth century it is not possible

to create any new head of public policy; the principles of the law as already established will be applied as changing circumstances demand. But in an age when public grievances can be freely and vigorously debated and the appropriate remedy provided by legislation, no judge could, upon the ground of public policy, declare a transaction to be unlawful which did not fall within the limits of earlier authority.

In this short review of the law of England, its sources, and some of its salient characteristics, we must recur again to a topic to which in a few lines justice cannot be done. It has been told how the Court of Chancery was established as early as the reign of Edward II to administer Equity. The growth of its jurisdiction, its conflict with the Courts of Common Law, its triumph in the seventeenth century, the ultimate fusion of 'law' and 'Equity* towards the end of the nineteenth century in one body of law to be administered by all courts, these are matters now of historical interest. Nor is it necessary here to recall how the abuses of the Court of Chancery came to rival those of the Courts of Common Law. The cumbrousness and intolerable delays of the one matched the formalism and technicality of the other. Here we are concerned for a moment to consider the substantive contribution made by the Court of Chancery to the body of English law. It may be a matter of surprise that courts which could, as need arose, call in aid the Roman law or the Law Merchant, should not have found a way on any and every occasion to meet the changing conceptions of what justice and fair dealing demanded between man and man. It is an interesting speculation what might have been accomplished had a Lord Mansfield been Lord Chief Justice of England in every century. But for reasons manifold the Courts of Common Law failed alike in the law that they administered, in the remedies which they provided, and in the manner in which they enforced their judgements, to fulfil the growing needs of the people. Their failure was the opportunity of the Court of Chancery.

It is difficult to avoid technicalities in this matter. The nature of the jurisdiction which the Chancellor exercised may perhaps be understood by remembering that his court was in its origin regarded as a court of conscience, and by recalling some of the maxims that have throughout its long history guided its decisions. It will be seen that they have an ethical flavour. 'He who seeks equity must do equity. He who comes into equity must come

with clean hands/ 'Equity looks on that as done which ought to be done/ 'Equity assists those who are vigilant, not those who sleep/ By the application of such principles as these the Court of Chancery built up a body of law which lay outside the common law, yet was related to it and could not be understood apart from it* If one contribution amongst many to the whole system of law may be mentioned, the law of Trusts will be chosen. Nothing is to-day more familiar than the idea of a 'Trust', the idea that one man should be entrusted with the legal ownership of property in order that another may enjoy it. But this conception of a Trust arose solely from the manner in which the Court of Chancery insisted that the legal owner of property should not exercise those rights which the common law gave him, except in accordance with the Trust imposed in him when the property became his. The influence of the Trust has been far-reaching in its social aspect, serving not only private but public needs also. A learned writer has suggested that it has had an even wider effect and in the political field has been responsible for the view that 'political power was a Trust to be held and used by government for the benefit of the people which had vested such power in its hands'. A still broader conception will be found in a passage taken from a recent work by the Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford; 'On the whole only ignorance and prejudice can question that British rule in South Africa has been true to the principle of Trusteeship/

in

As important as the law which is administered, perhaps even more important, is the manner of its administration.

Reference has been made to the way in which the systems of the common law and of Equity grew up in jealous rivalry and how the cumbrousness and delays of the latter rivalled the formalism and technicalities of the former. Anyone who considers the manner in which the law was administered in 'Johnson's England' or for the best part of a century thereafter will find much to criticize and deplore. It is satisfactory to be able to observe that in 1873 the major abuse of a dual system was finally abolished and that in 1887 Lord Bowen, a great judge whose critical power was not blunted by prejudice, was able to say:

It is not possible for an honest litigant in His Majesty's Supreme Court to be defeated by any mere technicality, any slip, any mistaken step in his

litigation. The expenses of the law are still too heavy and have not diminished pari passu with other abuses. But law has ceased to be a scientific game that may be won or lost by playing some particular move.'

That does not mean that there is room for complacency. It would be as unwise for the legal historian in the twentieth, as it was for Coke in the seventeenth or Blackstone in the eighteenth century, to regard the law of England as the perfection of reason or the machinery of its administration as incapable of improvement. Yet he who looks back to the eighteenth and the greater part of the nineteenth century will hardly refrain from saying that those were the bad old days. He will remember the harshness of the criminal law, not forgetting that in the eighteenth century over 150 crimes were punishable by death, many of them under Acts of Parliament passed in that century. He will remember the disability of parties to a suit, or of prisoners, to give evidence: it was not until the last years of the nineteenth century that the final step in this matter was taken and a prisoner allowed to give evidence in his own defence. He will remember how painfully the right of the prisoner to be assisted by counsel was acquired. These and other things he will think upon and he will say that these are better days. But let him remember, too, that for those whose life is in the law, justice must be the perpetual quest. In no branch of human endeavour is it easier to stand still and be satisfied with the progress that has been made. The path of the law is a difficult one. Those who have with toil and sacrifice pursued it are not easily persuaded that the ancient way is not the best way. Nor is the field one in which experiment and change should be lightly undertaken. Yet it is important that those who are charged with the high duty of administering the law should be alert to observe whether in its principles and its machinery it satisfies the ever-changing needs of the people. There is one matter in particular to which public attention is, as it should be, frequently directed. It is the burden of Lord Bowen's complaint that 'the expenses of the law are still too heavy'. So they still are and a remedy is not easily found. Probably no complete remedy can be found except by admitting a possibly greater evil, the encouragement of the litigious spirit which is very near the surface in many human beings. Upon this subject one further brief observation may be made. Substantial justice is the aim; technicalities must not be allowed to obscure it. But experience shows that justice will not be done unless there

are rules of procedure, which, being made, must be observed. The complexity of modern life does not admit of justice under a palm tree. The real issues must be defined so that neither party may be taken by surprise, and the process of definition is apt to be protracted and expensive.

Space will admit of reference only to a few outstanding features in our system. It is, in the English view, an essential quality of a Court of Justice that its proceedings should be public. There is a right of access to every court from the highest to the lowest, subject to certain exceptions where publicity would be incompatible with justice, as where a secret trade process is in question, or where the guardianship of infants is concerned and the sanctity of home life must be guarded by privacy. There is full right (again with certain proper exceptions) of reporting proceedings during their course and of commenting on them when they are over, so long as such comments are not calculated to bring a court or a judge into contempt, or to lower his authority, or to interfere with the due course of justice or the lawful process of the court. Thus justice is done in the fierce light of day and no one can doubt that the full force of public opinion can and will be brought to bear upon any abuse.

No account, however short, of our legal system can omit to mention that peculiarly English feature, the jury. There may be little justification for the popular belief that the jury system was either established or confirmed by Magna Carta: it has indeed been described by a modern writer as a 'masterly move of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs in their struggle for the monopoly of the administration of justice'. But however this may be it has for centuries been regarded as a safeguard of the liberty of the subject, and even to-day, when in civil cases a jury is generally not a matter of right, in criminal cases of a serious character the right is preserved. The abolition of the jury in such cases is an unlikely contingency in an England which still has regard for the freedom of the individual. It is better that a guilty man should go unpunished than that an innocent man should suffer. The required unanimity of a jury (a thing the more remarkable in a country which has for centuries gone on the principle that a majority rules) is a powerful guarantee of this principle. Rumour sometimes tells (quite improperly) of strange happenings when a jury has retired, but it is the common opinion of experienced judges that out of their united wisdom a true

verdict will be given. Apart from all other considerations it must not be forgotten what is the alternative. To-day a single judge tries a case, say, of murder with the assistance of a jury; it is for them and them alone, when the judge has summed up the facts and directed them as to the law, to find a verdict of guilty or not guilty. Remove the jury, and in the hands of the judge alone will rest the capital issue. This is a burden too heavy to put upon one fallible mortal. The responsibility is grave enough where honour and fortune are at stake. It is accepted in such cases by English judges, but they would be reluctant to assume the duty of alone determining an issue of life or death. The alternative to a jury in serious criminal cases would probably be a tribunal of three or more judges.

But this is not the only aspect of trial by jury which deserves attention. It has been pointed out how the common law developed through the centuries, and it is a proposition beyond challenge that it is for the judge not the jury to determine the law. Yet, as every lawyer knows, the boundary between inferences of fact and of law is difficult to draw, and it cannot be doubted that, for example, in the development of the law of torts, which determines in one aspect the legal standard of human conduct, the judgement of twelve average men has played an important part. Their knowledge of life and its affairs guides them in answering the often decisive question what a reasonable man would do and thus the law is kept in touch with the standards of common humanity. In another branch of the law the special jurors of Lord Mansfield's court made a large contribution to the settlement of commercial practice upon a legal foundation.

Yet one more comment may be made upon the jury. Justice and the administration of justice should be firmly established upon the basis of popular knowledge and approval. The unknown is mysterious and apt to be regarded with distrust. Of the law of England a critic once said that it was a subject so technical and difficult, not to say repulsive, that nobody but lawyers could well meddle with it. This is an unhealthy attitude. To restore and even to extend the pre-war practice of empanelling a jury for civil as well as criminal cases would have the real advantage of bringing the average citizen in greater numbers into touch with the law. That jury service is often a burden is true: perhaps it should be better rewarded. But let it be thought some reward if the juryman can say that in him English justice is embodied and expressed.

Another feature of the administration of justice that is worth mentioning is a general presumption in favour of the accused. In criminal matters a man is presumed to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty: in civil proceedings the burden of proof is on the party who makes an allegation. It might indeed seem to a continental observer that the dice are loaded too heavily in favour of the accused. Arrested, we will assume, on a serious charge, he is protected by stringent rules from inquisitorial questioning by the police. Brought before a magistrate for the necessary preliminary inquiry before he is committed for trial, he is not bound to answer any questions; on the contrary, while reserving his own defence, he will learn exactly what is the case that is made against him. If he has to stand his trial, he can give evidence or not as he thinks fit. He cannot be compelled to do so and, if he does not, counsel for the prosecution may not comment on it to the jury. All those matters, and many others that might be mentioned, none of them perhaps by itself of great consequence, illustrate once more the fundamental principle of tenderness for the individual in his relation to the State.

IV

At last, having said something of the substance of the law, its origins, and characteristics, we must turn to the courts by which it is administered. Here there is room for little else than a catalogue or such a diagram as appears on the cover of the Oxford Pamphlet on *English Law* by Professor Brierly (a wholly admirable work to which the present writer would express his indebtedness at every turn). First, let us take civil proceedings and ignore for the moment the numerous tribunals which have been set up, for the most part very recently, for the determination of special statutory rights. If a man has a dispute with his neighbour, the court in which he may sue him will depend in the first place upon the magnitude and nature of his claim. Generally speaking if his claim is below a certain amount he can sue in the County Court. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the work done in these courts. The suits instituted in them by far outnumber those in the High Court, and they exercise in addition certain special jurisdictions, as under the Workmen's Compensation Acts and the Rent Restriction Acts, which bring them into peculiarly close relation with the working world. If the reputation of English justice stands high, let a good measure of the credit be

given to the County Court judges, who, unheralded by trumpeters, perform their duties in the fifty or more circuits into which for this purpose England and Wales are divided. But if the dispute is one in which the County Court has not jurisdiction, by reason either of its magnitude or of its nature, e.g. if it is for libel or slander, then the action must be brought in the High Court of Justice. This court, itself one part of the Supreme Court of Judicature of which the other part is the Court of Appeal, is divided into three divisions: (i) the Chancery Division, (ii) the King's Bench Division, and (iii) the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division. The nature of the action will determine the division in which it is brought, though there are many actions which may be brought indifferently in the Chancery and King's Bench Divisions. From the County Court on questions of law and from the High Court generally an appeal lies to the Court of Appeal. Finally, above the Court of Appeal there is the House of Lords, to which an appeal lies only by leave of the Court of Appeal or of the House itself. It may be noted that the House of Lords is also the final Court of Appeal from the Courts of Scotland and Northern Ireland. To this list must be added, since they are courts of unlimited jurisdiction within their own spheres, the Palatine Courts in Lancashire and Durham, and there are some few other courts which still exercise an ancient jurisdiction. It is a striking feature of this system that the number of judges is so small. As has been pointed out the County Court judges number between fifty and sixty; in the High Court there are, or may be, thirty judges, including the Lord Chief Justice and the President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division; in the Court of Appeal there are, or may be, nine judges, including the Master of the Rolls; in the House of Lords sitting as a Court of Appeal there are the Lord Chancellor and seven Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, who may be assisted by other peers who hold or have held high judicial office. It will thus be seen then that in the whole of England and Wales there are about 100 persons who in the realm of civil disputes exercise judicial functions of high or low degree. Add to this that the judges of the King's Bench Division are occupied for a large part of their time in criminal proceedings on Assizes or at the Central Criminal Court in London, and that the Lords of Appeal are also occupied with appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It is probable that the ratio of judge to population is lower than in any

European country which has reached a comparable stage of development.

Another aspect of the matter that deserves notice is the contrast between the decentralization at the bottom and the centralization at the top of the system. The County Courts bring their justice almost to the doors of their suitors but, except for the limited civil work done by the King's Bench judges on Assize and by the Palatine and other special Courts already mentioned, the work of the superior courts is centralized in London, where also all appeals, including those from the County Courts, are heard. In this respect the English system differs from that prevailing in France or Germany before the war where the distribution of both original and appellate courts was regional. Its disadvantage—how grave a disadvantage it is difficult to assess—is the additional expense that is imposed upon suitors, who are thus forced to come (maybe with their witnesses) to London. Its advantage, difficult also to assess, lies in the uniformity, particularly valuable in a system largely made up of case law, which centralization secures.

As in civil proceedings we started with the County Court judges, so in criminal proceedings we may start with the Justices of the Peace. It is with them that the initial, and with them that in the vast majority of cases the final, act in criminal proceedings lies. Who are they? Unrewarded except by the distinction which their office gives, for the most part untrained in the law except by experience, the Justices of the Peace sit in Petty Sessions and in Quarter Sessions, as they have sat for many centuries, to administer the criminal law. In some few boroughs their part is played by Stipendiary Magistrates and in London by the Metropolitan Magistrates. But by and large through the country the preliminary work in all criminal cases and the final determination in most of them is the function of an unpaid and unlearned magistracy. It is probable that in Utopia, if a criminal law were needed, it would not be thus administered. The explanation of the system lies in history; its justification is a thoroughly English one, that on the whole it works. It is subject, and rightly subject, to criticism, as all human institutions should be. There are from time to time abuses which do not escape notice in the public Press. There are careless, prejudiced, senile magistrates; there are overbearing and inquisitorial magistrates' clerks; it has been alleged of some courts that they take too severe a view of some offences, for example, against the game laws, of others that they are moved by political

bias and are too sympathetic towards breaches of other laws. All this may be true, yet it will still remain true that the system works, and, on the whole, works well. It has, moreover, one great advantage in a matter more than once mentioned in these pages in that it widens and popularizes the responsibility for the administration of the law. The alternative to an unpaid and unlearned magistracy is a paid professional magistracy. It is a significant fact that, though for over 100 years it has been open to a municipal borough to obtain the appointment of a stipendiary magistrate to perform the judicial functions of the Justice of the Peace, only a few boroughs have done so. If all or most boroughs required such a magistrate, it may be asked how the demand could be met. Not every set of chambers in the Temple could produce a magistrate whose learning and character and experience fitted him for the task.

It has been said that the Justices of the Peace sit in Petty and Quarter Sessions. In the former, which are held at frequent intervals, they deal with the great mass of petty offences which are not indictable, that is, which do not entitle the accused to have their case tried by a jury, and also with certain indictable offences, but in the latter case only with the consent of the accused. In the case of an indictable offence in which the accused does not consent to be tried summarily, or which the Justices have no jurisdiction to try, the accused is, *if a prima facie* case is made out, committed to trial at Quarter Sessions or Assizes.

At Quarter Sessions, which are held four times a year, the same lay Magistrates sit. It is, however, noteworthy that out of sixty-four Courts of Quarter Sessions in England and Wales there were at a recent date only seven which did not have a Chairman legally qualified to exercise the extended jurisdiction given by the Administration of Justice Act, 1935. Thus in the great majority of cases these Courts have, as they undoubtedly should have, the advantage of a chairman equipped for his office by learning and experience. The same Act makes provision for the remuneration of qualified chairmen but this provision has not been largely utilized. The jurisdiction of Quarter Sessions is both appellate from Petty Sessions and original. In the latter jurisdiction the justices sit with a jury, in the former they sit without one and re-hear the case. It is only in a very small percentage of cases that an appeal is brought, but this fact should not lead to a too confident belief that justice is done in every case in which there

has been no appeal. Poverty, ignorance, or a dumb despair may lead to submission to an injustice which is not the less felt because it is unappealed. In these, the lower branches of the administration of criminal justice, there is need of perpetual vigilance to ensure that old abuses are eradicated and that new ones do not creep in. It is fortunate that, apart from the general criticism which in a free country with a free press is sooner or later directed against any perversion of justice, there has lately been a particular attack by well instructed writers upon certain aspects of the criminal law and its administration. This is all to the good. There is no room for standing still. It is for the critics to criticize and it matters not that they sometimes forget that in practical reform the legislator and administrator are bound by the limits of the possible.

We come now to the apex of criminal proceedings, the judges at Assizes or at the Central Criminal Court in London. Few secular institutions can show so long and uninterrupted a history. In their origin the circuits of the king's judges were both a display of, and a potent means of enlarging, the central authority. To-day they still serve, for what the worth may be of pomp and ceremony, to exhibit the majesty of the law and proclaim to evil-doers the penalties that await those who break the king's peace. But upon a lower level their importance is in the complete decentralization of criminal justice. There still remains a rare original jurisdiction in the King's Bench Division of the High Court, and it is possible under certain circumstances to remove a trial from one area to another. But broadly speaking it is true that criminal justice follows the crime and that where it is committed, there the criminal will be tried. In the various areas into which, for this purpose, England and Wales are divided, the Assizes are held three or four times a year, and in the case of the Central Criminal Court there are twelve sittings a year. To them is reserved exclusive jurisdiction in respect of certain serious crimes such as murder and rape, and they share with Quarter Sessions the jurisdiction in respect of other indictable offences. The general rule is that the magistrates should not commit to the Assizes a case triable at Quarter Sessions unless it is an 'unusually grave or difficult one' or serious delay or inconvenience would be occasioned by committal to Quarter Sessions. There is bound to be some lack of uniformity in the carrying out of this rule but it is not easy to see how it can be avoided.

A final word must be said about appeals in criminal matters. Apart from the general supervisory jurisdiction exercised by the King's Bench Division of the High Court (a matter too technical to be here discussed) there lies, as has already been pointed out, an appeal from Petty Sessions to Quarter Sessions, or, more accurately, to an Appeal Committee of Quarter Sessions. Beyond this there is an appeal on a question of law only by the technical means of a 'case stated' to the High Court. Such an appeal is open both to the accused and to the prosecutor and may be brought from either Petty Sessions or Quarter Sessions. It is a valuable way of obtaining an authoritative decision on what may be an important matter of administration. Lastly there is an appeal from Assizes or Quarter Sessions to the Court of Criminal Appeal which was established in 1907 and is constituted by at least three Judges of the King's Bench Division. Such an appeal is open only to a convicted prisoner and lies as of right on a point of law and, subject to certain conditions, on questions of fact and law and on sentence. The powers of the court are very wide and their list is a heavy one. It would probably be heavier if they were not empowered to increase as well as to reduce sentence. We have said 'lastly': yet there is still a final appeal from the Court of Criminal Appeal to the House of Lords. But this is available only where the Attorney-General certifies that the case involves a point of law of exceptional public importance and that it is desirable in the public interest that a further appeal should be allowed. Such cases have been very few.

It will be observed that in criminal proceedings, while the original jurisdiction is decentralized, the appellate jurisdiction (except from Petty to Quarter Sessions) is centred in London. This has been the subject of some criticism but it is not to be avoided except by a large reorganization of the judicial system.

V

We have briefly glanced at the sources of the law of England and made some observations upon its spirit and salient characteristics and the manner of its administration. How much remains unsaid and what large topics have received not even passing mention! The subject of penalties, of capital punishment, of juvenile crime and the special courts which have been established to deal with it, of probation, of legal aid to poor persons in civil and criminal proceedings and of its inadequacy, of coroners' courts

and other ancient jurisdictions, of special courts of divers kinds, some old and many new, of arbitration and arbitration tribunals, these and many other matters which must be studied by anyone who would understand the law of England, must here be passed by. Nor is there space to tell of the growth of the Bar of England and of the contribution made by its independence to the history of our institutions, nor of the sister profession of solicitors and their steady rise in professional status, nor yet to discuss the vexed question whether the two professions can usefully be amalgamated. The Lord Chancellor himself—the supreme example of the English genius for political compromise—has made but a fleeting appearance, nor has a Minister or Ministry of Justice, thought by many reformers to be a necessary first step in the reorganization of our legal system, been introduced upon the scene. For them, too, and other figures, there is no room.

Yet there is one last matter for which space must be found. In human affairs it is ultimately the human element that counts most. Who, then, are the Judges upon whom lies the duty of administering the law? Something has already been said about the Justices of the Peace. It need only be added here that they are appointed by the Lord Chancellor, who is assisted by the advice of advisory committees, and that they are removable and not infrequently removed by him. So, too, County Court judges are appointed by the Lord Chancellor and may under certain circumstances be removed by him. Their qualification is that they must be barristers of at least seven years' standing. Their retiring age is 72 which may be extended to 75.

The judges of the Supreme Court are appointed by the Crown upon the advice, in the case of the justices, of the Lord Chancellor and, in the case of the lords justices, of the Prime Minister. The Lords of Appeal in Ordinary are also appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Prime Minister. Their qualification is a number of years standing as a barrister which varies according to the office. They are invariably chosen from those who not only have the qualification but have practised as barristers and bring to the Bench the experience that they have gained at the Bar. Herein lies a distinction between the English and most Continental systems, in which the judicial is from the outset a separate profession, a distinction which may well have had an important effect in the growth of our law. The distinctive features of their office are that there is no retiring age and that their tenure is 'during

good behaviour*. Whether there should be any, and what, retiring age, it would ill become the present writer to discuss: it is in any case a matter of secondary importance. It is the fixity of tenure 'during good behaviour' which in effect secures their independence, for, though theoretically it might be otherwise, in fact a Judge can only be removed from office upon an address presented to the Crown by both Houses of Parliament, an event that has not happened in the two and a half centuries that have passed since the Act of Settlement. Thus, unlike the armed forces of the Crown or the greater part of the Civil Service, the higher ranks of the Judiciary hold their office not at the pleasure of the Sovereign but, in effect, for life. The Judge's solemn oath that he will well and truly serve his Sovereign Lord the King in his office and 'will do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of the Realm without fear or favour affection or ill will', can be observed by him with fearless disregard of threat or pressure from the Executive, a thing so much taken for granted in this country that what of old happened here and what so recently happened elsewhere is apt to be forgotten. It is a commonplace that the judicial and executive and legislative powers are not, and cannot be, wholly separate. The function of the courts is in some aspects administrative; the function of Parliament is in some aspects judicial; the Executive, too, are entrusted with powers which it is fashionable to describe as quasi-judicial. These matters can be read at large in the *Report on Minister's Powers* in which the present writer had some small part or in the brilliant work which has just come from the pen of Professor C. K. Allen. But it remains the supreme truth that the safeguard of liberty lies in the independence of a judiciary which fears not nor favours the executive power. Times change and we change in them. It may come to pass that in a new age liberty will wear another aspect and that men will bow down to the State and declare that in its service is perfect freedom. Till that day comes the path is clear. Between arbitrary power and the rule of law there is no middle way. So long as the rule of law is based on the will of the people the king's judges will faithfully guard it. Order, justice, liberty, this is the trinity which the law of England, and those who serve it, have been zealous to maintain.

VI

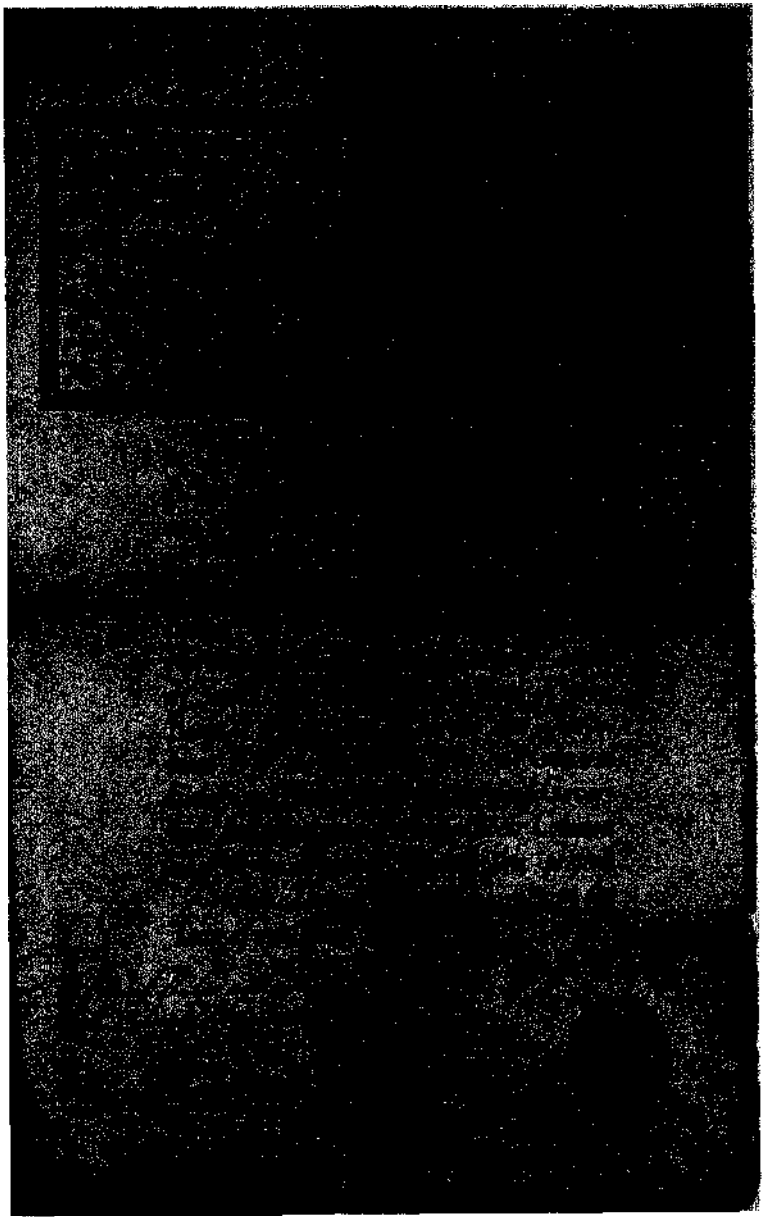
THE ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

By **SIR HENRY CLAY**

I

BRITAIN is the classic land of industrialism. The technical changes which ushered in a new economic age in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had their earliest and most striking development there. The ideas which allowed free scope for these changes received their most authoritative expression in Adam Smith's writings, and Marx based his alternative philosophy on the evidence of British commissions and committees of inquiry into the abuses incidental to these changes. Inspired by Cobden, Britain took the risk of dependence on industrial exports to buy food supplies, and so secured within a century the fourfold increase in real income per head which only industrialization could give. The methods, the results, the problems, and the social types and patterns of modern industry were disclosed to the world first in Scotland and England, and the world's ideas of industrialism are still based on that experience. Much of the rest of the world—New as well as Old—has followed Britain's lead; but the marks of this early lead are still evident, differentiating the United Kingdom (especially now that southern Ireland is excluded) from all other countries. Let us look at some of them.

Consider first population. With less than a thirtieth of the area, Great Britain has more than a third of the population of the United States. At the time of the Napoleonic Wars England's population was only a third that of France; now it exceeds it. The change has been made possible by industrialization and, since it cannot be reversed, commits the country to a continued dependence on industry and international trade. It is true that India, for example, illustrates the possibility of a high density of population dependent on agriculture; but the comparison also shows the dependence on industry of the European standard of life. Even India has only half the density of population of Great Britain; for an equal density one has to turn to the other countries of western Europe and to select areas in the Americas and Asia mainly, like western Europe, devoted to industrial production.



SHARE CERTIFICATE OF THE COMPANY OF MINE ADVENTURERS OF ENGLAND, 1709



COLLIER, COAL TRAIN, AND PIT-HEAD IN THE YEAR 1814

From 'The Costume of Yorkshire'

Even this comparison, however, hardly reveals the unique extent of Britain's dependence on industry. Of the occupied population at the last pre-war census, under 6 per cent, were engaged in agriculture in Great Britain, as compared not only with 67 per cent, in India, 22 per cent, in the United States, and 35 per cent, in Canada, but also with percentages of 20 to 30 in other western European countries. Conversely, the proportions engaged in industry and mining were 46 per cent, in Great Britain, 32 per cent, in the United States, 25 per cent, in Canada, 40 per cent, in Germany and Holland, and only i o | per cent, in India. A high standard of life based on agriculture is possible if the density of population is low; but the United Kingdom could not maintain half its population at the present level of comfort if it were not so highly industrialized.

These broad proportions serve to bring out the most characteristic economic difference between the United Kingdom and other countries. But the term industry needs more definition if its place is to be understood. Every country and every district has industries supplying wants of the neighbourhood which could not be supplied from a distance, and in the aggregate these may be large. Just as the personal services of domestic servants or distributive and transport workers are required everywhere, so that in every country they are among the largest occupational groups, so in every district building and its ancillary trades, baking and other food-preparing industries, a good deal of clothing manufacture, and a host of industries engaged in repair work and services are found, constituting in the aggregate a substantial part of all industry. What is distinctive about British industry is the high proportion of manufacturing and mining industry—industry that is not tied to its own locality for its market. It was in the development of such industries—textile, metal, engineering, coal—on a large scale on a basis of power that the United Kingdom was the pioneer, and in these she has still a higher proportion of her resources engaged than any other country.

Again, the importance in the country's life of these export industries is not apparent from a bare enumeration of figures. They include little more than a third of the working population, or, even if the workers in transport and distribution associated with them in export trade are brought in, not a half. Their significance is that they provide the primary activity on which all other economic activities depend and by which they are regulated. In a primitive

community the primary economic activity is the getting of food, which is done in the locality by the most direct means possible. As urban communities form themselves a fraction of the population comes to depend on exchange for its food supply. What is distinctive about Great Britain is that, when faced with the issue in the middle of the nineteenth century, it deliberately accepted dependence on imported food in the interest of expanding manufacture. The new industrial areas produced coal, textiles, and metal manufactures, a large fraction of which were exported; in return the country received in payment the half of its food which it did not produce from its own soil and most of the raw materials required for these manufactures themselves. This exchange of food for coal and manufactures in turn provided freights for a great mercantile marine and commissions for a great banking community. The surplus of exports over imports was invested abroad in opening up new markets for exports and new sources of supply of imports. All the main activities of a modern community are mutually interdependent; but primacy must be given as the originating activity to manufactures in Britain, as it is given to gold-mining in South Africa, wool and wheat in Australia, meat and grain in the Argentine, or agriculture and means of transport in North America. At the peak of its growth, before it was interrupted and dislocated by the first world war, this British system had made of the United Kingdom the core of a world community. Two-fifths of British industry was carried on for export and more than half British food requirements, in addition to most raw materials, were met by imports. Two-thirds of the world's exports of cotton and woollen manufactures, four-fifths of the world's exports of coal, a high proportion of most exports of metal products, three-fifths of the total world's output of ocean-going shipping, were produced in the United Kingdom. Whole regions were devoted to exports; the country's prosperity waxed and waned with variations in the state of world trade. British shipping and British banking reinforced this exchange of material products and made London the financial capital of this world economic community. No other country had staked its livelihood so completely on world trade, or with such abundant return.

II

In the eighteenth century travellers set out from London to survey the kingdom, and left for our instruction an account of the industries they came across. To-day the distribution of industries is exhaustively recorded in the decennial population census, a periodical census of production, annual reports on factories and mines, and monthly reports on employment; and the depression from which industry suffered between the wars led to comprehensive surveys of the export industries and detailed surveys of the more depressed areas and industries. But the traveller has still an advantage over the stay-at-home, and can supplement the purely quantitative approach of censuses by more intimate impressions. He would realize that London had recovered the place, which it held before the nineteenth century and then lost, of an important manufacturing centre. Textiles, cutlery, shipbuilding, had all gone north, and London is still predominantly a commercial, financial, and administrative capital; but it is also, in addition to its large building and food and drink industries, the largest centre in the country of the clothing industry, of printing, of furniture manufacture, and is second only to the Manchester region as a centre of engineering. Its chief characteristic is, perhaps, still the variety of productions which it handles and contributes to, especially to meet the demands of a wealthy and exacting clientèle—bespoke tailoring and shoe-making, the most expensive dress and millinery, furnishings of all sorts, jewellery and watches, the more expensive sports equipment, special bodies for automobiles, all the materials of the arts, and the like.

Our traveller would find that the functions of distributing, arranging payment, and transporting goods, occupied more people than any manufacturing industry, not only in London but in every large centre of population; and the larger the aggregation of population, the greater their predominance. But no other centre is quite like London; in spite of the recent development of industries in the Greater London area, the chief centres of industry are still in the provinces, producing a type of society and an outlook different from that of the capital. Mining obviously is confined by nature to certain areas, and most manufactures can still be carried on with economy only in areas specialized to them. There are signs of change; in a generation

it may no longer be true to say this, but at present the momentum of past success still maintains a marked local character in most areas.

Thus the west Midlands, with Birmingham as its regional capital, remains the great centre of metal manufacture. Anything of metal—of almost any metal—can and will be manufactured there. The older manufacture of iron and steel has declined, or the same firms carry it on elsewhere; but the manufacture of things made of iron and steel still flourishes. Though steel has replaced wrought iron for most purposes, wrought iron retains advantages in some uses, and the west Midlands still supplies it. Sheets have moved to Wales, but tubes remain. Cutlery is less important than in Sheffield, but tools of all sorts, especially modern engineering tools, are a Birmingham trade. Bicycles were made in Birmingham and Coventry, because they were a new use of steel, especially steel tubes; and motor-cars, and their parts, were manufactured in the same towns because bicycles were. But the concentration of the automobile industry on Birmingham was a natural development, because no other centre met so adequately all the varied requirements of the new industry; Wolverhampton, Oxford, Luton, and Derby are merely outliers of this Birmingham kingdom.

The organization of industry in this area is almost as varied as its scope. Every type of firm, from great general and electrical engineering concerns to workshops employing only a man and a boy, are there to meet any demand, however big or small, which involves the stamping, pressing, or manufacture of any metal. Birmingham felt the depression from which British industry as a whole suffered between the wars less than any other centre, responding to every breath of demand, growing steadily with occasional setbacks, and shifting continuously from types of product that were falling out of favour to others for which the world's demand was growing.

Sheffield's name, everyone knows, is associated with cutlery in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, though the contemporary poll tax returns mention no cutlers. The industry is still concentrated in the city. It is associated, as in Birmingham, with the manufacture of plate, both silver and electro-plate, and has similarly expanded into the manufacture of tools of all sorts. But to-day this older industry is overshadowed by the manufacture of steel and of heavy engineering products. In mere weight Sheffield's steel

production does not rank high; its distinction lies in its quality. In addition to the open hearth steel for manipulation in the forges and rolling-mills of the town, Sheffield produces a great range of special steels of high value. Crucible steel-making, the process by which the best cutting steels were long produced, was invented in Sheffield, as, a century and a half later, was stainless steel. Recent technological science has taught other centres to make cutting steels that only Sheffield could make in the nineteenth century; but Sheffield remains a great centre of steel metallurgy, supplying machine-tool users all over the world with the steels that have so much eased and accelerated their work.

Arthur Young went on from Sheffield to Leeds, admiring the landscape and reporting the agriculture. His successor to-day would cross a different landscape in which agriculture counted for little and coal for much. He would find that Leeds had still a cloth industry; but its importance, relative both to other centres and to other Leeds industries, has shrunk. Wholesale clothing, a better class of men's clothing than the London factory trade, has displaced weaving as the predominant women's occupation; while a varied output of steel and engineering products—forgings, locomotives, oil engines, printing machinery—has provided occupation for a new class of male workers. Our traveller would have to turn west to find the modern textile centres; though most of them were already noted as such in Young's time and in Defoe's before him. Bradford is the commercial centre of the woollen and worsted industry, the chief centre itself of worsted spinning, of associated fibres such as alpaca, mohair, and silk, and of an immense variety of dress-goods weaving and finishing. Nearer Lancashire, Halifax is another worsted spinning centre, though cotton spinning and doubling also extend down the Calder Valley to Halifax from Lancashire; Huddersfield makes the finest men's suitings in the world, which climb over the 60 per cent, import duty into the United States.

Under forty miles separate Bradford from Manchester. Whichever route our traveller took, the road would lie through an almost continuous string of industrial towns and villages. All have the same characteristics; textile work for some of the men and most of the women, and engineering shops for the rest of the men who are not wanted for the purely local services of building, transport and distribution. The concentration of the primary processes of spinning and weaving attracts dyeing and other

finishing processes, the manufacture of dyes and other materials, and of the textile machinery and components.

The neighbouring towns of Dewsbury and Batley make woollens as distinct from worsteds, everything from the lightest tweeds to the heaviest pilot-cloths, rugs, and blankets. Here, too, the mixing of used wool with virgin wool (or cotton) to make shoddy and imitation tweeds is centred, though the biggest cheap tweed makers are in the Colne Valley west of Huddersfield. Shoddy has acquired a connotation that does less than justice to the quality of many cloths in which an admixture of used wool is employed, and no justice at all to the social revolution which this industry (with the cheap flannel industry of Morley) has made possible and the factory clothing industry has brought about. Until the present century the classes were sharply differentiated by their dress; to-day they have almost become indistinguishable, the men all wearing tweed jackets and flannel trousers and the women cotton and artificial silk dresses (and stockings) and real or imitation tweed coats. This re-use of waste material is not an adulteration but an important addition to supplies, made possible by high technical skill.

Manchester is still the greatest textile centre of the world. Other countries now use more raw cotton than England; but none, up to the outbreak of war, exported so large a value of cotton manufactures, and in none was there such a geographical concentration of cotton manufacture. In Manchester itself the spinning and manufacture of cctton is no longer the leading industry; but the great spinning centres—Oldham, Bolton, Stockport—are all within a ten-mile radius. Weaving is carried on but little farther afield; Preston to the north-west, Blackburn to the north, Burnley, Nelson, and Colne to the north-east. The southern half of Lancashire (exclusive of the Liverpool area) and the adjacent parts of Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, contain over half a million of the 571,000 cotton workers enumerated in the 1931 census. Glasgow retains a cotton manufacture over the border, and is the headquarters of the sewing-thread industry; doubling and some spinning is carried on in south Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire; but in spite of these exceptions the greatest of the textile industries is the most concentrated.

Manchester remains the centre, because the structure of the industry subordinates it to the dealer and merchant-converter. Raw cotton is bought mainly in Liverpool where it comes in; but

yarn is sold and bought on the Manchester Exchange, and cloths are woven and finished to the specifications of Manchester merchants who sell them. There may be too many merchants: but at least they provide the industry with intimate knowledge of every consuming market in the world and expert guidance in every use of cotton manufactures.

The Manchester region is also the largest centre in the country of engineering, exemplifying on a large scale the pattern of every textile town. It has responded to changes in markets and technical conditions by developing in new directions; it is the marketing centre for rayon products (the largest new rayon plant is at Preston), it is the seat of asbestos manufacture in this country, it even makes textile fabrics of paper. It is a food importing and processing centre second only to London and Liverpool, and it has all the industries and services which accompany any large concentration of population. The world between the wars was not favourable to export centres, and Manchester has lost something of its cosmopolitan character; but its main business streets still display a range of exotic names which recall the world repute and connexions it established before 1914.

To the west of Manchester are important salt deposits, underlying the Cheshire plain and stretching north into Lancashire. They are the basis of a great chemical industry, the alkalis branch of Imperial Chemicals, and the same area has the most important plants of Lever Bros., the soap manufacturers, and the English plate-glass industry. These chemical towns look less to Manchester than to Liverpool, primarily a port and produce market, but after London the greatest centre of food-preparation trades. South again of Cheshire, but still within forty miles of Manchester, are the Potteries, a highly localized industry, of old establishment, importing its clay and kaolin but enjoying the advantage of a rich coalfield and able to send its fine products to most parts of the world enjoying a high standard of living.

Wales is dominated by coal. In the south, where is the greatest development of industry, more than a third of the men were engaged in coal mining before the war, three times as many as were engaged in distribution or transport, the next largest occupations. This excessive dependence made south Wales the most depressed area of the United Kingdom between the two wars, when the coal industry throughout the world was suffering

from redundant capacity. Iron and steel, partly based on local ores now worked out and partly transplanted to the Welsh coast from the Midlands in order to use imported ores, were also depressed. Tinplate, confined to this area, used to export normally four-fifths of its output, and found itself faced by competition fostered in former markets by Protection. The area had few occupations for women to diversify its fortunes, though something had been done to introduce new light industries before the war, and the war has shown that the population are adaptable and capable of supplying any of the modern industries with an efficient labour-force. A large amount of re-equipment was carried through in the steel-rolling industry just before the war; but the excessive dependence on coal remains.

Since we left London we have hardly left the coalfields, though the concentration of hosiery in Leicester and Nottingham, lace in Nottingham, and the Scotch tweed manufacture in the border valleys shows that textile manufacture is more dependent on soft water than on coal. We have still to glance at the two greatest industrial concentrations based on coal, on the north-east coast and in the Clyde Valley. In the former the mines have a position little less important than in south Wales, and iron and steel have much the same importance; but the combination of available materials, high engineering skill and the demands of the local ports have made it one of the three great shipbuilding areas of the United Kingdom and, indeed, of the world. The greatest warships and the finest liners have their origin there, and every other kind of standard or specialized craft, with the engines to propel them. Glasgow is of equal importance and similar character. But Glasgow has not only a greater commercial and financial importance, but a wider range of manufactures. A modern ship requires an immense variety of equipment; on the basis of this demand the Glasgow region has developed a corresponding variety of engineering products—few places in the world offer such a range.

The third of the great shipbuilding centres, though smaller than the other two, is Belfast, which drew all its material from outside and often benefited by the competition of one supplier with another. An old-established linen manufacture and a more recent development of clothing provide occupation for the women.

We have not, even now, exhausted the list of localized indus-



SHEFFIELD IN 1819 FROM THE ATTERCLIFFE ROAD

From a drawing by E. BLORE



SHEFFIELD CUTLERY LABELS FOR THE EXPORT TRADE TO AMERICA *c.* 1870

tries; the manufacture of boots and shoes in Northamptonshire, Leicester, and four or five less important centres; hosiery in Leicester and Nottingham; jute in Dundee; the group of iron and chemical firms based on the Derbyshire coalfields; tinplate in south Wales; cement on the Thames and Medway, Humber, and two or three inland sites; glass at Stourbridge; carpets at Kidderminster, the Halifax district, and Glasgow; beer in Burton-on-Trent; and tobacco in Bristol and Nottingham. Even if we had space to review these, it would still remain an impossibility to take account of the wide spread of industry in the present century from its old areas of concentration. Increasingly industry has broken loose from the old centres; the automobile, the telephone, and electric power have made it almost a matter of indifference where the newer, lighter industries are placed so long as labour is available. For a strongly marked pattern of concentrated industrial areas in an untouched ('neglected' or 'unspoilt' according to the point of view) agricultural country there is being substituted a film of industry spread over the whole of the country, except the few areas such as the Highlands of Scotland, the Lake District, and the Welsh mountains, where natural conditions prevent such a density of population as would make industrial development possible. It will be a better use of limited space to glance at some of the characteristics that, in greater or less degree, differentiate British industry from the industry of other countries, and the type of life which industrialism has produced.

III

Let us remind ourselves first what the industries are in which the United Kingdom employs its resources; we will confine ourselves to industry in the narrow sense, and measure importance by numbers employed at the last Census, merely noting that commerce and finance with over 2 millions, transport with nearly a million and a half, and agriculture and fishing with over a million, account for a third of the occupied males, and personal service with nearly 2 millions, and commerce and finance with a million, for nearly half the occupied females. The broad grouping of the industrial population in the narrow sense is as shown on the following page.

The metals, textiles, and clothing groups comprise each a diversity of industries; but the broad grouping brings out the

great concentration in a limited range. These three, with building, cover a half of the males employed in industry (a third of the males in all occupations), and the three female occupations a half of the females employed in industry (a quarter of all occupied females). Moreover, though the metal group includes the modern electro-technical industries and the textile group rayon, these industries on which the United Kingdom is so dependent are the nineteenth-century industries in which the country was the pioneer.

GREAT BRITAIN: 1931

(000 *omitted)*

Industry	*Total*	*Males*	*Females*
Mining	1,344	1,332	12
Metals, Engineering, vehicles of which:	2,465	2,155	310
General engineering	533	491	42
Electrical engineering	279	209	70
Vehicles	402	360	42
Ships	278	274	5
Textiles. of which:	1,338	547	772
Cotton	/591	217	374
Wool	1248	109	140
Clothing	880	337	543
Food, drink, tobacco	709	445	264
Paper, printing, &c..	497	324	173
TOTAL. Mining and manufacture	8,777	6,368	2,410
Building and contracting	1,123	**1,108**	14
Transport	1,444	1,393	50
Commerce and finance	3,335	2,314	**1,021**
Personal service	2,646	740	1,906
TOTAL OCCUPIED	21,075	14,801	**6,273**

This concentration has had an important effect on the fortunes of the country. Because these industries were the earliest to be placed on a modern basis of power-driven machine production, they are the industries to which new countries most readily turn. Their mechanical development is nearest to being standardized and their introduction presents fewest problems. They invite protection and promise to provide the foundation for further industrial development. Hence after the war of 1914-18 they were encouraged by protection all over the world and, no corresponding contraction being arranged in their older centres,

they came to be marked by a condition of redundant capacity in relation to normal demand, which made them relatively depressed throughout the world. It followed that those parts of the world which were most dependent on them—pre-eminently the older industrial areas of the United Kingdom—exhibited a persistence of depression from which the areas of newer industries were free.

This was the chief explanation of the depression of British industry between the wars; it was simply that British industry was more dependent than that of any other country on coal, shipbuilding, iron and steel, and textiles. The depressed areas were the areas in which these industries were most intensively localized. But the same industries were similarly depressed in other countries; had coal, cotton manufacturing, and shipbuilding been concentrated into a single state of the American Union, it would have exhibited a picture of depression as extreme as south Wales or the north-east coast of Britain; while areas devoted in the United Kingdom to the newer electro-technical, chemical, automobile, and clothing industries (such as Greater London or Greater Birmingham) enjoyed a prosperity and growth comparable with that of any other country. Incidental aggravations of the condition of the worst depressed areas were the development of oil as an alternative to coal as a source of power, and the Washington Naval Agreement which suddenly cut off the greater part of the demand for the specialized production of Clyde and Tyneside firms engaged in naval shipbuilding.

It will be noticed again that these concentrated industries are all associated with coal. The mining of coal was the largest single men's employment. Coal provided the cheap fuel which formed an important element in the English standard of life, cheap power on which modern industry has been mechanized, cheap coke on which the steel industry was built up, cheap bunkers which was one of the advantages of the British mercantile marine, and the only important bulk export, to share with the bulk imports of food-stuffs and raw material the cost of maintaining the world's largest mercantile marine. No single change is so likely to compel a reorientation of the British economy as the gradual increase in the cost of coal before the war and its doubling during the war.

Already between the wars ther,e was a shift from the coalfields and from the industries dependent on proximity to coal. The shift was only an aspect of a larger social change. The loss of

export markets—the greatest of the export industries, cotton, which used to send two-fifths of its total output to India, lost nine-tenths of that export when India used its newly granted power to protect its own industry—the shift of consumption to automobiles, electrical appliances, and houses, the decline in saving and consequently in capital available for lending abroad, the growth of the factory clothing-industries, all had an effect of stimulating the growth of the areas in which the newer industries had located themselves, while the older centres dependent on exports relatively or absolutely declined. A continuous redistribution of the rising population into different industries is a normal process; the depression in the United Kingdom between the wars was due to the interruption of it during the war, the greatly increased need of readjustment to which war and post-war protective policies gave rise, and the handicap on readjustment imposed by heavy taxation. But a large measure of readjustment took place of which the expansion of the newer industries and the newer industrial areas is a measure. Perhaps the most striking single indication of the change is that, whereas on the eve of the war of 1914-18 two-fifths of British industrial production was for export, on the eve of the war just ended the proportion was only a sixth or a seventh.

Coal is overwhelmingly the most important of the industries based on native raw materials; but there are others. The iron and steel industry was originally based on local ores; these had been worked out in the older areas, and the industry was largely dependent on imported ores, but an important industry had grown up on the Lincolnshire ore-field, and the most recent development, in the thirties, was a modern large-scale Bessemer plant based on Northamptonshire ore. During the war the industry was able to maintain its pre-war level of output very largely on native ores. Coal again is the basis of an important group of chemical industries. Its availability has made easy the exploitation of the common materials, chalk or limestone, of which cement is made (and accessibility to tide-water has encouraged a large export) and of salt and lime in the soda and alkali branches of the chemical industry. That inert white material, kaolin or china clay, which is equally useful in the manufacture of pottery, paper, certain textile finishes, and face-powder, is mined in Cornwall and sent to the United States as well as to the northern industrial areas of Britain. British wool on which the famous woollen in-

dustry was once based is now largely exported, the British industry relying mainly on imported growths.

The most characteristic element in British industry is, however, the manufactures which, using mainly imported material, are able by the application of the accumulation of many generations' experience, embodied in the skill of their workers and the judgement of their managerial class, to produce a variety of products that no other country equals. Other countries excelled in particular fields —Germany in the scientific industries of chemistry and certain electro-technical products, France in the arts of design, especially dress and fashion, the United States in the most modern industries of automobile and radio manufacture; but the United Kingdom on the eve of war had also a great chemical industry, was the world's largest exporter of electrical engineering products, led the world in most textiles, and had an important automobile industry. It produced masses of cheap products for low-income markets and fine products for high-income markets, and it was still the world's largest exporter of coal, ships, cotton manufactures, woollen manufactures, and many types of machinery.

The very variety is confusing. Critics of the cotton (and other) industry complain that it will not adapt its products to the consumer's requirements; the industry is more open to the criticism that it carries diversification of its products to uneconomic lengths. Every export merchant seeks to adapt his designs to every part of his market, and the weaver and finisher comply with his directions; a single merchant had over a million trade-marks. Count and quality of yarn, cloth constructions, finishes, are varied almost to infinity. Such variety is possible only with an adaptable organization and a highly skilled labour-force. In America the industry seeks continually to increase the number of looms per weaver; so, for some purposes, do they in Lancashire, but for others—for fine poplin shirtings that have to climb over a 50 per cent, tariff into America—they seek to restrict the number of looms the weaver may tend. An equal variety is found in the other great textile industry, woollen and worsted. Here the commercial justification is greater, since wool is an expensive clothing while cotton extends by providing clothing ever cheaper and cheaper. Hence the woollen industry has held on to its markets with more success than cotton. It will meet every type of need—including, in this century, the need of cheap external clothing. It can make fine woollens that will go through a wedding ring; but

the finer fabrics tend rather to be worsteds, which will wear for ever and keep their shape without requiring to be pressed every day. Men are as exacting as women in their requirements of design.

Both the older industries can use the new rayon as substitute for or complementary to the older natural fibres. Here a great development is already taking place. Rayon may replace long staple cotton; it is at the present time cheaper, it is more uniform, can be cut to any length, and has all the physical properties of cotton. Spun as staple fibre and mixed with cotton or wool it can produce a wide variety of cloths. Bradford uses all fibres to secure novelty, variety, and cheapness—worsted as a starting point, but cotton, rayon, and silk to lend variety.

This attempt to meet every possible demand calls, it has been pointed out, for an adaptable organization, and tells against the economies of mass production, except in spinning and the production of standard cloths. It depends even more on a supply of highly skilled workers, capable of directing their own work and adapting often imperfect or unsuitable appliances and materials to the production of something they were not designed for:

> **, . . There's many a weaver in Preston can save the life of a sick warp that in any other land would die.**
>
> **I've heard tell of an old woman there when she had a fine warp and a bad one she pieced the ends with her hair.**

At the same time, where they are suitable—as, in spite of the critics, in most cases they are—this still produces a quality and finish unattainable by the cruder methods of quantity production forced on other countries by the lack of such labour.

The possession of this skilled labour is at once the strength and the weakness of British industry; the strength because it is the source of its high quality and adaptability, the weakness because it tends to deter industry from a scientific attack on problems of quality control, methods of mechanization, and co-ordination of sales policy with the requirements of economic manufacture. It is the explanation, also, of the wide spread of firms in respect of efficiency. With good English labour available in any centre of localized manufacture, anyone who can get control of a few machines or contact with a market can set up as a manufacturer. Again, however, there are advantages as well as disadvantages; if such small-scale entrepreneurs are unlikely to be able to apply

the methods and results of scientific research to industry, they do provide an unequalled nursery for greater entrepreneurs, and no one yet has found out an alternative method of discovering managerial and commercial talent as effective. A recent analysis of firms in connexion with the census of production showed that in 1935 they were distributed by size as follows:

SIZE OF FIRMS

Number of workers employed	*Number of firms*	*Total number of persons employed*
10 and under	204,151	826,700
11-49	31,756	795,809
50-99	9,459	656,237
100- 199	5,814	808,848
200 - 499	3,908	1,184,393
500 - 999	1,270	878,764
1,000 - 1,499	414	505,770
1,500-2,499	309	589,312
2,500 - 9,999	256	1,144,262
10,000 and over	31	639,662
TOTAL	257,368	8,029,757

This dependence on the skilled man, again, is the most marked difference between British and American engineering. In Britain the worker had an all-round skill which enabled him to undertake any job in his trade with very general direction; in America such workers were scarce, much more 'green' labour had to be absorbed, and a much more detailed and articulate planning of work, leading to a greater degree of standardization, was almost inevitable. The differences are disappearing under the pressure of an increasingly scientific technology; it is, however, significant that a greater use of women, whose skill is much more narrowly restricted, is made in the newer electrical branch of engineering. Similarly in war-time, while the versatility of the workmen made possible the rapid conversion of industry to novel war needs, as soon as types of product were sufficiently settled to allow of mass production, women were brought in in large numbers. In any comparison with America, it should be remembered that British industry works for a home market, not only less than a third the size of the United States but demanding a wider choice in most fields, and has to find an outlet for a sufficient output to ensure economical production in scores of overseas markets, every one of which has its special requirements. A standardization of electrical fittings as complete as America's would exclude them from

many markets with special requirements which the British industry now supplies. Some engineering firms do the more difficult parts of their manufacture at home, but assemble them, manufacturing locally the easier parts, in the overseas markets. The boundary line between the alternative policies of economizing in production by uniformity of product and success in satisfying markets by adaptation of product is continually shifting.

Between the wars the group of industries that grew most was the group devoted to building and furnishing houses. The war of 1914-18 had interrupted production, checked even before 1914 by rising interest-rates, and the supply of houses lagged behind the demand created by decay of existing houses, the needs of a shifting population, and an increase in the number of families more rapid than the increase in population as a whole. In the thirties this lag was taken up. The number of new houses increased to nearly 350,000 a year, and the task of replacing the unsatisfactory building of a century earlier was being attacked when war broke out. The war has created a new shortage, and the building industry is likely to be as important in the next decade as in the decade before 1939. These new houses were a remarkable technical achievement, providing a dwelling for the family of the skilled artisan and the lower salaried class, much superior in convenience and appearance to anything that preceded them, at a cost of ,£600 to £900, at which the class for which they were intended could afford to rent or buy them. There was a grievous neglect of the claims of the established landscape to respect; but no other country could offer dwellings so suitable to their purpose and so economical; America could not produce houses at such a price at all, and Continental countries crowded their workers into flats. The building industry retains the characteristics of nineteenth-century capitalism—easy to enter, easy to rise, exhibiting a large number of small firms but also a small class of giant concerns, and possessing the adaptability and capacity for rapid expansion which were the marks of that age.

With houses went a great expansion of the industries providing building materials, furniture, and furnishings such as linoleum. The development provided another illustration of the unevenness of British industry; the furniture and floor coverings, the houses themselves, and their fittings, were not distinguished for the beauty or modernity of their design, but one section, that of fabrics for upholstery and hangings, surpassed every other country.

IV

Generalizations about the organization of British industry are all open to exception. The table above of sizes of firms both confirms and refutes the common idea that 'large-scale' industry predominates. Large-scale concerns, or groups, do dominate many industries; but few industries are without a large class of small firms. If any size is to be taken as typical, the firm controlled by an individual or a family is probably still nearer the norm than any other. The average number of employees to an establishment tells little; it is the dispersion about the average that is significant; but the smallness of the average will surprise those who notice only the large figures of the great corporations whose annual meetings are reported in the newspapers. The small firm survives because it offers an opening to the man of more than average energy or originality of ideas. The way is made easy in the textile and clothing industries by an organization dominated by merchants and large-scale retailers who provide a market for the small man; in the engineering and metal group by the large concerns themselves, which always require the complementary services of producers for materials it is not worth their own while to produce. Experiments are being made in direct training for managerial office; but hitherto the method of trial and error, of demonstrating capacity by starting on your own, has been the chief method of recruitment. The combination of qualities—technical, commercial, and administrative—called for in the head of an industrial establishment do not lend themselves readily to automatic test by examination.

A parallel misunderstanding of British industry is that it owes its establishment and development to the activities of the London capital market. The decline of that market's external business is forcing it to give more attention to domestic needs; but in the past its chief function was the issuing of overseas, not domestic, loans. Its business in relation to British industry was mainly the sale of established concerns to the public, not the provision of new capital for new enterprise. The great majority of British industrial concerns were founded by men of little capital on the basis of their own savings and help from older established neighbours and from their banks. They grew, if they did grow, out of profits; and that direction of new capital to enterprise was better than any other system ever devised, because it ensured that capital was applied at points at which either demand for the product

was unsatisfied or management was exceptionally good, or both* The high taxation which was a legacy of the war of 1914-18, and the concentration of taxation on Income, Sur-tax and Estate Duties, undermined and weakened this automatic system. Before 1914 Income-Tax for most people was only a shilling in the pound; between the wars it rose to seven shillings and never fell below four; the rate at which industry could accumulate savings to finance the unprecedented need of adaptation and reorientation was correspondingly reduced. Nor was this all: the tax system discriminated against the small firm, with whom the chance of new ideas developing was, on the whole, greatest. Not only did the individual or partnership or private company pay Income-Tax like the public company; in addition its whole profits could be assessed also to Sur-Tax, raising the rate by another 17J per cent. Moreover, the burden of Estate Duties was often crippling when a principal died. It is no wonder that British industry showed less resilience after 1920 than before 1914. This pressure of taxation and its discrimination against the small, privately owned concern is forcing industry more and more into the hands of public joint-stock corporations. The movement has, however, a long way still to go, and the union of ownership and control in the hands of the same person (or family) gives the family business an advantage wherever technical conditions do not require large expenditure. Many companies are formed only for convenience of administration, the business remaining, from the point of view of economic structure, a family concern.

Any attempt to describe British industry must fall short of complete accuracy, because the picture is changing all the time, and varies so widely from one industry or district to another. Most of all must this be so with any attempt to set out the kind of society that industry creates. Clearly the crude classification of the population into capitalists and wage-earners which the first generalizations about modern industry threw up could have been made only by people who had never lived in an industrial area; in a country in which four-fifths of the industrial firms employ no more than ten workers each, in which shops outnumber industrial firms by two or three to one and farmers are almost as numerous as shop-keepers, and in which a fifth of the population is employed in occupations other than industry, agriculture, and distribution, the gradations of society must be far more numerous and the barriers between classes far lower than that simple

Protection

FOR THE

INDUSTRIOUS

Weavers.

INFORMATION having been received that a great number of industrious Weavers have been deterred by threats and acts of violence from the pursuit of their lawful occupations, and that in many instances their Shuttles have been taken, and their Materials damaged by persons acting under the existing Combinations :

NOTICE IS HEREBY CIN

That every Protection will be afforded to persons so injured, upon giving Information to the Constables of Stockport: And a Reward of

FIFTY GUINEAS

Will be paid, on conviction, to the person who will come forward with such evidence as may be the means of convicting any one or more of the offences mentioned in the Act of Parliament, of which an Extract is subjoined : And a Reward of

TWENTY GUINEAS

Will be paid, on conviction, to the person who will come forward and inform of any person being guilty of assaulting or molesting industrious and honest Weavers, so as to prevent them from taking out or bringing in their Work peaceably.

Stockport, June \7th. 1808.

PETER BROWN,
T. CART WRIGHT, *C0INSTABLES*.

By the 22nd, Geo. 3, C. 40, S. 3.

It is enacted" That if any person enter* by force* into any House or Shop, with intent to Cut and Destroy any Linen or Cotton* or Linen and Cotton mixed with any other Materials* in the Loom* or any Warp or Shute* Tools* Tackle* and Utensils* or shall Cut or Destroy the same* or shall Break and Destroy any Tools* Tackle* or Utensils, for Weaving* Preparing, or Making any such Manufactures* every such Offender shall be guilty of FELONY* without Benefit of Clergy* *

J. CLARKE, PRINTER.

INDUSTRIAL UNREST IN 1808

classification allowed for. Nevertheless the industrial worker produced by nineteenth-century industry was a new type who created a new type of society; and the new employer, if less novel and distinctive, contributed to the distinctiveness of that society.

Great Britain is the birth-place of certain new social institutions which sprang up wherever the new forms of industry developed and have spread with them to other countries. The most typical is the trade union—'a continuous association of wage-earners to improve the conditions of their employment'—formed by their members in the face of doctrinaire opposition from the economists of the day and in spite of the resistance of the oligarchic governments of the nineteenth century. Another is the retail consumers* Co-operative Society, by which the industrial wage-earner established standards of quality and price in the most important articles of common consumption. Both these institutions owed much to the democratic Nonconformist Churches, especially the Methodist Churches, for a training in self-government and the conduct of affairs; the chapels and the 'Co-op[5] are the most conspicuous objects in the north-country industrial village. The same impulse to meet by spontaneous co-operative action the social needs which industry left unsatisfied was shown in thrift institutions—the friendly societies which provided an income in sickness, the savings bank which provided a reserve, and the building society which encouraged savings and made them available for house purchase. Whatever the explanation of the correlation, with these democratic economic institutions went certain characteristic leisure interests. The industrial worker took association football and cricket from the schools of the governing class (who had learned them from the countryman), and created the wide national organization of football and cricket leagues.

The habit of association which embodied itself in these and other forms is no doubt found ill other countries. Its strength and variety do, however, mark the industrial communities which grew up in Great Britain in the nineteenth century. The capacity to organize themselves without waiting for any lead from Government or other classes, whether to protect wages, or to supply themselves with groceries, or to worship according to a restricted sectarian code, or to provide themselves with recreation, gave to the industrial classes a sense of responsibility and a capacity for self-government that does not seem equally developed elsewhere. In Britain the Socialist movement is not a product of an in-

telligentsia (though it attracts its members) but of the working-classes. When it comes into power it comes in as a Labour government and it has no difficulty in finding among its trade union officials ministers to conduct the country's affairs at home and in relation with the rest of the world. This widely diffused sense of responsibility and experience of public affairs has been a safeguard against revolution. Modern industry is often criticized for discouraging initiative and depressing the sense of responsibility in its workers; it does not seem to have had these effects in England.

Industrial society in this century has lost some of its distinctiveness. It is less localized. Regional and class differences have been blurred and weakened by the growth of wealth, the effects of which have been diffused by public education and the extension of social services. The dependence of many areas on export markets for full employment proved disastrous between the wars, and public policy has been directed to assisting the diversification of industry, which is the natural corrective. The country's industry has turned its gaze inwards and, as in the other countries of western Europe, is now primarily concerned with the home market. The comparative advantages—cheap coal, priority of invention, mere volume of output, overseas connexions—which made possible the export of two-fifths of the output of industry are no longer decisive; Britain's early start and enormous development of textiles, coal, and shipbuilding have become a liability. And two wars in a generation have interrupted the process, while enormously increasing the need, of readjustment and reorientation. The end of the war finds British industry moving, a little uncertainly, into a new phase.

Even in a time of peace it is an expensive and painful business to have to contract or close down an industry and find new outlets for labour and enterprise; when such a reorganization of not one but many industries is forced on a country at the same time as it has to divert industry and population back from the service of war to the needs of peace, it becomes a task of the same order of difficulty as mobilizing for war. The success with which the country did mobilize for war—expanding in three years aircraft manufacture into an industry as great as the whole of peace-time engineering, improvising the production of all the novel apparatus of modern war, meeting every demand of the Services and meeting them in time, and, besides providing four-fifths of its own armament

requirements, contributing largely to the requirements of Empire and Allies—is the best earnest of success in the peace-time task. There is no evidence in this war record of a loss of the qualities which made British industry—enterprise, ingenuity, adaptability, and perseverance under difficulties. Nor need we take a pessimistic view of the future so long as we are prepared to face the difficulties which two wars have created for industry. But these difficulties are real; and no mere political rearrangement or policy of monetary manipulation will suffice to overcome them. They arise from a profound dislocation of the balance between different industries and between each industry and its markets. After the first world-war the country was reluctant to face any drastic reorientation of its resources; the second world-war has accentuated the need. The outlook would invite pessimism only if a democracy were unable to face unpleasant facts.

VII

THE HUMAN SIDE OF INDUSTRY

By SIR GEORGE T. REID

I

IT is the purpose of this chapter to give some account of English industry from the human point of view. Nothing more than an impressionistic sketch is possible. Criticism is not a definite aim, but notice must necessarily be taken of some of the questions that arise when we consider not only where we have arrived but in what direction we are moving.

The term industry is of doubtful connotation. Who are the industrial workers? Leaving out those employed in agriculture, the total number of persons, between 14 and 65 years of age, insured against unemployment was, in 1939, in England alone, about i 2 | millions. Of this total, 6 millions were employed in manufacturing; about three-quarters of a million in transport; upwards of a million in building, & c ; 670,000 in mining; nearly 2 millions in the distributive trades (a striking figure); and about 2 millions also in a miscellaneous group that comprises public utilities, commerce, central and local government, entertainment, and hotel and similar services.

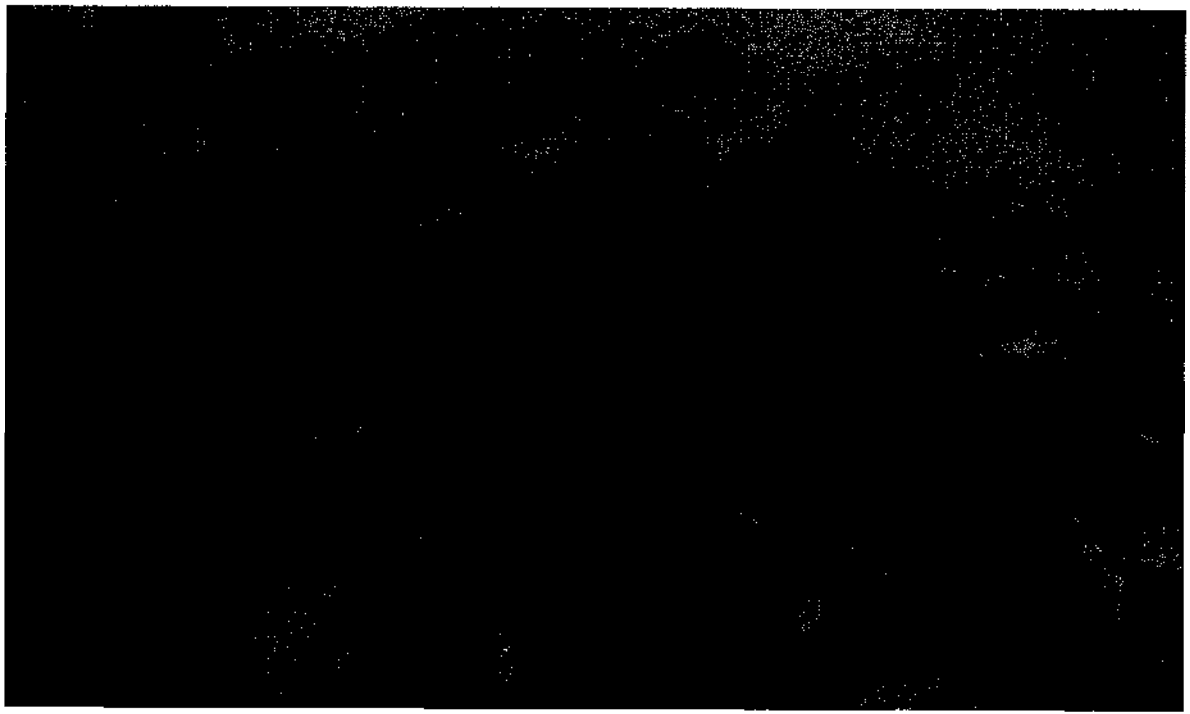
The inclusion of some of these classes in a survey of industry may well be disputed by anyone concerned with the niceties of definition. For present purposes, however, precision is not necessary, and it can be left to the reader to decide for himself to what extent the generalizations on which we venture must be modified for particular cases. In any event, statistical analysis has a very limited value, since no figures are available to show, within each industrial classification, the numbers employed on work of different kinds. We must be content to have manual workers of all degrees of skill lumped together with foremen, storekeepers, clerks, messengers, and other classes, each of which has its own peculiarities.

What *is* necessary is to recognize that generalizations covering so vast and heterogeneous a field must be made with proper reserve. At every point exceptions occur; and to those persons who are interested in measures of reform or improvement, exceptions may be more important than the rule.

In the past fifty years industry has been under pressures of various kinds to seek all possible means of increasing its efficiency. In each of the two wars greater production was demanded from a reduced labour force. Foreign competition has become keener. The demands of workers for more wages or shorter hours have been constant. In his endeavour to keep his costs down, the employer's first recourse has been to machinery and to a reorganization and subdivision of processes under which labour can be used to the greatest possible advantage. The automatic loom was the reply of the cotton industry to the competition of America and India in the coarser counts. The development of automatic signalling devices on railways was stimulated by the rise in signalmen's wages and the introduction of the eight-hour shift. The engineering, boot and shoe, clothing, and, indeed, most of the more important trades provide illustrations in abundance of the break away from traditional methods of manufacture, and the growth of a science of management, or mass production, under which the maximum economy of effort can be secured.

Among the effects of these developments is a change in the position of that type of skilled worker who is usually described as a craftsman, that is to say, the man systematically trained, usually through an apprenticeship, in work demanding a high degree of manual skill. So far as he is concerned the industrial changes that have taken place have had two results, one good and one bad. In the first place they have relieved him of much work that in itself was laborious and called for little or no skill, work which he would formerly have done for himself but which is now done for him by a machine, or which, by a subdivision of the whole process, is done for him by another, and less skilled, worker. The skilled cabinet-maker is none the less skilled because much heavy planing is done for him by machine; nor is a weaver less of a craftsman because it is now regarded as wasteful that he should carry his own web or sweep his own loom.

The work now done by machinery and formerly done by hand does not, however, consist solely of heavy and laborious processes. Machines, often of an automatic character, are used to do much work that otherwise could be done only by a trained and skilled hand. In this sense, modern developments are sometimes referred to as having 'robbed the craftsman of his skill', and it Is this aspect of machinery that is the most frequent subject of



THE POTTERIES: LOOKING TOWARDS BURSLEM FROM THE TOWER OF HANLEY PARISH CHURCH



A MODERN FACTORY PRODUCING DOLOMITE
Works of the Steetley Company in Nottinghamshire, drawn by HENRY RUSHBURY, R.A.

regretful comment. The craftsman has always been regarded as an admirable and even enviable type, drawing a satisfaction from his work akin to that of the artist; and his disappearance would leave English life much the poorer.

There is no good reason, fortunately, to fear that he will disappear. Most machinery that encroaches on the province of the craftsman is introduced only for processes that have become repetitive and monotonous, since it is of the nature of a machine that it can only repeat definite motions over and over again, with little variation. A machine cannot use judgement. While, therefore, ingenious machines may perform operations that formerly called for great skill of eye and hand, they are not, as a rule, brought into use until the articles produced are required in large numbers. Production on a large scale cannot, however, be achieved without preparation. There is an experimental or development stage during which the craftsman is indispensable; and, with an active and healthy industry ever meeting new demands and offering new products, the aggregate amount of work necessary before firms go into full production is very large.

While skill as displayed by the craftsman thus remains essential, it is not the only personal quality of high economic value. Indeed, any adequate definition of skill must cover much more than manual dexterity. Industry has long provided examples. To the casual observer the 'first hand' in charge of a Siemens furnace may appear an idle fellow during most of his working hours. He has, however, an accumulated experience and a trustworthiness that make him one of the highest-paid workers in industry. Lack of vigilance or error of judgement on his part may result in the whole charge of metal being spoiled. There is no doubt that the subdivision of processes, mechanical inventions, and developments in the art of organizing large-scale production have increased the demand for skill of this kind, which turns on qualities of mind and character rather than on technical virtuosity. The man who understands the construction and behaviour of a machine worth several thousand pounds and can confidently be left in charge of it, or the man on the factory floor with a gift of leadership who can keep a chain of processes moving smoothly along its ordered routine, may rank equally with, or above, the craftsman as regards remuneration, and may do so as regards the interest afforded by his work and the personal satisfaction to be derived from it.

It is also to be noted that as a result of industrial developments and new techniques there has been a wide diffusion of skill through a vast class of so-called semi-skilled workers. This class exhibits great variety. It includes, at one end, men whose skill differs from that of the craftsman only in that it is more highly specialized and has a restricted range; and, at the other extreme, men engaged on repetitive work at which they can become competent in the course of a few months. Thus the old antithesis between skilled man and labourer tends to break down; the stratification of industry becomes less sharply defined. This may be accounted a gain. On the other hand, the very developments that have led to the differentiation and reward of such qualities as intelligence, experience, and reliability, have also made their possession less essential generally. While it is doubtful whether there are many jobs in which these qualities count for nothing at all, it may be said that just as, in large-scale production, skill and accuracy tend to become a function of the machine, so intelligence and responsibility tend to become a specialized function of the foreman, overlooker, or charge hand, with the result that large and increasing numbers of workers are engaged in occupations that neither stimulate the worker's higher qualities nor excite his interest.

No doubt there are many workpeople—especially women, be it said—who are content with a routine task that, once mastered, leaves the mind free to occupy itself with its own thoughts or to subside into a state of comfortable indolence. Further, while work may in itself lack interest, many, and perhaps most, workpeople like the social atmosphere of a factory or shop. Daily association with one's fellow workers satisfies a fundamental need. Many people therefore are satisfied with work, however dull, so long as the working conditions are good, discipline reasonable, and personal relationships pleasant.

It will probably be agreed, however, that, in a healthy community, work should in itself provide interest. With a rising standard of education there is an increasing awareness of this fact on the part of the workers themselves; while, on the employer's side, it is recognized that unless the interest of the workpeople, individually and collectively, can be aroused and maintained, their full co-operation is impossible.

The problem, therefore, is to reconcile the efficient organization of industry with the right of the workers to be considered in their

working hours as intelligent beings and not as robots or mere producing units. This problem is one which is the special concern of the art or science of labour management—a modern development whose origin and history call for a brief review.

11

From the early years of the present century a few large firms have shown a special solicitude for their workpeople in the matter of working conditions, recreational facilities, and even housing accommodation. Their motives were largely, if not mainly, philanthropic; but they also took the view that it was a matter in which a liberal policy paid in the end better than a narrow commercialism; in short, that workers are more efficient if they are contented than if they are discontented. In the 1914-18 war there was general and official recognition of this fact. Vigorous steps were taken to promote workers' well-being; 'welfare' became a term well understood in industry, and what was virtually a new profession, that of welfare officer, grew up.

The early measures were concerned mainly with the introduction of healthy and pleasant factory conditions, special attention being given to such matters as heating and lighting, cloak-room and washing facilities, and the provision of dining-rooms and canteens. Extending beyond these concrete and definite aims, welfare followed the logic of its own argument by having regard to the worker's life outside factory hours. The matter of recreation was deemed to be important, and the energetic welfare officer in a large and up-to-date factory saw to it that sports clubs were established, concerts organized, and other steps taken whereby the workers could enjoy a full social life. The question of the worker's health was also considered. It was no longer thought sufficient that there should be simply a first-aid room to which accident cases could be taken. There should be a doctor to whom the workers should be encouraged to have recourse whatever their ailments. Medical examinations, both for those who were well and for those who were sick, were arranged at regular intervals. Finally, the welfare officer thought it within her (less frequently his) scope to trace unhappiness on the part of individual workers to its source and to offer advice, or exercise her good offices, with a view to adjusting domestic difficulties or other personal and private troubles.

Much good and disinterested work was done; but it is not

surprising that the attitude of English workers to these new developments should have been one of suspicion. Their doubts were largely due to an innate conservatism and general distrust of newfangled ideas. The very term 'welfare' had a patronizing sound and seemed vaguely to imply that the workers were not capable of looking after themselves. The good intentions of the employer in providing amenities in the factory were regarded rather sourly as an attempt to fob off demands for more wages by offering something cheaper and more showy. As for interference with or prying into their private lives, whether by way of medical services or otherwise, the reaction was definite and uncompromising. Business was business. The worker had undertaken to do certain work for a certain wage. It was a contract between equals; and, outside its terms, the worker was not willing to admit that the boss knew any better what was good for him than he knew himself.

Time and good sense have modified these attitudes. The term 'welfare' tends to be put into the background in favour of a more neutral expression such as labour management. Those professionally concerned in this new function have become increasingly aware of the pitfalls into which they may stumble, and increasingly respectful of the worker's viewpoint. On the other hand, the solid advantages of good factory conditions, going beyond the minimum standards prescribed by the Factory Acts, have manifested themselves; and the provision of even costly amenities has been shown by experience not to prejudice the worker's case when questions of wages and hours are at issue.

HI

While all parties have arrived at a good understanding regarding the material conditions of employment, there still remains the problem of how to make life worthwhile to those workers who, in the pursuit of ever larger and larger production, are employed on subdivided and mechanical processes that call for no skill and scarcely perceptible mental effort. The solution of this problem lies in the future; but some hope can be derived from the fact that where the individual worker is engaged in work that in itself is dull and unexacting, his imagination may nevertheless be stirred and his interest aroused by the joint achievement of himself and his fellow-workers. The war provided plenty of instances, as when a man whose job was that of a sweeper-up exclaimed at

some exhibition of war material, *We* made those tanks'. Further, apart from interest in the results, there is no doubt that teamwork in itself appeals to many persons so long as the members of the team are congenial and the swing and rhythm of the combined effort can be felt.

The need for providing the worker with an interest extending beyond his own immediate job is already felt by employers and labour managers. Indeed, it may be said to lie behind the establishment of Whitley councils and works councils. The former date from the end of the first Great War. They were intended to provide a means by which the employers and workers in an industry could discuss not only rates of wages and hours of labour but all matters affecting the fortunes of the industry in which they were jointly concerned. Their success in achieving what was hoped has varied from one industry to another. In some industries they have undoubtedly fostered a corporate sense; but they necessarily operate at too great a distance from the individual worker to have much, if any, influence on the interest which he himself takes in his work.

Works councils, joint production councils, and the like come nearer home, being on a factory basis. The recent war saw a considerable extension of them under government stimulus, and they were no doubt a useful part of the whole apparatus for ensuring maximum production to meet the nation's needs. It is doubtful, however, whether under peace-time conditions they will be effective in giving the individual worker that larger vision which will enable him to appreciate the importance of his own contribution.

There are those who speak with varying degrees of authority for the working classes who maintain that the problem here discussed is not capable of solution under a system of private ownership. It is argued that if the interest of the workman is to be aroused by the object or purpose of his work, that object must be something other than the profits of a firm. Whether the majority of workers do in fact hold this view, with all its political implications, is a matter about which opinion may differ; but if they do, it appears not to be inconsistent with a loyalty on the part of many workers to the firm by whom they are employed, a certain pride in its achievements, and often a personal regard for the employer. These sentiments may seldom express themselves positively, but their existence is disclosed by the vigour with

which a man will usually defend his firm against a third party who ventures to criticize it*

The working man is, in short, not a theorist in the sense that his normal attitude to life is influenced in any obvious way by the opinions to which he is prepared to give intellectual assent. He may denounce all employers, but that does not prevent his being on cordial terms with his own employer* This duality, or divergence of theory and practice, is no doubt confusing to the onlooker. The relations between employers and workers collectively may be strained, and the subject of bitter dispute; but it does not follow that, outside the immediate circle of negotiation, there is any disturbance of the feeling which the individual worker has towards his own firm. The converse is also true, to the embarrassment no doubt of Trade Union leaders; while collective peace reigns, the pot may boil over at a particular place.

Whether a factory or workshop is a 'happy ship' depends on a variety of conditions, many of which, such as reasonable discipline, spring naturally to mind and need no special mention. The personality of the employer is all-important. Two things on his part are essential. The first is invariably straight dealing and a respect for the workers as individuals and citizens. The second is efficiency: he must have a deserved reputation for 'knowing his job'. No easy familiarity with the workpeople or open-handed generosity, useful as these may be as auxiliary qualities, will compensate for acts of injustice or unfairness on his own part or on the part of those to whom he delegates authority. Nor will he gain the respect and loyalty of the workers if the organization of the factory for which he is responsible is defective, if there are avoidable interruptions in the flow of work, or if in any other respect the workers are given ground for feeling that their time and energies are not used to good purpose.

Though the above are the qualities of the good employer which may be regarded as indispensable, they may be fortified by others. An employer may do much to establish himself with his workpeople by his manner of living and conduct outside as well as inside the works. The ordinary workman shows no resentment at the boss living as his position entitles him to do. He is, however, repelled by ostentatious display, and the wise employer comes to the works in a small car rather than a large one. The worker does not expect those who direct his working life necessarily to keep the same hours as he works himself. But he is

quick to note evidence of slackness. All—workers, managerial staff, and employer—are in the concern together; and while life is hard for some, it should not be too obviously easy for others.

IV

On no reasonable view of life can recreation be regarded as providing a satisfaction that is an adequate substitute for that which should be derived from work. True, there are cases where leisure-time interests are of so compelling a kind that paid work becomes merely and excusably a means to an end. The young man pursuing whole-heartedly a course of study which itself may open out a new career, or the man or woman whose life is bound up with some form of social work, are admirable types. They do not exist, however, in such numbers as to disturb the general picture; nor should they obscure the fact that, for most people, interest in their work is an essential condition of the good life. This is not to underrate the importance of leisure. A man does not become a different being in the process of clocking-on and clocking-off.

At the beginning of the century the working week in industry usually consisted of 52 or 54 hours. On the outbreak of war, in 1939, hours had been reduced to 48 and, in many cases, to 44. Formerly, work started as a rule at 7 in the morning: now it seldom begins before 8. The hour saved is spent in bed and is no doubt well spent. The worker is also enabled to start the day with an adequate meal. In most households, especially those with children, it was not convenient to prepare the family breakfast so early as to enable the worker setting out at 6.30 or 6.45 to share it. Too often he gulped his tea standing up and started off with his 'piece' in his hand. One breakfast for the household is now possible.

With a normal working week the worker has free evenings from 5 or 6 o'clock, and week-ends from midday on Saturday. He thus has a good many waking hours to dispose of as he will. Without a detailed inquiry, the difficulties of which are obvious, it would be impossible to give a picture of the way in which leisure is spent that would be statistically accurate in its proportions. Probably as regards most of the older or married men, leisure looks after itself, in the sense that no purpose is deliberately or consciously pursued. Satisfaction is derived from the society of wife and family, reading the newspaper, and 'listening-in'. Boredom is averted by

visits to the cinema, or possibly the public-house. These are the staple means of passing the time; but beyond them is a great variety of interests each of which has its own following. Principal among these is 'sport'. Apart from bowls, which has a great popularity, especially in the north, outdoor games are seldom played except by the young; and interest in sport usually consists in following the fortunes of particular football teams, and watching professional matches on Saturday afternoons. Frequently the term 'sport* is merely a synonym for betting, the opportunities for which have been much enlarged in recent years, horse-racing now having serious rivals in football pools and dog-racing. The popularity of betting among working-class people still awaits adequate explanation on psychological or other grounds.

Gardening makes a wide appeal to working-class as to other Englishmen. In war-time, the emphasis has been on the growing of vegetables, and the demand for allotments has been remarkable. In normal times, however, it is doubtful whether the practical motive is the dominant one. Love of flowers is widespread, and if they cannot be grown, they will be bought. Few working-class housewives do not include a bunch of flowers in their Saturday marketing; and no war measure met with greater resentment than the attempt—no doubt necessary in the national interest—to limit the supply of flowers by forbidding their transport by rail.

The place of music in the range of working-class interests is more difficult to describe. It is said that in any large industrial establishment the two societies that are easiest to set going are, first, a gardening club and, second, a Prize Band. There is evidence too that, with a little stimulation, interest in choral or four-part singing can be aroused; in some industrial areas, particularly in Lancashire and Yorkshire, male-voice choirs flourish. Yet it is doubtful whether the English working classes are naturally musical as are, say, the Welsh. They like music, usually of a cheerful or a sentimental kind, but *in* general are not willing to take much trouble about it. Towards the end of the last century and at the beginning of this the piano was popular, and it was the ambition of most working-class families to possess one. It has given way to the gramophone, and this in turn has yielded to the wireless which does not even involve winding up. This is not, however, to suggest that music in its higher forms is without its working-class devotees: the size and appreciativeness of the

Conditions,

On which Mr. GIBBARD consents to let GROUND for GARDENS, in *Church Field,* in the Parish of *Sharnbrooh.*

I. EACH **Allotment shall be let for one Year only; namely, from** the *tenth of October,* 1830, to the *eleventh of October,* **1831, at which time possession shall be given up, without any previous Notice being required.**

II. **The Rent shall be paid half-yearly to Mr. GIBBARD'S Agent, Mr.** *George Church;* namely, on the *sixth* of *April* and **the *eleventh* of *October,* in each Year.**

III. The Straw, on being converted into Manure, shall be returned to the Land, and at least Load of Manure shall be laid on each Allotment in every Year.

IV. No Occupier shall underlet his Allotment.

V. No Occupier shall be allowed to trespass upon another's Land in going to and from his own Allotment.

VI. Every Occupier will be expected to attend some Place of public Worship at least once on every Sunday, and should he neglect to do so without sufficient cause, will be deprived of his Land.

VII. The Land shall be cultivated by each Occupier by Spade Husbandry only.

VIII. **Any Occupier guilty of dishonesty, or theft, will be deprived of his Land.**

IX. If any Occupier neglects *to* manage his Land properly, he will be deprived of *iT.*

JOHN GIBBARD, *Esq. of Sharnbrooh, in the County of Bedford, agrees to let to of the said Place, of Land, in Church Field, at the yearly Rent of and the said agrees to take and rent the same on the above Conditions, to which the said Parties have hereby set their Hands this Day of* ***in the* Year 1831.**

WEBB. HUNTER. &c BEDFORD,

CONDITIONS GOVERNING ALLOTMENTS IN THE THIRTIES

audience at a recital or symphony concert in an industrial town sufficiently demonstrate the contrary.

The extent to which working men and women devote time and energy to other pursuits which have a cultural value depends mainly on local circumstances. Where some person or persons possess the requisite enthusiasm and organizing ability, dramatic societies flourish to an extent that indicates the existence of an interest in the drama that might well be developed more widely.

Adult education requires special and more lengthy consideration. There have always been those among the working and labouring classes who have had a desire for learning and the instincts of scholarship. In the nineteenth century some organized provision was made to meet and to stimulate the demand for instruction, partly by voluntary effort, as in the case of the mechanics' institutes, and partly through the action of the education authorities in establishing night-schools. Later came the adult school, with its Sunday-morning classes in secular subjects, and, within the past fifty years, the Workers' Educational Association. To-day, facilities for pursuing advanced educational courses in the evenings are within the reach of most town-dwellers.

In 1938-9 the total number of evening students attending classes at evening institutes and colleges provided by local education authorities was over a million, of whom, however, about half a million were in the age range of fourteen to twenty-one years. The subjects studied included those of general educational as well as those of vocational interest. Physical-training classes and classes in one or other of the domestic arts were especially popular, no doubt chiefly among the younger students. In the same year the students attending classes of all kinds arranged by the Workers' Educational Association numbered 54,000, of whom about 12,000 followed courses of study extending over a period of three years. These students were mainly adults, and the subjects studied were all of a general cultural character, English literature predominating. While the exact proportion cannot be given, it is necessary to bear in mind that many of the students at both the W.E.A. and the local authority classes consist of teachers, clerks, and others who would not ordinarily be described as artisan or working class.

Whether these figures are regarded as satisfactory or not, it must be remembered that the importance of adult education is not to be estimated solely by the numbers participating. It is

among adult students that we find those who, as officials of Trade Unions and other working-class organizations, have assumed the duties of leadership, as well as those who in their social contacts play, consciously or unconsciously, a part in forming and directing working-class opinion. There is, of course, nothing remarkable in the fact that workers who in various walks of life become outstanding are largely identical with those who avail themselves of the educational opportunities open to them: the man who after a full day's work pursues a course of serious study has already given evidence of qualities above the average. But it is worth noting that in 1938 over 2,300 W.E.A. students were serving on public bodies, such as county and borough councils, and that in the House of Commons elected in 1945 there were eighty men who were, or had been, W.E.A. students or tutors.

In the nineteenth century, the typical student at the mechanics' institute who was doing something more than making good obvious defects in his elementary education was interested in science and the technology of his own trade. Such studies are still of great importance in adult education. The early days of the W.E.A. showed, however, that the centre of gravity had shifted from the scientific and technical to subjects of a political or social interest, the great demand being for classes in economics and economic history. Such subjects remain popular; but there has been a still further broadening of interest, so that first place must now be given to such studies as literature, general history, and various branches of philosophy.

Notwithstanding the progress of adult education the fact remains that most people are content to spend their spare time in ways that do not call for much mental effort. There are no grounds for supposing, however, that there has been a falling away from some earlier standard. Such change as has occurred is probably in the right direction: drunkenness has declined and the more brutal sports have lost favour. Moreover, there are signs that the rising standard of general education and the improvement in physical health and vigour are having their effect in promoting a more positive attitude to leisure-time opportunities. The popularity of women's institutes and the movement towards the establishment of community centres point to an increasing desire for the means of exercising both the mind and the social instincts. The importance of these trends needs no emphasis. So long as work is sufficiently full of interest, recreation and relaxation may be

regarded as almost synonymous terms. The problem of making work interesting for all has, however, not yet been solved. Modern methods of production require many men and women to spend their days on work that leaves the higher faculties dormant; and it is essential in their case that leisure shall be used in ways that will save such faculties from decay.

As regards younger workers, amusement and recreation take their distinctive forms. Dancing, for which commercial enterprise has made wide provision, holds a high place and vies with the cinema as a regular diversion. Up to the time of marriage there is among workers of both sexes an enthusiasm for physical exercise of one form or another which has probably never been exceeded, in this country, in any former age. Organized games, especially football for the young men and lawn tennis for both sexes, account for large numbers. Generally speaking, local authorities and other bodies who are in a position to provide facilities have shown an awareness of the demand for them, though for financial and physical reasons they are still far from adequate. The lifting in most places of a formal ban on Sunday play and a marked modification of public prejudice against it have extended the opportunities for recreation of this kind.

For large numbers of young men and women—especially those living in the more central parts of large cities—games requiring definitely allocated open spaces are virtually impossible. The desire for fresh air, exercise, and good fellowship is not thereby frustrated. Before the war, bicycles, new or second-hand, were within most workers' means; and anybody inclined to question the sturdiness of modern youth might have had his doubts removed by witnessing the Sunday morning procession of cyclists, in fortuitous groups or organized in clubs, along roads leading out of the towns. There has also developed in the last twenty years or so an enthusiasm for walking across country. 'Hiking[5], as the pastime is called when certain subtle conventions of dress are observed, has been much aided by the work of voluntary bodies jealous to preserve rural amenities, such as the Footpaths Preservation Society, and also by the Youth Hostels Association which has established a chain of hostels, austere but cheap, which make excursions extending overnight possible for persons of small means.

Between the two wars many persons undoubtedly took a poor view of the younger generation of workers. Concern was expressed at its apparent frivolity and indifference. The spread of

LEWES
MECHANICS INSTITUTION

AT a MEETING held in pursuance of a Public Notice, at the STAR INN, on Wednesday, the Second of November, 1825,

M. RICARDO, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

IT WAS RESOLVED,

1st.—That as Knowledge is the basis of civiliza tion, and education is the process by which it is attained, it seems desirable to this meeting, that the working classes of our countrymen, who constitute so large and so important a part of the population of these kingdoms, should partake, as far as possible, of those advantages which education is capable of conferring.

2d.—That the establishment of Institutions for the instruction of MECHANICS, at a cheap rate, in the *principles of the arts they practise,* as well as in all other branches of knowledge useful to them, appears to be a sure and effectual mode of *improving their habits and conditions,* and of adding to the resources and prosperity of the country.

3d.—That an Institution shall therefore be formed in this Town, for the use of the Inhabitants of Lewes, Cliffe, Southover, and their Vicinity, and especially for the use of the Working Classes ;—and that it shall be named the LEWES MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

4th.—That the leading objects of the Institution shall be, the formation of a *Library* of useful Books; the collection of *Models,* Machines, Apparatus, *Specimens,* &c.; the establishment of *Uctures* in different branches of the Arts and Scirnces ; and the attainment of useful knowledge by means of *select Classes.*—No Lectures on Religious or Political subjects shall be permitted

5th.—That the Institution shall be chiefly supported and managed by the Mechanics themselves: and that the Subscriptions shall be 2s. per quarter for those above the age of 21 years, and Is. Od. for those under that age; which payments shall be made in advance.

Oth.—That the friends of knowledge and implement, are hereby *invited to contribute* towards the accomplishment of all the above-mentioned purposes, by donations of *money, books, specimens,* and *apparatus,*

7th.—That the direction of the Institution shall be vested in a *President,* two *Vice Presidents,* a *Treasurer,* and two *Secretaries,* together with 18 other Members, who shall form a *Committee of Management*; that two-thirds of the Committee shall consist of Mechanics ; and that one-third of the Committee shall be renewed annually.

8th,—That the following persons, Messrs. Edward Acton, William Acton, John Bates, Henry Blackmail, Stephen Breeds, Henry Browne, William Button, William Davey, John Dudeney, Philip Francis, Rickman Godlee, Edward Goldsmith, John Green, John Griffiths, Nathan Hammond, T. W. Horsfield, Jeremiah Larwell, Joshua Mantell, Selvin Martin, John W. Woollgar, and Win. Wright be a Provisional Committee, for the purfose of framing Laws for the government of the Institution, consistently with the foregoing resolutions, and that such laws shall be submitted to the consideration of a General Meeting, to be holden at this place on Monday, 14th November, which Meeting shall consist of those only, whose Names and Subscriptions have been previously received.

9th.— That persons desirous of becoming Members shall pay their first quarterly Subscription to Mr. John Dudeney, St. John's-street; and that *Books be nom opened,* and left at the Banks, to receive *contributions* from such persons as are *disposed to patronize* the Institution.

10th.—That the thanks of this Meeting are given to those gentlemen who have come from a distance to give their countenance and support to the object for which it was convened.

Uth.—That these Resolutions shall be published under the direction of the Committee.

M. RICARDO, *Chairman.*

M. Ricardo, having left the Chair—Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of this Meeting are given to him, for the ability and impartiality displayed in conducting the business of the evening.

***** The Persons to whom the Printed Copi,,s of these Resolutions are delivered, are requested to give them every publicity in their power.**

LEWES : PRINTED BY W. LEE.

THE FOUNDATION OF AN EARLY MECHANICS INSTITUTE

education and the vast amount of work that was put into youth clubs and youth organizations of various kinds were thought not to be having proportional effect. But it was like watching the hands of a clock. Change though not visible at the time later became noticeable. The young men and young women recruited in the recent war included a number, disquietingly large, who appeared either to have escaped a normal schooling altogether or to have gained no benefit from it. Yet, notwithstanding such cases, there is no doubt in the minds of those who can make comparison between this war and the last that in the interval a marked improvement in educational level, intelligence, and social behaviour has taken place.

The ever-increasing opportunities of secondary and even university education which are available to boys and girls of promise have had their effect on working-class family life. The outlook of the parent as well as the child is enlarged. Indeed, however equalitarian a man may be in theory, he is usually glad if his son can become something better than he is himself. There is no resentment if, as the result of scholarships and extended education, a son or daughter adopts some calling of professional or managerial status. On the contrary, the father will probably be moved to do his best to do credit to such a son and to make a home to which his son's friends can be invited without embarrassment.

This tendency of life and outlook in working-class families to become wider and more varied has been strengthened by the greater choice of employments open to boys and girls leaving school. It is no longer assumed without question that a lad will follow the same employment as his father or be taken on at the same factory or pit. This break-up of the old tradition of 'like father, like son* is due in part to the increased interest of educational authorities and others in vocational guidance; and probably still more to improved means of transport which have extended the area within which a lad or girl can be employed while continuing to live at home. More fundamental is the wider appreciation of certain economic facts, and the greater ability of parents to take a detached view of the advantages and disadvantages of their own trades.

The standard of living of the English worker has advanced steadily during the past fifty years, not only in the extent of leisure and the opportunities of recreation, but in other respects also, such as food, clothing, household furnishing and equipment, and

the general amenities of life. The great improvement that has taken place has been made possible mainly by mechanization and those other changes in industrial technique to which reference has already been made; in other words, by the greater productiveness of industry. The full significance of this is not always appreciated. There appears to be a too widely held view that the standard of life will continue to rise as it has done in the past, and will indeed do so notwithstanding a further shortening of working hours. This is a dangerous assumption which it is the duty of the men's leaders to correct. Inventive genius will not, it is true, come to a sudden end; but there are good grounds for believing that in many directions the impressive developments that have already taken place in industry leave but little possibility for further expansion of a like kind in the foreseeable future. The question whether industry can be made still more productive, and support higher standards of living, may depend much less on the ingenuity and enterprise of employers, managers, and technicians, than on the willingness of the workman himself to work harder and better.

V

Generalizations about the English worker are made difficult by the fact that the English worker possesses English characteristics. He is not given to displays of emotion, and keeps his thoughts to himself. He has a rooted dread of being thought guilty of affectation. What his view of life and affairs is can by no means always be gathered from those who speak publicly on his behalf. Even Trade Union leaders and others in close contact with him have their shocks of surprise. Conclusions based on his observed conduct may, by some turn of events that necessitates a disclosure of his real views, be proved to be wholly mistaken. Hence one hesitates to say that he is concerned with little beyond his own affairs. His willingness to accept what is, and to make the best of it, may prove, and occasionally does prove, to be an illusion. The fact has to be faced, however, that even as regards his own organizations, he is, as a rule, content to leave the conduct of affairs to others whose 'job' it is. The evidence seems to be that he is, if anything, more disinclined than formerly to attend the branch meetings of his Trade Union. This may be partly the result of his disinclination to stand up to those who are verbally more facile. While in his heart he may have a contempt for the

'gift o' the gab', he is sensitive to the publicity and ridicule to which he may be exposed if he challenges it. There has also to be taken into account the fact that, through amalgamations and otherwise, Trade Unions tend to become larger and larger, so that the seat of control becomes more and more remote from the individual member, who feels, as does the individual citizen with respect to government, that his own voice and opinion count for very little. The lack of any outward show of enthusiasm, and even an attitude of some cynicism, on the part of the trade unionist, are not inconsistent with a deeply held belief in certain fundamental principles for which the Unions stand, a belief which, if challenged, would be defended with the utmost doggedness. The immediate danger, however, is that in his perfectly natural desire for leadership he may turn to the wrong people and lose his sense of solidarity with union membership as a whole. Many an 'unconstitutional* strike seems capable of explanation on this ground.

The other great working-class movement, the retail Co-operative Society, is still organized on a local basis and is exempt from many of the disruptive tendencies that exhibit themselves in the great national Trade Unions. In 1939 there were 1,077 autonomous Retail Distributive Societies with an aggregate membership of 8£ millions. The steady growth of the movement has been remarkable. In the year 1900 the total sales by retail societies amounted to £50 millions. In the year 1939 they amounted to £272 millions. This increase is mainly due to increase in membership and not to increase in amount spent per member. It is doubtful whether this growth and strength can be wholly accounted for by the fact that, for the consumer, trade with the Co-operative Society is good business. In one typical Lancashire town with a total population of 40,000 persons, the Co-operative Society has 13,000 members. While it is true that the ordinary member is content to leave the day-to-day affairs to the Committee, and displays no great interest except in the declaration of the 'dividend', there are grounds for the belief that in many places, especially perhaps in Lancashire, there is, in addition to the desire to get value for money, a deeply felt loyalty to and affection for the 'Co-op* as a working-class enterprise, and a recognition of the ideals that inspired its founders.

The task of penetrating the reserves of the English workman and discovering the mainsprings of his motives and his attitude to life is thus a difficult one. Fifty years ago one might confidently

TO THE JOURNEYMEN

Filesmiths.

FELLOW WORKMEN,

The undisturbed tranquility that our Trade has experienced for the last three years is no doubt contemplated with pleasure by all who have an interest in our extensive and we may add (without egotism) important body, still the great number of Apprentices which has been taken in the Trade, threatens a speedy annihilation of the peace and order that we have of late enjoyed; it therefore becomes a duty which every man owes to himself, his family, and his employer, to adopt such measures as are best calculated to establish on a firm basis the welfare and prosperity of the Trade. With a view of obviating the unpleasant circumstances which necessarily accrue from the previous regulation of taking Apprentices, the following Resolution was passed at a very numerous General Meeting, March 20th:—viz.

RESOLVED,—that no person under 25 yean of sge shall be onlitled to lake an Apprentice, nor shall any person, having an Apprentice or Son working at the Trade, be entitled to a second Apprentice until such Son or Apprentice be 20 years of age; and in no case shall Journeymen be entitled to the privilege of taking* Apprentices without the consent of the Committee, which cannot bo granted to any person in arrears of Contribution.

It is a well-attested fact that those bodies of Mechanics who for intelligence and respectability rank highest in the scale of society, invariably regulate the *supply* of labour to the *demand;* and it is from a desire of profiting by their example that the Committee of the Journeymen Filesmiths recommend the adoption of similar measures, hoping at the same time to escape the censure of those who so vehemently declaim against the protective system of Trades' Unions, the File Trade having by sad experience proved beyond a doubt the fallacy of their doctrine. The Committee therefore earnestly request that all well-wishers to the Trade will not fail to make known any infraction of the above resolution, as it will give them an opportunity of correcting any abuses that may exist. More especially do they recommend a strict observance of the Rules generally, which will eventually enable the Journeymen Filesmiths to assume that position in society that all sober and industrious Mechanics have a right to enjoy.

By Order of the Committee.

N.B.—General Meetings held the Third Wednesday in every month for the transaction of Business.

JUNE 20th, 1839

JOHN SMITH, PRINTER, 251, ROCKINGHAMSTREKT, SHEFFIELD

THE HANDBILL OF A LOCAL TRADE UNION IN SHEFFIELD IN 1839

have said that religion was a potent influence. It would indeed hardly have been possible to over-estimate the importance of church and chapel. To-day, while many of the older Trade Union leaders, men of great stability and integrity, have an active religious life as lay preachers, Sunday-school superintendents, and the like, working-class people as a whole have not been exempt from the doubts and questionings of the age, and the influence of organized religion has declined.

There has been no falling away from the standards of personal conduct established by the Christian tradition. Indeed, in some respects there has been improvement. As already remarked, brutal sports have lost much of their following, and some of the grosser forms of conduct have become less common. Whether Christian morality can be sustained indefinitely without Christian theology is not a question to be discussed here. It may be observed, however, that in matters of theology the working man—with exceptions, of course—is not exacting. Given a spiritual guide of exemplary life who understands working-class people and is prepared to champion their point of view, the ordinary workman is not likely to hold aloof because of subtleties of doctrine. Whether a religious revival which will deeply affect the working classes will take place or not may well depend upon whether the Churches produce in sufficient numbers priests and ministers of this type.

Meanwhile there is a gap to be filled; and no observer can but feel disquiet at the apparent lack of any philosophy which, implanted in the mind and heart of the worker, will determine and regulate his life as a social being. Too frequently in recent times workers have taken action which seems inspired only by a narrow sectional interest and the pursuit of gain to be achieved at no matter what cost to the community. Some such episodes may be explained by their willingness on occasions to listen to men whose motives are dark, as people may be led into war by rulers who are unworthy of them. But such an explanation does not seem fully adequate. English character being what it is, it is difficult to believe that the workers would not make a stand on principle, if the principle were there. In these matters, however, the working classes do not differ from other sections of the population, but share the common need and desire of mankind for a faith, in the inspiration of which life may be lived for other than mercenary and selfish ends.

VIII

COMMERCE AND FINANCE

By SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER

I

THIS is a baffling moment in which to write on English 'business' character. For to-day we stand precariously poised between a past which is gone and a future full of new and unknown problems. What shall we make of this future ? Will it show England maintaining the qualities and the skill to master circumstances ? Or will it reveal that past achievements were due not so much to national characteristics as to material environment and fortunate chance—to the insular freedom from outside disturbance which gave us a continuity unknown to other countries, and to the chance by which we got our start in the industrial revolution ?

Some may judge that there are already signs of fundamental change in the traditional English character. They may see these in the spectacle of a nation of individualistic improvisers turning to programmes for a centrally planned economy, in the apparent sacrifice of the English faith in solvency to new ideas of 'unbalanced budgets', or in the acquiescent surrender of the City—the historic anti-totalitarian resister of dictatorship—to control by a nationalized Bank of England. This chapter rejects any such judgement. It is in no sense an obituary notice. It views the story as one of continuous adaptation to changing conditions. It is influenced too by the conception that action in the field of 'business' cannot be judged in isolation, but must be seen in the setting of surrounding circumstances and as one of many activities the combined exercise of which expresses the characters of men and nations.

This approach determines the chapter's form. English behaviour in commerce and finance is sketched against the changing background of history. So viewed, the story falls into a prelude and three phases. The first phase culminates in the 'English Era', the century from 1815 to 1914 when England attained leadership and set the mark of her own cosmopolitan mercantile conception upon the world. The second covers the uneasy period between the two world wars. And the third is the unknown

future into which we are just stepping. The story is throughout confused by the English capacity for illogical compromise and apparent inconsistency. It reveals ability to vary methods without altering essential purposes and to combine radical change of substance with conservative retention of outward form. 'Plus 9a change plus c'est Ia meme chose* may be true of it, but also 'plus 9a parait Ia meme chose plus ca change'. Optimistically we may see in this the capacity for true progress, if that is conceived as 'the art to preserve order amid change and change amid order'. But this is anticipating conclusions. Let us turn to the story.

il

It is not easy to know where to begin. There is continuity throughout. What fits in best with our pattern is to accept Lord Keynes's view[1] that the modern age opened with the accumulation of capital in the sixteenth century and that the start of British foreign investment can be traced to 1580, when Drake brought back the spoils of the *Golden Hind,* and helped Queen Elizabeth —herself a considerable shareholder in the expedition—to clear £40,000, after balancing her budget and paying off all England's foreign debt.

But the chance offered by Drake's Spanish treasure did not find the English unprepared. In early days, it is true, they had left 'finance' to others—to Jews (up to 1290) and to Lombards. But, during the fourteenth century, the woollen trade developed. Englishmen made great profits from it, using them to found new families or make old ones prosperous. The fortunes of the De Ia Poles (the Earls of Suffolk), and the Pulteneys (after the Earls of Bath), were made in this way. In these early days the gentry began to apprentice their younger sons to trade, so that England 'avoided the sharp division between a rigid caste of nobles and an unprivileged bourgeoisie'. There can be traced too a shifting of emphasis from farming and the evolution of a financial mechanism for handling industry and trade. A spirit of adventure, a capacity to see and profit by opportunity, an urge among all classes to have a share in business, the beginnings of skill in its technique—all these were there when the curtain went up on the Elizabethan scene.

How was that scene then set?

[1] **Keynes,** ***Essays in Persuasion.***

Let us look back to the city of London on a morning soon after Drake sailed home with the *Golden Hind.* Here is the picture at the opening of Nicolas Haughton's contemporary play *Englishmen for my Money* (a good title which might well have served for this chapter). Pisaro, a foreign merchant in London, soliloquizes:

> How smugge this gray-eyd Morning seems to bee,
> A pleasant sight; but yet more pleasure have I
> To thinke upon this moystning Southwest Winde
> That drives my laden ships from fertile Spaine;
> But come what will, no Winde can come amisse,
> For two and thirty Windes that rules the Seas
> And blows about this ayerie Region;
> Thirty two shippes have I to equal them:

He goes on to tell how he was, 'by birth a Portingale who, driven by Western winds on English shore, heere liking of the soyle' married and settled down to 'wax rich by the sweete loude Trade of Usurie, letting for interest and on mortgages'. In the play three Englishmen who have mortgaged their lands to Pisaro succeed in marrying his three daughters in spite of his plans to foreclose on them and marry the girls to a Frenchman, an Italian, and a Dutchman. This sketch, trivial though it is, conjures up a clear picture of our opening scene, the picture of an England—the 'ayerie Region' to which winds from all quarters can bring ships —affording a soil on which foreign merchants like to settle, with Englishmen to marry their rich daughters in spite of clever tricks and foreign rivals; an England not afraid to let these foreigners use their brains to help make her a great business centre; an England herself 'looking out over the oceans of the world where romance and wealth were to be won by adventurous youth trading andfighting along newly discovered shores', a 'young light-hearted England, cured at last of the Plantagenet itch to conquer France', becoming 'conscious of herself as an island with an ocean destiny'.[1]

From these beginnings the story moves forward on an expanding course till 1914, when England stood out as the undisputed financial leader of the world. What did this leadership signify? What were the stages passed along the road from Elizabethan days? What manner of men accomplished the task? What were the impelling forces? What were the methods and technique? It is in answers to such questions that we must seek to build our conception of English character.

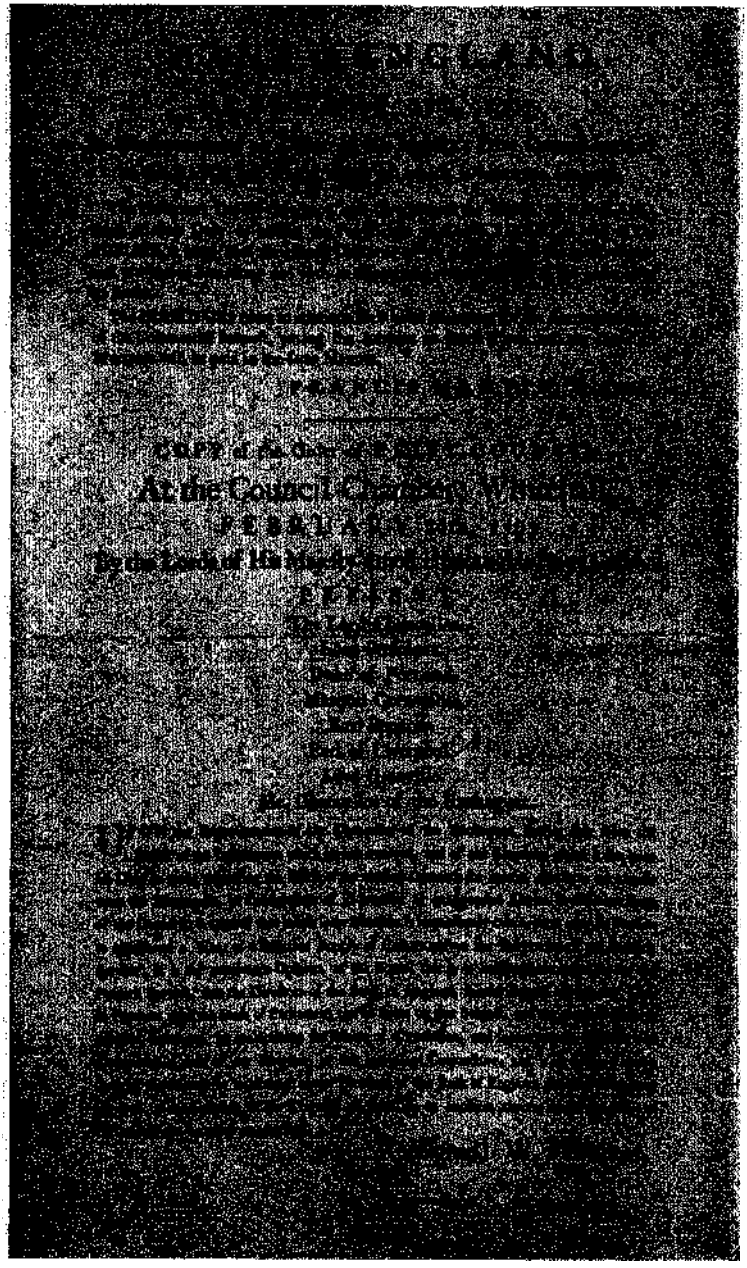
[1] **Trevelyan,** ***English Social History,***

We may start with the first question.

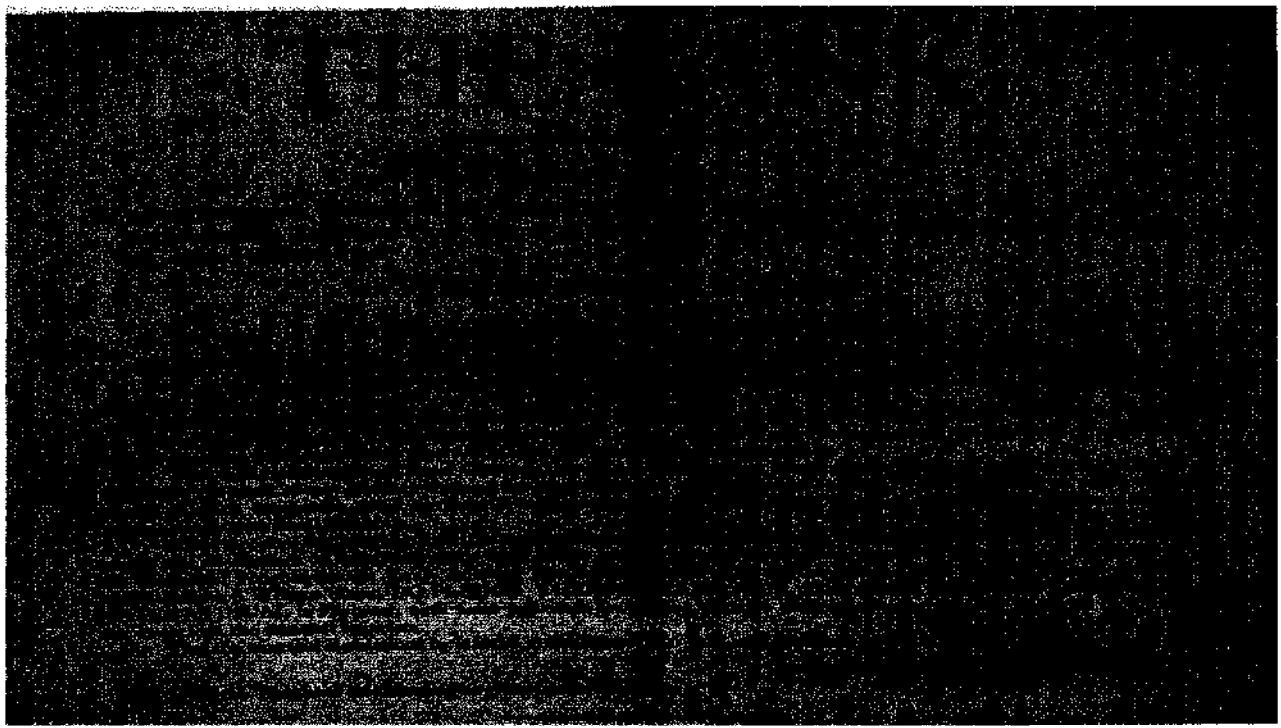
London in 1914 was the principal source of external loans for foreign countries, and provided short-term credit for financing the trade not only of England but also between one foreign country and another. London was the central world market for the precious metals, and, with other English towns like Liverpool, for many important commodities. London was the principal clearing-house for international payments and the deposit banker to the world.

Many factors combined to make this possible. England's predominance in overseas trade meant that London firms, skilled in handling such trade, could place their technique at the service of foreigners. England had the most old-established gold currency in the world; her paper currency had always been freely convertible to gold since 1821; and London was the only centre where gold could be obtained and exported without any restriction. The banking system had attained a high measure of stability. The fact that no major English deposit bank had stopped payment since 1857 could be contrasted with shocks to confidence in other countries, such as the general suspension of the United States banks in 1907. Foreign loans were readily floated without any condition as to where the proceeds should be spent, and London had the broadest market in the world for international securities. The discount market too, with its flexibility and skill, provided a great attraction. The London accepting-houses had built up a personal knowledge and experience which enabled them to assess risks closely and thus to give accommodation on the cheapest possible terms. Lastly, the relations between the discount market, the deposit banks, and the Bank of England enabled large transactions to be handled with little disturbance to rates.

And behind all these technical advantages was the high standard of stability and integrity. Adventurers, of course, there were, but among the established names a code prevailed which gave a sure foundation for confidence. Even the notable crises in the nineteenth century had served to increase this confidence. It was remembered how, in the two classic cases, the members of the Gurney and Baring families had been ready to put their private property at the disposal of their firm's creditors far beyond their legal claims, while the Baring crisis had revealed something even more significant—that the 'City* as a whole recognized that it could not afford to let one of its prominent members fail. The



THE MONETARY CRISIS OF 1797



A pledge of confidence to meet a run on Messrs. John and William Shore's Bank of Sheffield. The names of signatories are printed below on the broadside

'City', in short, provided skill, freedom, and safety, and was a good centre for all the world's business. These things explain why London became the money capital of the world.

But we must trace the story of how this position was reached. In this, a key point is that, after the eighteenth century, England was the country whose foreign investments were most vitally connected with the productive system. In 1914 her overseas holdings were over £4,000 millions. Twenty per cent, of the British national income came from abroad, and in good years the same proportion was annually reinvested. Tour billion pounds invested beyond the seas were the guarantee, with the command of those seas, that in an emergency an industrial population of fifty millions would be fed.'[1]

There is much to be learned from studying the stages in the progress to this position. It had been a long march from the Elizabethan beginnings, with a marked quickening of the pace after 1815. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Dutch still led in commerce and finance, while England was a debtor country relying much on foreign capital.[2] England's opportunity came with the eighteenth-century wars and revolutions—Holland dropping from her place with the surrender of most of her east-India possessions, her shipping losses, and the failure of the Bank of Amsterdam in 1796—England helped forward by her unique internal stability. But the opportunity does not explain the taking of it. That rested on the native character expressing itself in the urge for 'expansion' so well described by Seeley. England had been gazing outwards over the oceans of the world ever since the Elizabethan days. An occasional milestone stands out clearly as the road was traversed. 'You would not know your country again,' wrote Horace Walpole after the Seven Years War, 'you left it a private little island living on its means. You would find it the capital of the world.'[3] But it was after Waterloo that the decisive choice was made which fixed the shape of England's

[1] **Jenks, *The Migration of British Capital***

[2] **England relied chiefly after the time of William I I I on borrowings from Holland. In 1737 Dutch holdings of the National Debt were said to be £10 millions, while in 1776 an estimate attributed to Lord North puts them at £59 millions, or three-sevenths of the total debt (Wilson, *Anglo-Dutch Commerce and Finance in the 18th Century).* Dutchmen also held Bank and East India Company stock, and normally advanced considerable amounts to English merchants and gentry on the security of consols and real property.**

[3] **Letter to Sir Horace Mann *in* Florence, quoted *in* Trevelyan's *Life of Charles James Fox.***

economy as we knew it in 1914. The needs for increased production to carry the additional burden of war had then, just as in our later world wars, forced the growth of new methods in manufacture, agriculture, and finance. This productive capacity had, when peace came, to seek new outlets, and they were found in foreign markets. It has been argued that there was an alternative, and theoretically this is true. Enterprise might instead have turned to the home market, and created new purchasing power by raising wages and helping the small farmers to regain solvency.

'That would have meant social revolution. It would have meant a different nineteenth century. It might have implied an abatement of that mingled spirit of calculation and adventure which animated the new economic leviathan. And it would have required a set of historical antecedents with which Great Britain at the beginning of the 19th century was not equipped. William Spence raising the lone cry in 1807 of 'Britain independent of Commerce* was shouted down by the City ... and by the economists. The gaze of the money market was outwards, and the movement of England followed the gaze.'[1]

Here is the crucial point in the story of English character in business. Here we can see its essence. It was not merely the nature of 'historical antecedents' that set the course. It was English character which itself had shaped those historical antecedents. And that character had many facets—the spirit of seafaring adventure; the instinctive sense of practical economic truth which had found expression in Adam Smith and which recognized that the wealth of nations could be best promoted by a cosmopolitan economic system based on national specialization and international trade; the acceptance of economic truth as the whole truth in business; and, closely allied to that, the plain common sense which, regarding 'business* as an activity directed to money-making, impelled men to choose trade rather than manufacture if, with the same efF6rt, they could make more money that way, and then, for the same reason, to move from the handling of actual commodities in trade to the more delicate and highly geared activities of 'finance'.

This is not the place for moral judgements, nor has the time come when history can surely pronounce which would have been morally better as between various courses possible for human society in its still imperfect stage of development and governed by the standards of its time. But it is quite clear that, as a business

[1] **Jenks, *Migration of British Capital.***

proposition, England after 1815 was right to seek her fortunes by developing international trade. It may also be claimed that she, as no other country has done, showed how to follow that course without upsetting the economic balance of the world, by her readiness to consume imported products and to reinvest her dividends abroad. It can be fairly claimed too that by maintaining a cosmopolitan outlook on every kind of business and treating it primarily as business rather than a purposive instrument of political power, England's leadership helped to produce a century without world wars, and might, if other influences had not intervened, have given men a chance to solve their material problems, and, having done so, to concern themselves with higher activities. It would indeed have been a typical English paradox if the nation of shop-keepers and money-makers had shown the world how to put money-making into its right subsidiary place in the scale of values. That *could* have been England's role. It still may be.

But that is conjecture. Reviewing the practical consequences of the English attitude, we find one of considerable significance. The tendency, just noted, to treat business as business, and to regard its object as money-making, meant that finance and commerce, rather than manufacturing industry, became the dominating activities in the national economy. This is not to underestimate the tremendous manufacturing achievement which gave England the lead in the Industrial Revolution; but none the less it is broadly true to say (and this can best be appreciated by comparing this country with the United States) that the merchant rather than the manufacturer 'called the tune'. The merchant found out what was wanted and placed his orders with industry to produce it. This relative importance of the merchant can be seen in many cases, notably in the cotton textile industry, the greatest of the old export industries of England. Here the 'merchant converters'—themselves normally detached from any interest in manufacture—have decided what should be made. Spinners, weavers, and finishers have had to work to their orders. If we look to the United States we see quite a different emphasis. In the American textile industry it is the manufacturers who study public taste and then decide what they shall make. This contrast is not in all cases so clear, and modern British industry is adopting different attitudes. But, at least up to 1914, financial and commercial interests dominated the English economic scene and

represented the form of 'business* which had the main influence on politics.[1]

Such, broadly, was the course taken by England. What manner of men and systems guided it?

Here, as throughout the story, there are apparent contradictions. As for the men, the main work has been that of the rank and file rather than of exceptional leaders. It has been remarked that the notable English 'characters* have often shown qualities quite inconsistent with normal English character. Yet the rank and file have responded to them, and at all stages there have been outstanding men who have set their mark on national institutions and practices. As for the methods, tradition and experience have guided conduct and commanded respect rather than imaginative innovation. Yet there has been constant readiness to modify traditional practice in adaptation to changing conditions. Conservatism has not meant fossilization.

It is tempting to write of the notable individuals. Picturesque characters of Elizabethan days like Gresham and Sutton show us finance and trade attracting members of the landed classes and gaining the close attention of the Queen and her ministers. Both men made great fortunes and used much of them to endow education. Gresham's record is well known. A significant achievement for the purposes of our survey was his success, while acting as king's merchant at Antwerp, in restoring the English-Dutch exchange rate by 'practising upon the merchants' commodities' and thus creating for himself something like an Exchange Equalization Fund. His name still lives in city streets and institutions, as well as in 'Gresham's Law'—that typical English common-sense empirical deduction.[2] Of Sutton there is told a story[3] which may be quoted to show not only how the spirit of

[1] Those of us who were in the City before 1914 can remember, for example, how small a part British industrial shares at that time took in the interests of the Stock Exchange or of the 'City' in general. The following comparison is worth recording. In December 1912 the nominal value of all securities quoted on the London Stock Exchange was £10,990 millions, of which more than half (£5,626 millions) consisted of Foreign securities (Government, Municipal, and Railway). In December 1945 the market value of all quoted securities was £24,381 millions, out of which the same list of Foreign securities only accounted for £519 millions. Simultaneously the figures for 'Commercial and Industrial* securities (the main heading of British industrials) had increased from £380 millions to £3,678 millions.

[2] It must, however, be pointed out that, according to Macaulay, the first writer to notice that bad money drives out good was Aristophanes—another example of Englishmen absorbing foreign ideas!

[3] Bishop Burnet's *History of My Own Time.* (Sutton, like Gresham, used part of

adventure and patriotism can animate a money-making English merchant (a potentiality which still survives) but also how a single private individual could in those days influence the fate of nations (a chance which now is hardly conceivable). The story runs that when, in 1587, Philip's threat of the Armada was imminent, and the English (as in 1938) were not ready:

'orders were given to make all possible haste with a fleet. Yet they were so little provided for such an invasion that, though they had then twenty good ships upon the stocks, it was not possible to get them in a condition to serve that summer; and the design of Spain was to sail over in 1587. So, unless by corruption, or any other method, the attempt could be put off for that year, there was no strength ready to resist so powerful a fleet. But, when it seemed not possible to divert the present execution of so great a design, a merchant of London, to their surprise, undertook it. He was well acquainted with the state of the revenue of Spain, with all their charge, and all that they could raise. He knew all their funds were so swallowed up, that it was impossible for them to victual and set out their fleet, but by their credit in the Bank of Genoa. So he undertook to write to all the places of trade, and to get such remittances made on that bank, that he should by that means have it so entirely in his hands, that there should be no money current there, equal to the great occasion of victualling the fleet of Spain. He reckoned that keeping such a treasure dead in his hands till the season of victualling was over would be a loss of £40,000. And at that rate he would save England. He managed the matter with such secrecy and success, that the fleet could not be set out that year. At so small a price, and with so skilful a management, was the nation saved at that time.'

Let us jump forward from these beginnings to the stage as it was set after 1815.

By slow development England had, in the intervening period, prepared the men, methods, and structure essential for a vigorous money market, so that when her opportunity came she was ready. With expanding trade and productivity she was able to finance the successive coalitions against Napoleon, and then, after Waterloo, to take up her distinctive world role as a foreign investor. It

his wealth to endow education, and Charterhouse with its double foundation for affording grants for old brothers and young scholars is still a living memorial to him. One may reflect that here is an example of the continuity in English institutions. A charity set up in 1608 is still able, three hundred and fifty years later, from the income on its original foundation and without the augmentation of any later gifts, to give maintenance to old brothers and scholarships to boys on a scale comparable with that intended at the beginning. Civil wars and world wars have disturbed the country: there have been revolutionary changes in governments, social systems, and currencies in every part of the world; but still the full substance of an ancient English foundation survives.)

is characteristic that the great names in finance at that time were Baring and Rothschild—both families which had come from abroad and 'merged their personalities in England*. Byron's lines show their repute.

> Who hold the balance of the World? Who reign
> O'er congress, whether royalist or liberal?
> Who rouse the shirtless patriots of Spain ?
> (That make old Europe's journals 'squeak and gibber* all)
> Who keep the World, both old and new in pain
> Or pleasure? Who make politics run glibber all?
> The shade of Buonaparte's noble daring?—
> Jew Rothschild, and his fellow-Christian, Baring.[1]

The English story of the Baring family begins in 1717 when John Baring came from Bremen and, 'liking of the soyle', married in England and set up as a wool-merchant in Exeter. His three sons established the London house in 1763, passing from merchanting to finance, and Alexander Baring became the outstanding figure in the post-Napoleonic years.

The rise of the Rothschilds equally illustrates how the 'City' of international repute grew up, how it was ready to treat business objectively, and foreigners on their merits. It started with Nathan Rothschild coming to England in 1797 'with about £20,000 which he trebled in a few years by handling cotton goods (notably cloth for uniforms) in Manchester'.[2] Within ten years he and his brother James had established themselves in London and—also following the normal evolution from merchanting to finance—won prestige by their skilful arrangement of government remittances to foreign princes and to the English armies overseas. Ingenuity was needed, and it is recorded[3] that 'once at least during the Peninsular War Nathan Rothschild found that the easiest way to remit money to Wellington's armies was via France*. Thus in ten years Rothschilds became the trusted agents of the English Government. How rapid a rise of two young Jews from Frankfurt to the performance of great English national tasks!

There is no need here to describe in detail the internal troubles after the Napoleonic Wars. What is relevant is to note how English 'business* with its outward gaze sought the way to economic

[1] *Don Juan,*
[2] Truptil, *British Banking and the Money Market.*
[3] Clapham, *History of the Bank of England.*



THE STATE OF THE NATION.

DISRAELI MEASURING THE BRITISH LION.

Punch cartoon by LEECH of 7 July 1849, three years after the repeal of the Corn Laws

as well as political safety by using England's resources to stabilize Europe and develop the New World. 'Scarcely had the post-war slump spent its initial force when in 1817 the firm of Baring Brothers was lending gold to the Second Bank of the United States and had plunged into the intricacies of the financial reconstruction of Europe/[1]

Foreign investment in the first years after 1815 was widely spread, and the part played by the City was in many ways remarkable. In none was it more so than in the process by which the credit of the French Government in France was restored by the power of the English 'City' to buy, and create a rising market in, French loans. Here surely we may see by contrast a positive quality of English character—faith in English institutions. It is inconceivable—at least I find it so—that the English people should ever have to be taught by other nations to regain faith in their own country's credit.

The next stage to be noted came in the 1840's, and was dominated by two economic transformations—the repeal of the Corn Laws and the railway mania. The English reaction to these two influences is illuminating. The striking fact is that they did not check English investment abroad. It was thought that they would combine to do so—that England's increased opportunity to take imports in payment for her exports would make it unnecessary to finance the latter with loans, and that railway building and other connected domestic activities would absorb all the funds available for investment. But in the long run this did not happen. As England became increasingly dependent on imported materials, so new opportunities grew for investing capital abroad to stimulate their supply. But the railway era, though it did not check external activities, brought these into closer relation with home development and gave them a new significance. England began to export not merely capital but the skill and organizing power of her great contractors and engineers. This stage was notable, too, for showing a general broadening of financial enterprise. As Disraeli wrote in *Endymion,* what was remarkable in the vast railway movement was that 'all seemed to come from the provinces and from unknown people in the provinces'.

Some of these people soon became very well known, and among them Thomas Brassey, the great contractor, stands out. Starting from humble origins, 'a simple man, of kindly dignity, direct,

[1] Jenks, *Migration of British Capital.*

NORWEGIAN TRUNK RAILWAY.

UNDER CONCESSION FROM THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT.

CAPITAL, £460,000,

OF WHICH THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT FURNISH ONE HALF,

LBAVINO A

CAPITAL OF £225,000, IN 16,875 PREFERENCE SHARES,

{Bearing a Guaranteed Interest of 4 per Cent, until the opening of the Railway,)

vfc.,-11,250 PAID-UP SHARES OF £10 EACH,
and 5,625 PAID-UP SHAKES OF £20 EACH.

(PAYABLE TO BEARER.)

Sirertor*.

J. LEWIS RICARDO, Esq., M.P., CHAIRMAN.
S. M. PETO, Esq., M.P.
THOMAS BRASSEY, Esq.
THREE DIRECTORS, appointed by His Majesty the King of Norway.

engineers.

ROBERT STEPHENSON, Esq., M.P.
G. P. BIDDER, Esq.

THIS Railway, of which about three-fourths is already completed, the whole of the rails, and the chief part of the rolling stock and locomotive engines on the ground, will connect the Capital of Norway with the two great Inland Lakes of Ojern and Miosen, thus bringing the most populous and productive provinces of the country in direct communication with Christiania.

These provinces, although not forming one-twentieth of the area of the whole country, contain about one-sixth of the population, and one-fifth of the property from which the trade and commerce of Norway ia chiefly derived.

The distance of the Midsen from the Capital is 42 English miles.

The traffic has beeu carefully taken, under the direction of a Commission nominated by His Majesty the King of Norway, and promises a return equal to at least 6 per cent. In this calculation, however, the usual allowances have not been made for the increase which cannot fail to accrue from the facilities of transit afforded by Railway communication, in a country where, hitherto, the means of transport have been of the most primitive nature; in illustration of which it may be proper to state that when, five years ago, a steamer was built in England and transported to the Midsen, it was estimated that the returns thereon would be 6 per cent: the second year of the establishment of the undertaking, the Shareholders divided 18 per cent; upon which a second steamer was built, and

incessantly active but unhurried, . . . in his character traits of prowess and achievement fused without avarice with the spirit of calculation'.[1] He is a good type of English business man, and, like the wisest leaders of to-day, he looked to expand and strengthen his enterprise by paying high wages and working at low profit-margins. His activities covered a vast area. He had many factories abroad, and railway contracts from 1841 to 1870 in every country of Europe, as well as South America, Mauritius, Australia, and India.

Much more is needed to tell the full story of English foreign investment till 1914. There were other important enterprises undertaken by English contractors in Europe (such as the gas companies in many continental towns); there was the great investment in India after 1857 with £150 millions going there in ten years; there was the growing use of the English mercantile credit mechanism by the advanced states of Europe and the increasing flow of loans to less developed countries. The last was a chequered process, with many abuses, which led in 1875 to the appointment of a Foreign Loans Investigation Committee, the report of which stopped the 'foreign loan mania' by its revelations. Dickens's Mr. Merdle and Trollope's Mr. Melmotte give the atmosphere of the time. But the abuse corrected itself, and looking back over the whole period of English foreign investment, we may argue that it was mainly done on sound business lines as part of an honestly held cosmopolitan economic conception. London could not otherwise have maintained its great position.

So far the story of men and methods has been followed in relation to external activities. We must now turn to the concurrent development of the domestic financial structure without which the foreign business would have been impossible.

Looking back again to Elizabethan days, we see the financial and commercial system starting as one of monopoly under Government patronage (worked through chartered companies). Through all the complex developments, bad and good, which follow, there can be noted several recurring characteristics and one clear connecting thread—the resistance of individuals to interference with their free activities, first against arbitrary state power, and then against monopolistic privilege. Side by side with this instinct for freedom, however, there can also be traced, as a counter-balancing tendency (recently growing in strength),

[1] Jenks, *Migration of British Capital,*

a sense of order, a respect for unwritten codes, and an ultimate willingness to recognize the need for an authority to fulfil certain functions which would be unfulfilled if left to the unregulated play of individual activities.

The story of the Bank of England illustrates many of these points. Its start was characteristic—a typical English reaction to what Walter Bagehot described as the perpetration by Charles II of 'one of those gross frauds which are likewise gross blunders* when he put a 'stop* on the Exchequer's payment of its debts to the goldsmith bankers (whose confidence in government had already had a rude shock from Charles I). The Bank's beginnings, too, show Englishmen as usual grumbling against foreigners and new ideas, but yet absorbing them and converting them to their own pattern. They show further a capacity for interaction between statesmen and business leaders when national needs demand it, and they contain examples of the impress of outstanding men.

There was William Paterson, who learnt business in Amsterdam and who supplied the main idea—an idea not well received, since 'some said it was a new thing and they did not understand it . • . others said the project came from Holland and therefore would not hear of it since we had too many Dutch things already'.

There was Charles Montagu, the grandson of the first Earl of Manchester, the only Whig whom Swift loved and of whom Smollett, another political opponent, wrote with admiration.

There was Michael Godfrey, a London merchant, in the end killed by a cannon-ball when on a business mission to the king outside Namur, whose tomb in St. Swithin's, Cannon Street, records that 'he died a Batchelor much lamented for his integrity, his knowledge and the sweetness of his manners'. Godfrey's support for the Bank may be quoted to show the recognition by an English business man that private activities must conform to the national interest.

'Now', he wrote, 'if the clamour of the few (whose trade has been to make merchandise of the nation and to enrich themselves by the necessities of others) shall not only prevail against the benefit of a community, legally established, but even of the kingdom in general and the credit of a Parliament, then the enemies of the Bank may hope to subvert it. But until the public good be postponed to private interest and a small number of oppressors be too hard for the nobility, gentry, and traders of England in

general, it will and must be preserved because of its great use to the whole realm/

The Bank's development was also, like that of other English institutions, influenced by foreigners, men such as the Houblons, sons of a refugee from Lille, of whom one was to Pepys 'a man I love mightily and will not lose his acquaintance'.

All these and many others played a part, 'honest God-fearing patriotic men', as Thorold Rogers wrote in 1887, 'the red founders of the Bank of England, who watching its early troubles, retrieved it by the highest shrewdness and fidelity from the perils it incurred and established the reputation of British integrity'.

The Bank, as is well known, had a chequered history in the eighteenth century, but Lord North could describe it in 1781 as 'from long habit and usage a part of the constitution ... doing all the money business of the Exchequer, and, as experience has proved, with much more advantage to the public than when it had formerly been done at the Exchequer',

Looking back now with a knowledge of the principles and traditions for which the Bank finally came to stand, we may regard these—since they have endured—as revealing its true character. We can do this without ignoring the fumblings and abuses of power through which it passed. A long time indeed was needed to develop the conception of a bankers' bank, the guardian of the currency, the instrument of public policy rather than the competitor for profit in the ordinary field of business. But in the end that conception became effective—a typical English achievement.

We may turn next to another notable English development—that of commercial banking. In this can be seen again many of the familiar features—the importance given to character rather than intellectual agility; the slow but adequate adaptation to changing needs; the manner in which this characteristic process had to overcome equally characteristic resistances of conservatism and bad legislation. The final development of a sound cohesive banking system can indeed be regarded as the product of pertinacity and ingenious adaptation to restrictive laws, rather than of design, 'a position attained in spite of, not because of, the Peels and Overstones of the formative years', and due to 'the energy and inventiveness of the Joplins, Gilbarts, Raes, and Holdens, who with their innumerable unnamed contemporaries built a stable enduring structure out of scattered bits of straw'.[1]

[1] **Crick and Wadsworth, *A Hundred Years of Joint Stock Banking.***

For those who have faith in the future, it is always pleasurable to find refutations of pessimistic forecasts. The story of the joint stock banks gives many illustrations. No financial development has had to overcome more gloomy forebodings or stronger opposition. That came from two sides; on the one hand from the Bank of England (grown, after a century and a quarter, anxious to retain its own monopolistic position), and on the other hand from the private firms who hated the prospect of large impersonal organizations replacing the old family businesses. When the first notable project (the London and Westminster Bank) was put forward all the recognized pundits prophesied disaster.

In lighter vein the English tendency to suspect everything new can be seen in contemporary writings.

'It is generally remarked', says a book on the 'City* published in 1846, 'that a wide difference exists between the class of people employed in Joint Stock Banks and in private banks. Instead of meeting in the former, as you do in the latter, cashiers and clerks peering through spectacles with a steady and staid appearance, whose only enquiries are concerning the weather and the prospects of business, you find yourself in the company of sprightly young gentlemen, who talk about new operas and the other amusements of the town with all the ease of connoisseurs in high life; and whose chief study is to give effect to chequered neckerchiefs, showy chains, and mogul pins. This, no doubt, is the march of improvement, but to the quiet man of business, the times in this respect are scarcely so acceptable as the old days of white ties, venerable faces and tranquil attention to the wants of customers.'

But, in spite of all the sectional opposition and nostalgic pessimism, the joint stock banks came to stay and grow into a great English institution. They helped to create for England the 'strong unified cohesive system* in which the Treasury, the Central Bank, and the deposit banks interact with each other as well as with the wider mechanisms of the money market, industry, and commerce. The experience of two world wars and the intervening years of readjustment and crisis has been an acid test.

Before leaving the story of banking, its illustration of two other notable characteristics must be mentioned. First, English banking practice has been marked by a clear conception of a function and adherence to it—the cobbler sticking to his last—with no trenching on other business spheres, as, for example, by using depositors' money (as the German banks did) to take a speculative share in industrial ventures. Secondly, it reveals a remarkable

combination of ingenuity and mutual confidence in the process by which cheques became the universal method for settling domestic transactions. This indeed was a revolutionary change accomplished almost unconsciously, which both gave elasticity to the currency system and avoided the complications involved in bills of exchange.

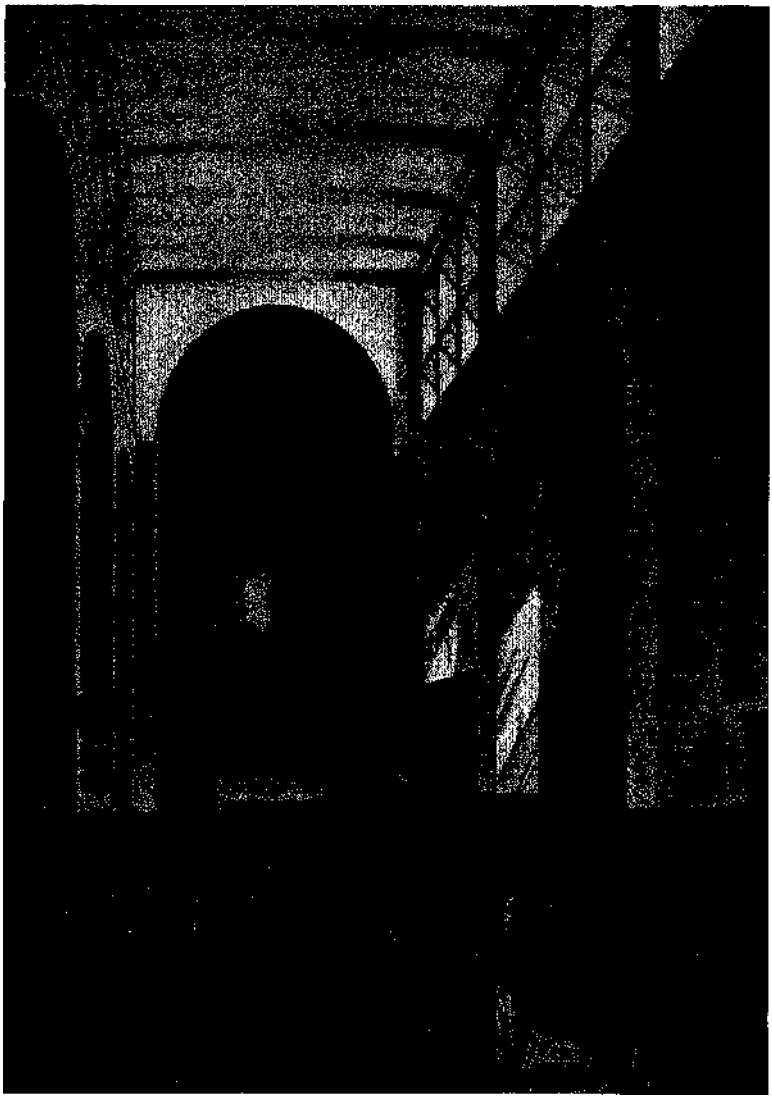
The banks, performing their own defined function, represent only one part in a complex mechanism with other parts of which they interact. Of these, the Discount Market has often been described as the unique feature of the English system. It provides another illustration of ingenious adaptation to needs backed by the skill and mutual confidence necessary to make a working system out of complex and varying relationships. Three points about it are worth noting for our purpose; first, its success as an intermediary between the Central Bank and the whole commercial credit system; secondly, its importance for settling international business transactions, with the bill on London, always payable in gold, becoming a sort of international currency; and thirdly, the way in which eventually the Government has come to use its machinery, starting in 1877 with small issues of Treasury Bills for Consolidated Fund purposes, and now using it as an instrument for handling an important part of the National Debt.

Here, indeed, in this threefold development—the cheque for domestic trade, the bill for foreign trade, the use of the money-market mechanism for performing the double purpose of enabling the Government to keep a great part of the public debt floating on very cheap terms and of giving to those who have large day-to-day funds the chance to employ them at interest—can be seen examples of spontaneous development and flexible adaptation of method to practical needs.

Space forbids full descriptions of many other vital parts in the English system, but all illustrate points already made.

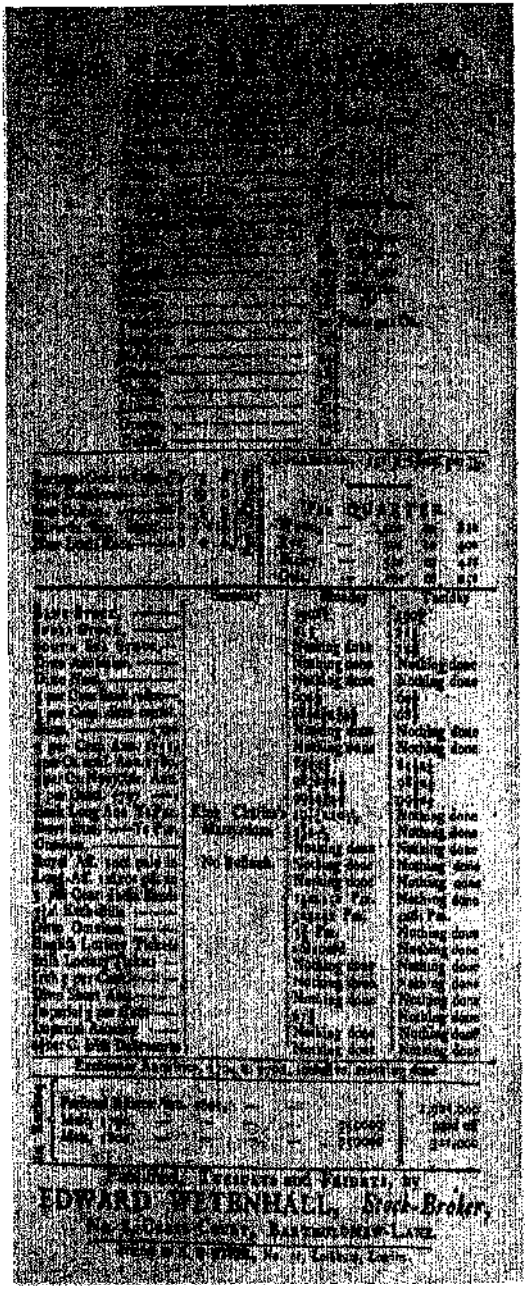
The growth of Lloyds, for example, that characteristic pioneer of English insurance, shows a nation of sea-traders facing marine risks with the common-sense to see that 'the loss lighteth rather easily upon many than heavy upon few';[1] transforming the mutual sharing of risks into a separate function; developing the seven-

[1] The first Act of Parliament to regulate the business (43 Eliz. c. 12) notes 'how it cometh to pass that upon the loss or perishing of any ship there followeth not **the** undoing of any man, but the loss lighteth rather easily upon many than heavy upon few*.



THE NEW STOCK EXCHANGE'

From the drawing by ROWLANDSON *and* PUG IN *issued by R. Ackermann in* 1809



A STOCKBROKER'S LIST OF 1802

teenth-century meetings of business men at Lloyd's Coffee House into a club of 'underwriters' who can exclude undesirables; resisting attempts at State-aided monopoly; accepting the ideas of a remarkable foreigner, John Julius Angerstein (a Petersburg German who started in 1749 as clerk to a Muscovy merchant and died in 1823 after collecting the pictures which form the core of the National Gallery);[1] making Lloyds, under his influence, a renowned institution able, throughout the Napoleonic Wars, to advise the Admiralty on convoys and to maintain a better news service than Whitehall. The great English marine-insurance business eventually spread far beyond Lloyds. The Fire and Life Insurance developments which started later followed different lines, but in their growth have shown similar characteristics.

The story of the Stock Exchange is of the same kind. That, too, began with voluntary meetings of leading brokers at Jonathan's Coffee House in Change Alley in 1762, and became a self-governing institution with safeguards and codes to protect its honour, performing a clear function. In the same way grew up the great commodity markets, such as the 'Baltic', which developed into an important organized association from meetings (starting about 1740) between merchants trading with the Russian ports.

In all these movements there have been periods of abuse, but abuse has ever stimulated measures to prevent it, and there has been a steady tendency for leading firms to join together for the protection both of their trade against ill repute and of the public against loss. There is indeed no single kind of English business of which it cannot be said that its history reveals continuous progress and a constant raising of standards prescribed by written regulations or unwritten codes.

Here we must close this rough, incomplete sketch of the first phase. It has shown Englishmen in commerce and finance, inspired by a mingled spirit of calculation and adventure, guided by common sense and an objective outlook, starting what came to be great institutions from small beginnings improvised to meet proved needs, subdividing their activities into clearly defined functions, resenting every interference with free enterprise whether by arbitrary State power or privileged monopoly, yet ready to accept self-imposed codes and to curb those who would construe freedom as licence, absorbing skill from abroad but transmuting it to English ways and loyalties, and lastly, and

[1] **Clapham,** ***An Economic History of Modern Britain.***

above all, influenced by the outward gaze, combined with the capacity to show and inspire confidence, which together enabled England to become the financial leader of the world.

The influence of history', wrote a German leader-writer[1] in 1914, 'a mighty Empire, a cosmopolitan Stock Exchange, intimate business connexions throughout the world, cheap money, a free gold market, steady exchanges, an almost unlimited market for capital, an elastic system of company legislation, a model insurance organization, *and* the help of Germans, these are the factors which have created Britain's financial supremacy'

We need not quarrel with the inclusion of the last factor. The achievement remains English. Germans were never able to do the same thing in their own country. It was England that had played the main part in building up a structure of world trade and finance, and it was England that worked the delicate mechanism which kept it in balance.

ill

The fourth of August, 1914, marked the end of an era and the beginning of shocks which upset the old balanced structure. Then was it realized how much had depended on London—London with its vast responsibilities as the world's banker, the guarantor of an international currency (the bill on London always payable in gold), the centre of a great domestic credit system, all resting technically on a small—amazingly small—gold reserve in the Bank of England. France had four times as much and Germany nearly twice as much gold. Yet they kept restrictions on the movement of gold, and we had none. What was the secret of this ? Great ingenuity in the British technique ? Yes; but more important than that, confidence—the confidence of the people. The bankers themselves were indeed getting nervous before 1914—in fact a committee of bankers was actually sitting to consider the question of the size of the reserve when war broke out. When the crisis actually came it was the bankers rather than the public who showed signs of losing nerve.

We cannot here describe all the steps by which, after August 1914, a new system was first improvised and then consolidated. Many were fumbling steps—such as the moratorium which postponed some debts and left others uncontrolled. The point is that

[1] An article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* quoted by Hartley Withers, *War-Time Financial Problems,*

they worked because English people behaved sensibly and with a patriotic impulse to make them work, helped possibly by a phlegmatic lack of imagination, but more surely guided by an intuitive sense that panic and *sauve qui pent* would lead to national disaster.

The shocks which began in August 1914 continued, and those of us who were in touch with continental Europe in the inter-war years, and watched, first, the demoralizing process of galloping inflation, and, later, the great volume of frightened foreign money searching desperately for a corner in which private wealth could be safely tucked away, can reflect with thankfulness that the English people have, so far, by their own faith in themselves kept clear of such experiences.

But we are concerned with fundamental changes rather than with outward symptoms or the emergency measures which followed the first shock of war. Before 1914, London had been not merely the banker of the world, but the pivotal point for the main system of world trade. By a long slow growth there had been created an equilibrium depending on a complex pattern of balanced multilateral trade transactions. The four years of war upset all this and caused immense structural changes—changes not only in the production of various countries, but also in the debtor-creditor relations between them.

By the end of the war, primary producers had developed their own secondary industries, other countries had been forced to a more self-contained economy, war debts and reparation obligations had been incurred, debtor nations had become creditors and vice versa. The system had become lop-sided; it could no longer be kept in balance by the delicate manipulation of confidence, ingenuity, and a tiny gold reserve in London. But the reality of this fundamental change was hidden for a time—first by demands based on exceptional post-war shortages of goods, and later by international loans, chiefly from America, which provided only superficial remedies. World trade did not in fact adjust itself to the structural changes, and this failure was not revealed until the economic breakdown which started in 1929. Thereafter the balance of international trade could only have been rebuilt painfully by concerted measures. A good deal was done before the second war, in fact, more than is generally realized; but unsolved troubles hung over every country. Only those countries which kept themselves fully employed by preparing for

war seemed to have found a solution in harmony with their own outlook. Britain struggled on, partly by starting to live on her foreign investment income, which before 1914 had been mainly reinvested, partly by realizing foreign investments, partly by spending too little on keeping her industrial equipment up to date, partly because the 'terms of trade' happened to be specially favourable for her. But all the time her social order showed the grave blot of two to three millions unemployed. It is against this background that we must examine the workings of English finance and commerce in the inter-war years.

For this purpose the most instructive short method will be first to study one particular line of action such as currency policy, and next to survey the general reactions of the City to the new conditions.

Currency policy, not hitherto discussed, deserves much fuller treatment than is now possible. It was a crucial matter in the inter-war years, and the whole history of the pound sterling is of interest for our purpose.

'From the silver pennies of King Offa of Mercia to the Currency and Bank Notes Act of 1928 is a long story but nevertheless a continuous one. There has been no real break in the history of the pound sterling since pennies were first introduced and 240 of them called a pound.'[1] That was written in 1931, just on the eve of the most sensational crisis, and the first real break, in the story. Till 1931 the English currency had been either metallic or based on a metallic standard. And, when in 1925 we Vent back to gold', it could be said that the English for the 'third time in their history, after a period of depreciation, avoided any change in the metallic standard and restored the value of the pound'.[2] The first of these three occasions was in 1694, concurrently with the start of the Bank of England. Then sterling was not yet on gold. The second was in 1819 after the Napoleonic War inflation. Then, as in 1925, the decision involved going back to gold. On all three occasions our metallic standard was restored 'mainly because, in the view of the majority of the people, the national credit demanded it', gold being chosen in 1819 and 1925 because by then no other known standard could promise such stability or

[1] **Feaveryear, *The Pound Sterling.* 'Apart from doubtful coins, the earliest pennies which have come down to us are those of Offa, King of Mercia, issued perhaps about 775 and copied probably from those of Pepin, issued in France a few years earlier.' Op. cit., p. 6.**

[2] **Op. cit., p. 327.**

command such confidence in other countries. It is interesting that this sanctity of the metallic standard was not observed before 1694, England, like other countries, had gone through successive stages of reducing the silver content of her coinage, and even the most successful recoinage scheme (that of Elizabeth) had not achieved more than stabilization at the *de facto* level after the great debasement of Henry VIII. But in 1694 the controversy began, which in various forms has been with us ever since, between the 'sound-money men* and the advocates of an adjustable currency. The first notable protagonists were, on the one side, John Locke, who 'could not agree to calling that a crown which yesterday was but a part', and, on the other, William Lowndes, the Treasury secretary, who argued that 'it had been a policy constantly practised in the Mint of England (the like having been done in all foreign mints) to raise the value of the coin in its extrinsic denomination from time to time as any exigence or occasion required'. The English decision went against Lowndes in 1694 and remained against his doctrine till 1931. It is tempting to probe into the reasons for this change from the former more elastic attitude. Was it because 1694 marked the passing from the era of straight metallic currency to that of credit currency with bank-notes in circulation carrying on their face what was in effect a promise to exchange them for a definite quantity of bullion? Did the acceptability of such a credit currency depend on the recognition of a greater moral obligation than when men handled only the physical coins and could be expected to take them for what they were worth? Or was it that from 1694 onwards England became more concerned in foreign trade and therefore as a matter of expediency needed to be more careful about her international credit? Certainly in 1925, when Britain depended for her life on international trade and when it was of great national importance to make London again the centre for international finance, the latter consideration deserved to carry great weight. But I believe that the motive impelling the return to the old standard, both then and on the earlier occasions, was primarily a matter of high principle and national integrity. More than that, it was the expression of a belief in the rule of law, of a desire to be guided by an absolute standard, of an instinctive distrust of what would happen if men took it upon themselves, as William Lowndes advocated, to alter their standards 'from time to time as any exigence or occasion required'. Since 1925 we have learned

by hard experience that to take *gold* as the standard may mean not submitting to the rule of a law based on principle or reason but rather binding ourselves to a force which may behave with incalculable error. But to recognize the fallibility of gold does not imply abnegation of the instinctive English belief that there ought to be some standard, which should be varied only in dire necessity and then only according to some clear principle. It is easy now, looking backwards, to see that the return to gold in 1925 had certain damaging internal consequences. But there are other and perhaps more important things to remember. It was a step in the English tradition, and that tradition was based on integrity. English integrity and stability in those years made a lonely piece of solid anchorage without which the whole world might easily have drifted into panic and chaos. And, even though it eventually became clear that we had attempted the impossible, the mere fact that we made the attempt had incalculable value. It created a confidence in British integrity, the effects of which were most remarkably shown when the struggle had finally to be given up in 1931. Then, to the astonishment of all, it was found, in effect, that not only the people of England but all the world were ready to regard a standard based on English character as likely to provide a measure of value more reliable than gold.

Some may regard what has just been written as giving a romantic view exaggerating the value of the British purpose and achievement. It is, however, based on vivid personal impressions gained from contact with Europe in the early twenties and the United States in 1932 (when on the last day of the Hoover Presidency all the banks had closed their doors) and from watching England and world finance from outside in India during the years of the 'economic blizzard' after 1929.

It is not possible here to follow out all that happened after 1931. Sterling was kept 'free* but subject to self-imposed limitations—later confirmed in the Tripartite Currency Declaration (between U.S.A., France, and the U.K.) of 1936. Freedom, in fact, was interpreted as freedom to behave decently according to accepted rules of the game. The British Chancellor declared in 1936 that monetary policy was to be used for its legitimate purpose of regulating internal equilibrium, not to take part in a sort of 'Dutch auction' of currency depreciation for the sake of chasing a fleeting advantage in export markets. Typical English ingenuity was displayed in evolving devices like the Exchange Equalization Fund,

and the striking fact was that, though most of the former material foundations for London's financial leaderships were gone, a great part of the world looked to sterling as the regulating factor, while the whole British Commonwealth and several countries outside it became members of 'the sterling area*. After 1931, a working technique was gradually established between the British and American Treasuries, and if the war had not come it is fair to conjecture that some new and clear 'rule of law' would have been devised.

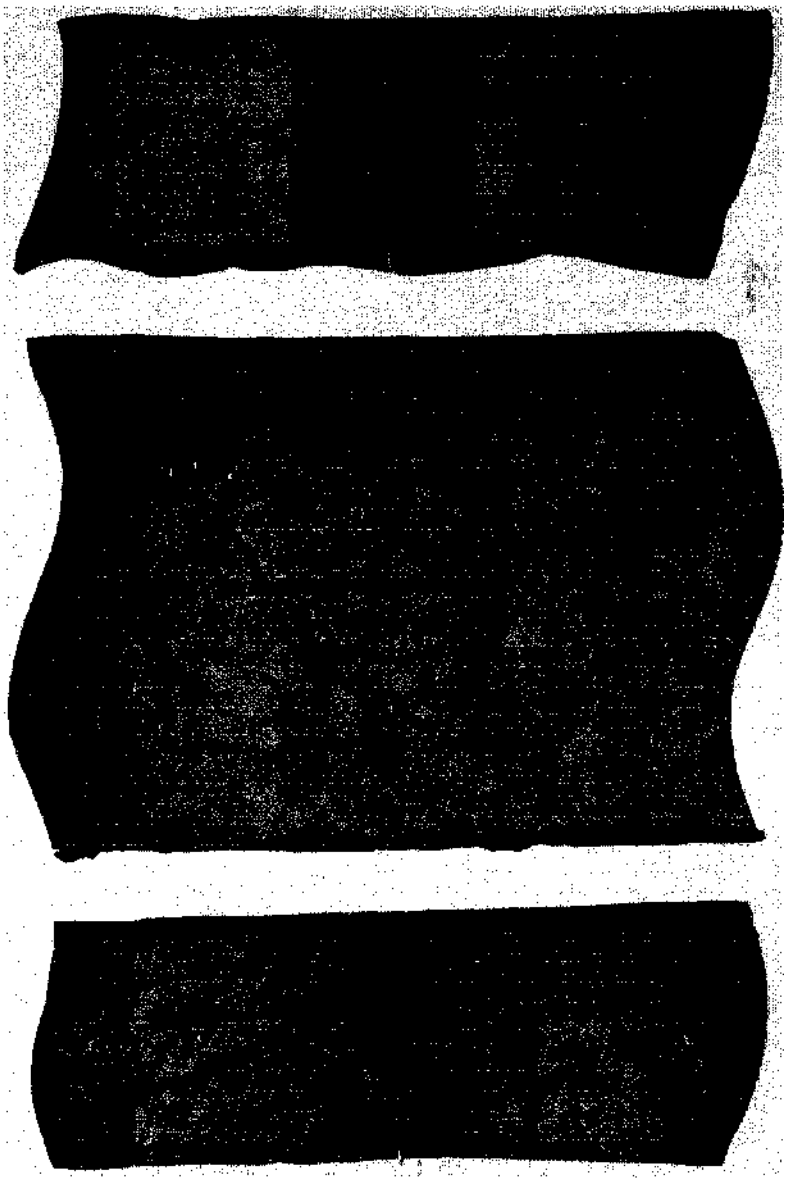
One other characteristic English feature deserves mention before leaving the currency story. After 1931, English notes had no convertibility and no relation to gold—the amount of domestic currency being determined entirely by what the Treasury and the Bank thought fit. Yet, with the English affection for anomalies, the £1 bank-note has continued to carry the words 'I promise to pay the bearer on demand the sum of one pound*—words which originally gave a claim to a definite amount of gold. But the public estimation of the note did not change.

Thus the break with gold passed without shaking confidence in England or changing the apparent way in which Englishmen went about their business. None the less a revolutionary change in the public outlook was taking place in the inter-war years which began to have its effect on the world of business. A new era was in fact opening—an era to be dominated by the feeling that the condition of the people was more important than the prestige of being the financial capital of the world and that industrial employment and production had too long been treated as secondary in importance to commerce and finance. This change is gaining increasing emphasis to-day at the opening of our 'third phase*. But it began in the inter-war years.

The 'City' reacted in two ways. In the first place (as can be seen from the lists of quoted Stock Exchange securities) it began to give much more attention to British industry. Secondly, there was a growing recognition that business transactions could no longer be regarded solely as private affairs which affected none but the parties directly concerned. This meant an increased readiness to co-operate in matters of national interest and public policy. The City had always been a community which, in an unrecognized but yet effective way, had followed the guidance of its accepted authorities. How the authority was established, exactly who exercised it, and why, were matters of mystery to

outsiders. But the existence of the authority was a reality, and there was always an oligarchic 'aristocracy* in the City which had ways of ensuring respect for certain principles. But this exercise of authority and collaboration on matters of national interest took on much more definite shape in the inter-war years. The most obvious outward sign was at the Bank of England. The Governor's office, instead of passing to each Director in rotation for short periods, was held by the same man for over twenty years. And his position changed. He became much more definitely than before the acknowledged arbiter on all matters of principle. His relations with the Government through the Treasury became much closer—with a regular daily personal visit. And lastly, under his leadership, the Bank took the initiative in new ways for national purposes, including in such purposes help for British industries which needed reorganization. A special company was, in fact, formed by the Bank of England, which sponsored several industrial reconstruction schemes. When commitments on a large scale were required, the banking world was asked to co-operate. And the banks, now mainly represented by the Big Five, had, through amalgamations, become a body with immense resources well organized for collective action. No compulsion was ever exercised; but the banks supported many projects on grounds of public policy which, considered purely as isolated business transactions, they would almost certainly have left alone. That did not involve deliberately doing bad business, but it did involve talcing a broad view and recognizing a duty to collaborate for the sake of the general economic health. It was a flexible method; an individual bank could, and on occasion did, refuse, even though the others participated. And the Bank of England's influence was exercised not only for putting through particular plans, but in less defined, though equally effective, ways for discouraging or encouraging general policies or practices. In all this the Bank recognized as its primary obligation the advancement of national interests and the support of public policy. Some may think that its judgement was on occasions wrong; but, however that may be, there never was a more disinterested exercise of authority.

The City, then, at the higher levels at any rate, reacted to the changed conditions. The object of business as business remained money-making; but there was a growing, though doubtless still inadequate, recognition that business activity was only one aspect



THE EARLIEST ENGLISH PAPER MONEY

Exchequer bills of 1696, 1697, and 1705



THE BANK OF ENGLAND IN 1816
From the drawing by T. H. SHEPHERD

of national activities and that it must play its part in harmony with the whole. At the same time all the ordinary activities continued, and the adaptation to changed conditions showed that English methods of finance and commerce had not lost their flexibility. We can, in fact, during our 'second phase' see England's business working under new strains, affected by the diminution of her foreign wealth, by the growth in many countries of economic nationalism, and by the upset of the balanced world economic system of which she had been the pivotal centre. The struggle in these circumstances to keep 'sterling honest' and the budget balanced can be seen as *a gallant effort, even if, as is now so generally argued, it was based on too narrow and restrictive an interpretation of financial soundness. It represented not only an affirmation of belief in principles but an attempt to re-establish a centre of confidence for international dealings. Whether in the new circumstances England would have ultimately found a way to harmonize expansive economic and social policies with sound finance and international confidence we cannot tell, since our efforts were rudely interrupted by the second World War in 1939.

Over the war years we must pass briefly, merely noting that the English handling of war finance showed ability to profit by the experience of 1914-18 and a remarkable advance in the readiness of all business men to collaborate for national purposes.

IV

Now peace is come, and we enter the 'third phase' as a people strongly influenced by memories of what happened in the second. We can see clearly now that, throughout the second phase, there were two forces at work to change England's old 'outward gazing' mercantile conception. First, there were the altered external conditions already noted—the spread of industrialization partly under the stimulus of the first World War, partly as an expression of new nationalist conceptions, partly as a result of technological improvements which have lessened international economic differentiation. Secondly, there were the experiences at home, bringing, with the spread of education, a quickened social consciousness which has made the inhumanity of the old 'Manchester School' ideas no longer tolerable by public opinion. It was the memories of mass unemployment and the 'distressed areas' that found effective political expression at the last election.

The change is profound and can be seen in many outward

symptoms. It can be seen in the increased impact of politics on economics. It can be seen in the fact that 'business' is no longer regarded as a separate mysterious activity carried on by people in the City* Finance, and commerce, recognized now as affecting the national economic well-being, have in a sense become everybody's business. Inflation', for example, is to-day a popular topic. It can be seen again in the changed status of 'economists'. Men like J. M. Keynes, though they had become recognized figures in the inter-war years, were viewed with distrust. But Lord Keynes at his premature death was a national figure trusted by all political parties to handle practical affairs affecting the whole national economy and the fate of every individual in business. It can be seen too in the changed social significance of personal economic reward. It has been said of the nineteenth-century mercantile society that 'economic rewards were the socially significant rewards, economic prestige the socially decisive prestige, economic activity the representative activity of society'.[1] While this was never fully true about England, it is clear that so far as concerns the position of individuals it was very much more true in the nineteenth century than it is to-day. Political and 'public esteem' rewards for the individual have increased greatly in importance in comparison with that of wealth, and although, as said earlier, economic issues attract even more public attention to-day than in the nineteenth century, it is to their effects on national well-being and to the general distribution of wealth that attention is chiefly directed. Emerson could write of England in 1847:[2] 'There is no country in which so absolute a homage is paid to wealth. In America there is a touch of shame when a man exhibits the evidence of large property, as if, after all, it needed apology. But the Englishman has pure pride in his wealth and esteems it a final certificate.' No foreign observer could write that of England to-day.

In saying all this I wish to avoid exaggeration. I recognize, writing in 1945, that we are still under the influence of the national war emergency and that public-spirited enthusiasms may cool down as they did after 1918. I recognize, too, that, in handling business, men's thoughts are still essentially concerned with economic gain —quite naturally and as they always will be in this and all countries. But business men are also citizens, and I believe that the judgement expressed above is broadly true. A recent article in the

[1] Drucker, *The Future of Industrial Man.* [2] Emerson, *English Traits.*

monthly review of one of the Big Five banks, after calling attention to the increased impact of politics on economics (not at all confined to the Labour Party's policies), emphasized that this new factor 'calls for a personal attitude towards public affairs which embodies a far higher sense of social responsibility than in the past*. The article went on to urge that even those who disagree with particular policies should 'bend their efforts towards ensuring the best possible results from the action that follows. Too much is at stake, in terms of the welfare of this and succeeding generations, to allow anyone the privilege of sulking in his tent.'

The change of outlook thus described is a distinctive feature of our 'third phase' and creates a problem which is both urgent and new.

And the core of our problem is this. Just at this very moment when there is a growing consciousness that business shall no longer be considered merely as business but must take account of human and social implications, we are, as a nation, faced with the most stupendous 'business' task in our history. We are now a debtor country, back to the time before Horace Walpole wrote his letter in 1763, a tiny island with little but its own resources to live on, yet now carrying the burden—so different from 1763—of supporting a population which was built up on our wealth as the world's great foreign investor and on our strength as an international trading centre able to sell our manufactures all over the world. Can we simultaneously restore this position and fulfil our new social conceptions? Can those who are in business take proper account of human considerations without blurring their recognition that their primary duty as business men is to conduct their enterprise efficiently and profitably? Can we preserve the 'profit criterion' as a practical test of efficiency, even though the 'profit motive' is curbed? Can we accept government intervention in business without suffering from the evils of a totalitarian organization and abuses of bureaucratic power? Can we respond to the need for collective action without losing the vitality of individual adventure and enterprise? Can we turn our attention inwards to improve the productive efficiency of British industry, without losing the expansive cosmopolitan outlook on which we built up our economic strength in the nineteenth century? Finally—to sum it all up and revert to a phrase used earlier in this chapter—can we, the nation of shop-keepers and money-makers, show the

world how to put money-making in its right subsidiary place in the scale of values, without ceasing to perform well all the valid —and vital—functions which underlie the process of money-making?

These are crucial questions which now face us. On their answers will depend not only history's reading of English character, but the continuance of this country's influence as a powerful factor at the international council table. And how much more depends on that!

Does the past record show that we are likely to find the right answers? That it is full of ordinary human faults none can deny; but it is marked too by many qualities which can have a special value now. It shows a 'mingled spirit of calculation and adventure' combined with independence and tenacity. It shows integrity and respect for principles. It shows a special faculty of isolating separate functions without making any one exclusive. It shows a power to preserve 'balance' in the double sense of the *mens aequa rebus in arduis* and of a proper blend of different activities. It shows a feeling of national obligation, a faith in England, together with a genius for compromise and collaboration when the need is proved. Lastly it shows a strong instinctive sense that economic enterprise—public or private—cannot evade the realities of the final accounting. 'Solvency', Emerson truly wrote, 'is in the ideas and mechanism of the Englishman.' All these are qualities which will help us to find right answers to our crucial questions.

This chapter is written in the belief that such answers will be found, and that the present attitude of the 'City' (mentioned on the first page) can be construed as a sign not of decadence, but rather of its characteristic adaptability to changing needs and of an honourable determination not to 'sulk in its tents'. This belief is based on no blindness to faults past and present; but depends on the faith that the good elements in the national character will prove to be the enduring ones, and that English 'business', in becoming less acquisitive of personal gain and more concerned with wider national interests, need not lose its urge for action, expansion, and adventure.

IX

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

By **LADY VIOLET BONHAM CARTER**

I

ENGLAND is seen plain in its children—more plain in them perhaps than anywhere, except in its landscape and its police. Other nations may have studied children more scientifically, they may even understand them better, but the English *are* children. Of English men at least it is true that they never entirely 'put away childish things', that they keep something of the authentic quality of childhood all through their lives.

Their love of games, horses, and dogs is serious, objective, and unselfconscious. They love these things for their own sakes, not because they are good for their health, nor for the Race, nor because they may bring them Olympic fame.

Read, for instance, Lord Grey of Fallodon's own account of the part fishing played in his life and thoughts at the height of his political career. It was to him so passionate an obsession that he finally had to make an iron resolution not to allow himself even to think of fishing between 5 October, when the season ended, and 1 January when it began again.

'In October I used to find myself looking to salmon fishing in the next **March, and beginning to spend my spare time thinking about it. I lay awake in bed fishing in imagination the pools which I was not going to see before March at the earliest, till I felt I was spending too much time, not in actual fishing but in sheer looking forward to it. I made a rule therefore, that I would not fish pools in imagination before the 1st of January, so that I might not spend more than two months of spare time in anticipation alone.'**

My own father, a man completely devoid both of vanity and athletic accomplishment, who learnt to play his only game, indifferent golf, at the age of 45, would get a glow of pride and self-fulfilment from holing a long putt, which no intellectual achievement ever came near to giving him.[1]

[1] **In his *Discoveries in England,* M. Emile Cammaerts describes the unwillingness of Englishmen to grow old and serious, except in their pleasures. 'I remember hearing a schoolmaster shouting to his boys during a football match "Don't *play* with it*'—"it" of course meaning the ball—and wondering what such an exclama-**

The almost sacramental approach to cricket shared by English fathers with their sons must be as unintelligible to a foreign mind as any mystic tribal rite. The simple intensity with which the tragedies and triumphs of games are experienced and shared between the generations keeps boyhood green in Englishmen all through their lives. In England the man is not so much father as brother to the child.

Yet when Taine wrote, 11 n'y a pas en Angleterre de separation profonde entre Ia vie de l'enfant et celle de Phomme fait', he was not thinking of the eternal childishness of Englishmen, but rather of the fact that in England, at least until the early nineteenth century, there was little or no recognition of childhood as a state, with its own needs, rights, and demands on life.

It is significant that until about ioo years ago children were dressed exactly like grown-ups. There were no children's clothes. There were few children's books. The child's world is hardly reflected in literature until the end of the eighteenth century. No literary man of that period would have dreamt of including in his Autobiography a history of his own childhood. Mr. Desmond MacCarthy truly describes the few children who appear in Shakespeare's plays as 'impossible mannikins'. . . . 'We may be sure that had the Renaissance been aware of childhood, the penetrating tenderness of Shakespeare would have revealed its world as exquisitely as that of young love.' But to that age, as also to the earlier nineteenth century, children were just embryos. Childhood was regarded as an unfortunate but inevitable prelude to adult life.

If we look farther back to medieval England, childhood, even as a stage in life, appears to have been completely skipped. Babies are hurried from the cradle to the altar. We read that 'all persons who had completed their seventh year were held competent to contract espousals' (Reeves, *History of English Law.)*[1]

tion could mean. I did not know then that it was only on the Continent that games are *played; in* England they *are performed* like a stage drama or some kind of religious ceremony.' He adds: 'The craving of English authors for poetry is another consequence of the race's child-like spirit'.

[1] Professor Trevelyan in his *Social History of England* quotes the pathetic account of the marriage of John Rigmerden, aged three, who was carried to his wedding in the arms of a clergyman and coaxed to repeat the words of matrimony to a bride of five. 'Before the end he struggled to get down, saying he would have no more that day, but the parson said "You must speak a little more and then go play you." ' (E.E.T.S. 1897, *Child Marriages.)* Yet there is real tenderness in the letter written by Thomas Betson, the Calais wool-stapler (in 1476) to his child fiancee

The poets were the first to recognize innocence as a state interesting in itself, a precious and fleeting possession, irrevocably lost in manhood when it is exchanged for something else. They found and hailed in childhood the vision which all artists retain, and which so often makes them in other ways intolerable as members of society. The exaltation of the child's eye, of the child's view of life, are implicit in the whole Romantic Movement. Rousseau was its first interpreter abroad. To us in England Blake and Wordsworth were the evangelists of childhood. Blake's *Songs of Innocence* are inspired by a sense of its holiness and beauty.

'On a cloud I saw a child', writes Blake, and he hails it as 'Image of truth new-born'.

Over a century earlier Henry Vaughan and Traherne had seen children as exiles from Heaven. 'Happy those early days when I Shined in my angel infancy', wrote Vaughan, 'before I understood this place.'

Were now that Chronicle alive,
Those white designs which children drive,
Quickly would I make my path even
And by meer playing go to Heaven.

And Traherne wrote:

How like an angel came I down!
How bright were all things here!
When first among his works I did appear.

Oh how their glory did me crown!
The world resembled this eternity
In which my soul did walk.
And everything that I did see
Did with me talk.

Wordsworth's *Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood* is the testament of this revelation. He invested childhood for all time with 'the glory and the freshness of a dream'. And when he called the child: 'Thou eye

Katherine Ryche (Sir W. Stonor's step-daughter) whom he afterwards married. 'My nowne hartely beloved Cossen Katryne ... I recommend me unto you with all the inwardness of myn harte . . . And yff ye wold be a good etter of your mete allweye that ye might waxe and grow ffast to be a woman, ye should make me the gladdest man off the world by my trouth; for when I remember your ffavour and your sadde lofringe delynge to me wardes, ffor sooth ye make me even very glad and joyous in my harte; and on the sobersyde again when I remember your yonge youth.' *{Stonor Letters and Papers.)*

among the blind', he awakened among the unseeing, old a desire to open their own eyes and share its vision.

Nineteenth-century England became child-conscious, though not, alas! child-wise. For in spite of the poets, 'delight and liberty* were not accepted by Victorian parents and educationalists as a safe prescription for youth. Though the romantic sun had risen, the shadow of the evangelical revival lay heavy over the nurseries of England. Sin was still regarded as an attribute peculiar to childhood and almost inseparable from it, and pleasure was the short cut to sin. It must be almost impossible for the child of to-day, basking, almost blinking, in the blaze of scientific 'understanding* which is focused upon it, to project its imagination back into the chilly twilight of Victorian childhood, when, as Mr. Max Beerbohm tells us, 'all nurseries were the darkened scene of temporal oppression, fitfully lighted with the gaunt reflections of hell-fire\

Perhaps the grimmest pictures of Victorian upbringing are contained in those two great but terrifying books *The Way of all Flesh,* by Samuel Butler, and Edmund Gosse's story of his own childhood, *Father and Son.* In *Father and Son* we are told how, whenever a treat was in the offing, Gosse's father resorted to the unfair device of making his son kneel down and ask God's advice whether he could safely indulge in it. But God's answer was always (as his father intended it to be) in the negative. At long last the fun-starved child revolted in the only way he could and rose from his knees with a triumphant lie. The Browns, 'A family of Baptists who kept a large haberdashery shop', had asked for the pleasure of his company to 'tea and games'. When after prayer his father asked him: 'Well, what is the answer which our Lord vouchsafes?' his answer came 'in the high piping accents of despair, "The Lord says I *may* go to the Browns"'.

Mr. Fairchild leads his son, after some trifling peccadillo, to sit for a few hours of sobering thought under a gallows from which a newly-hanged corpse is dangling. Eric in *Little by Little* writes the fatal words 'Gordon is a surly devil' on the blackboard at his school, and from that moment nothing can stay his galloping downhill course. Miss Edgeworth's Rosamund, whose mother spends her time laying moral booby-traps to catch her, *is* offered the choice between a translucent purple jar in a chemist's shop and a pair of new boots. Having very naturally chosen the jar, she is obliged to shuffle over sharp pebbles in a pair of soleless

shoes and is thus debarred from visiting the Crystal Palace, the purple fluid being meanwhile emptied out of her jar, leaving it as unlovely and undesirable as window-glass!

These stories arouse in the children of to-day not awe but an incredulous mirth. The events they record belong to another civilization, hardly less distant, hardly less barbarous, than that of the Old Testament, when the innocent gibe 'Go up thou bald-head!' addressed to Elisha (an undeniably bald prophet) was followed by the instant devouring of forty-two children by two she-bears out of the wood. One cannot help feeling that Victorian parents must in some respects have been very like the God of Old Testament stories who devised this type of retribution.

What their children thought about them or felt for them we can only guess. I recall the remark of the child who was told the story of Moses descending from Mount Sinai and finding the children of Israel dancing round the Golden Calf. 'And what do you think God did? He struck them dead for their wickedness.' The child rejoined, without passion or surprise: 'Of course anyone else would have laughed.'

This perhaps illustrates the attitude of the Victorian child towards its parents. It must have recognized them as beings of scanty sense of humour but of infinite power, and whilst possibly deploring both qualities, it accepted them as unquestioningly as one accepts Fate.

There is no need to admonish English parents of to-day against this particular type of error. They have no power, nor, to do them justice, is power what they desire, though they may sometimes feel that it would be better than nothing. Their demands have become very human. They long to inspire not respect but confidence, to be treated not as Olympians but as boon-companions, an ambition, alas, far more difficult to realize and perhaps equally misguided.

To the children of to-day the fantastic idea that they were born steeped in some inky medium called 'sin* which the rest of life must be spent in scrubbing away has never been suggested; and it would be gently laughed out of court if it were.

The end of the nineteenth century was marked by an almost exaggerated cult of childhood, and by the sublimation of all childish errors. That century which began so grimly for children went out, as Max Beerbohm remarked, 'in a cloud of pinafores'.

Children are to-day constantly assured that they have perfect

natures, and that any moral lapse is probably the result of some error in the management of their health by grown-ups. There is a new spirit of respectful inquiry into the workings of their digestions, their character, their constitution, which extends even to their feelings. Their diet is analysed, their complexes and inhibitions are disentangled and unwound, lessons are purged of drudgery, powders are banished from the medicine cupboard. Hell has disappeared from religious teaching, and the wild hunt for original sin has given place to a solicitous groping for Freudian bruises.

'Child Welfare' has become not merely a humane but a scientific and almost a fashionable pursuit. Childhood used to be of interest only to mothers and poets. To-day doctors, psychologists, journalists, authors, and even politicians have suddenly discovered its immense importance.

How was this transition accomplished? We can perhaps best trace its course through the books written for children during these years of change.

il

English children have often staked out a successful claim to books written for their elders. The *Arabian Nights, Pilgrim's Progress,*[1] *Robinson Crusoe,* and *Gulliver's Travels* are a few which they still read with delight in my childhood. But except for purposes of education they had no books of their own before the seventeenth century.

Ballads and chapbooks preserved for us our traditional English fairy lore. We read that England was once upon a time 'all fulfylde of faerie* and that when the Puritans came in, they fled away and we bade farewell to 'rewards and fairies'.

It was from France that the revival of magic came in Perrault's *Fairy-Tales* (1696)—Red Riding Hood, Bluebeard, and Cinderella —stories alleged by him to have been written by his little boy. An English translation by Robert Samber appeared in 1729, and the stories passed into chapbooks and were, characteristically, provided with morals. About the same time nursery rhymes appeared for the first time in print. Where did nursery rhymes

[1] I can remember reading *Pilgrim*s Progress* as one reads *Baedeker,* as a literal handbook to Heaven, and wondering during the long 'dateless night' of schoolroom life whether I was still perhaps held up in the Interpreter's House; when the fight with Apollyon would begin; and where the Delectable Mountains would at last heave into sight*

come from? Who made them- and how old they are nobody knows. What we do know is that they provide at once the music and the poetry of childhood—'a troop of echoes whose sweet duty is but to sing'. *Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song-Book* (published by Cooper in 1722) is the first printed collection of those timeless self-same rhymes which mothers and nurses use to this very day.

It was John Newbery, a farmer's son, accountant, patent medicine dealer and printer, who in the same year began to publish for the first time real children's books. He had the good idea, a new one to that age, of trying to please children as well as to improve them. His first child's book, *The Little Pretty Pocket Book,* was, it is true, ostensibly designed to 'make Tommy a good Boy, and Polly a good Girl', and it may have done so, but at least the process cannot have been unpleasant. Then followed others, and these books had large and steady sales. Roscoe's *Butterfly s Ball* had a circulation as great as that of any successful novel of to-day. Children's books had become a paying proposition, even though many authors still thought it unworthy to write them and did so either anonymously or apologetically.

And now began a pitched battle between two concepts—the 'moral tale' and the 'fairy tale'; and though the 'moralists' appeared to be having it all their own way, in the end it was the fairy tale—the element of fantasy and fun—which won the day. But the struggle was a hard and fierce one. Even the redoubtable Mrs. Trimmer, a moral Amazon, was severely taken to task for a casual mention of Perrault's *Tales* in the *Guardian of Education.* Her accuser described Cinderella as 'perhaps one of the most exceptionable books that was ever written for children', and this protest was supported by a manifesto from the Society for the Suppression of Vice denouncing such stories.[1]

Miss Edgeworth, that accomplished story-teller, in whose books real children appear from the first line, wrote to improve, and pursued her object with ruthless singleness of mind.

But of all the retributory moralists the gentlest and most enjoyable are surely the sisters Anne and Jane Taylor, whose poems of crime and punishment, written to convey awful warnings to their own generation, have survived to delight the children

[1] Mrs. Sherwood (author of the *Fairchild Family)* in editing Sarah Fielding's *Governess* cut out the two fairy-tales * because such stories can scarcely ever be rendered edifying. . . . You are, I know, strongly impressed with the doctrine of the depravity of human nature, and it would be quite impossible to introduce that doctrine as a motive of action in such tales/

of the present. We read them, it is true, in inverted commas, but we got an undeniable 'kick' from learning of the terrible fate which overtook the naughty children of the past—how the boy who fished was caught on a meat-hook, how the little girl who 'gives Mama false alarms' is almost burnt to ashes, and—perhaps most poignant tale of all—how poor 'heedless Emily', who fails to search with sufficient diligence for a pin she has dropped, is next day excluded from a party which was to 'ride to see an Air Balloon'.

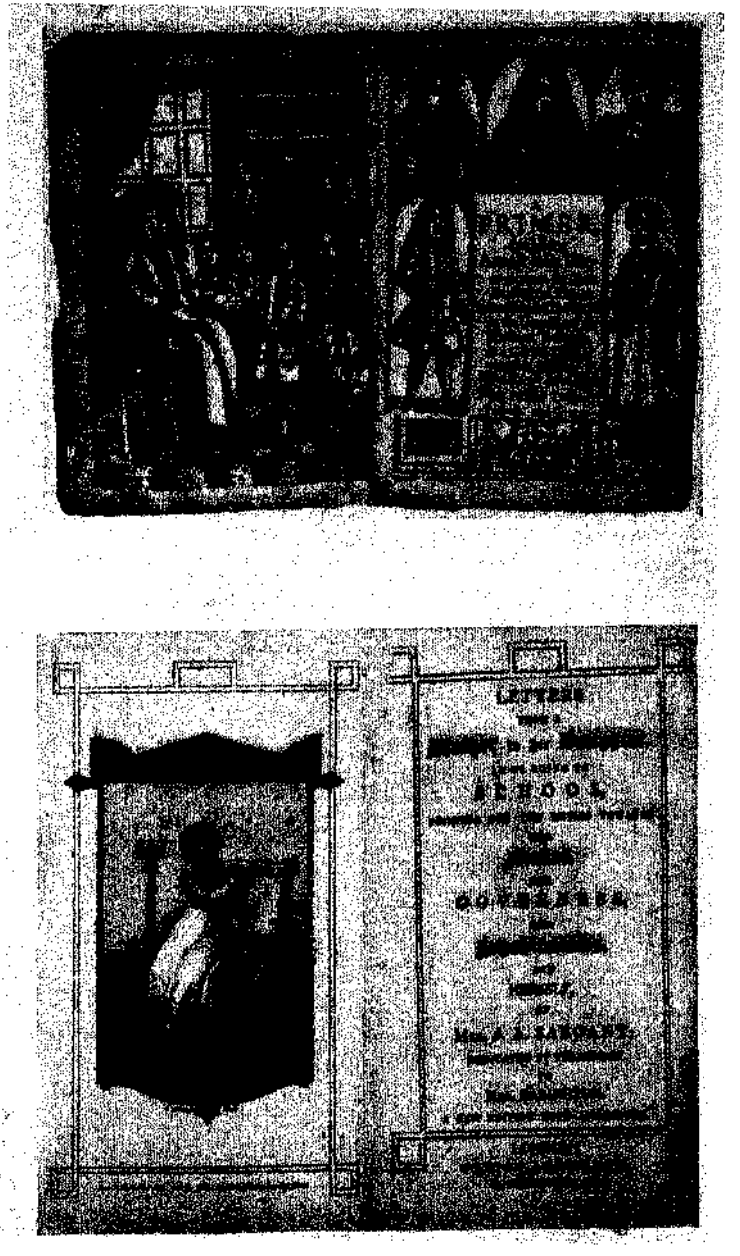
But though the moralists were putting a thicker coating of sugar on their pills and seemed to be having it all their own way, the Fairies were winning the battle of the books.

In 1824 Grimm's *Fairy Tales* appeared in English, and Andersen followed. The floodgates of fancy were opened and with them the greatest century of children's books in English history. From now on English children fed 'on honey-dew and drank the milk of Paradise'.

I look back on the book shelves of our childhood where masterpieces literally jostled one another. First came the picture books, the immortal Caldecotts, the ineffable beauty of the Walter Cranes, the Kate Greenaways, and that entrancing book, Dicky Doyle's *Fairyland,* where we found the elves and fairies of our dreams, capped with flowers, seated on toadstools in the moonlight, driving butterflies four-in-hand, tilting astride grasshoppers, armed with lances of tall grass.

The wonder of those first picture books, indelibly engraved on earliest memory, is 'lengthened in the heart' to last as long as life.

A year or two thence Grimm and Andersen would be awaiting us, and the Andrew Lang *Fairy Books* of every colour in the rainbow, Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Tanglewood Tales,* George Macdonald's *Princess and the Goblin,* a real work of the imagination, Ruskin's *King of the Golden River,* Thackeray's *Rose and the Ring,* Kingsley's *Water Babies, Lilliput Levee* by William Brighty Rands. And, perhaps on a lower plane, the long procession of delectable Mrs. Molesworths, culminating in her greatest book, *The Cuckoo Clock.* For the boys, who like 'adventure', there were the Ballantynes and Captain Marryats, Kingsley and Stevenson. For the girls, who preferred 'real life', there were Mrs. Ewing, with *Jackanapes* and *A Flat Iron for a Farthing, Holiday House* by Catherine Sinclair, in which naughtiness is for the first time allowed to seem attractive, *Little Women* and *Good Wives* by



(Above) A Primer of 1742 and *(below)* Moral advice of mother to daughter in 1821



From Richard Doyle's *In Fairyland*

Louisa Alcott—and Miss Yonge! Those royal-blue volumes with gold lettering, some thirty of them, were the bread of life of Victorian childhood.

Later still came Kenneth Grahame with *The Wind in the Willows* and Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Books* and *Just So Stories,* and the delight they gave was shared in equal measure by children and grown-ups. And finally, the Waverley Novels! Promotion to *Ivanhoe* meant that one had really won one's spurs as a reader. It was true that they took a long time to 'get into'—but how worth while it was, once you were in!

Reading Sir Walter Scott was a high privilege, reading Dickens was a violent emotional experience. There was no need to 'get into' Dickens. Before one had turned over the first page one was totally immersed. Everything outside the covers of the book had ceased to exist. As a child I can remember literally rolling off my chair on to the floor, and about it, in uncontrollable paroxysms of laughter, or sitting still as stone, hour after hour, frozen with fear and horror. Quilp inspired in me such terror that I could never steel myself to 'go on' with *The Old Curiosity Shop,* and I have not finished it to this day. It is true that with the exception of David Copperfield and Pip, with his, so understandable, love of 'little drawers', the angelic children never seemed quite real, but that did not prevent one from sobbing over their death-beds.

But the ultimate tribute to childhood and the highest service it has rendered in return to our literature was the release of our English genius for nonsense. No Latin, Slav, or Teuton could possibly have written the two Alice's, and even less the works of Edward Lear. Which was the greatest? Well, it all depends which kind of nonsense you prefer, intellectual nonsense or lyrical nonsense. I think most children would probably vote for Lear, who has before all else that gift of sublime irrelevance which rarely survives childhood intact, and which is the mainspring of all true nonsense.

The Owl and the Pussy Cat, The Duck and the Kangaroo, The Dong with the Luminous Nose, those inspired sagas, in which nonsense and poetry are magically fused, fulfil every need of childhood. For sheer poetry the *Dong* can hold its own with Kubla Khan. *The Owl and the Pussy Cat* and *The Duck and the Kangaroo* are flawless romantic narratives. Most grown-ups, on the other hand, would probably vote for Lewis Carroll, in whom they find so much which eludes childhood's experience and under-

standing. Much as children love *Alice in Wonderland* which they naturally read as a 'straight' story, shorn of its mathematical over- and under-tones, it gives to many the vague sense of discomfort of an uneasy dream. As in a dream, they are trying hard all the time to get inside it, and yet not quite wanting to be part of it. Children like to identify themselves completely with the characters and the situations in a book, and therefore, though they like the unexpected, they prefer the formalized unexpected to a real ambush.

The twentieth century has produced no one to touch these two, both men of genius in their own line. Pure nonsense has suffered a sad decline into the false-whimsical, well illustrated by one sentence in Mr. Stephen Potter and Miss Joyce Grenfell's brilliant radio script 'How to talk to Children': 'And now underneath the gasometer there lived a bird with six legs and a blue tail. And the bird with the blue tail had a special hat which he called his Woompah because it woomped every day of the week except Thursdays.' It is not surprising that even in the script the child is not amused and calls for the newspaper instead.

Though sympathetic 'understanding' of children has increased by leaps and bounds those who write for them nowadays somehow fail to reach and move and hold them as the Victorians did. I think the power of their books, good, bad, and indifferent, lay in the great seriousness of their authors, and in their absolute belief in their theme and in themselves. The gift of taking oneself, and others, seriously, was an essential characteristic of that age.

The most original and distinctive contribution made by the twentieth century to the nursery library are the Beatrix Potter books, those tiny volumes (just the right size for a child's hands to hold) with their exquisitely literal illustrations of cosy farmhouse interiors and Cumberland dales. The stories are as perfect as their setting. Personality and plot both play their part. Squirrel Nutkin and his brother Twinklebery, Pigling Bland, Peter Rabbit, Mrs. Tiggy Winkle, are, like the characters in *The Wind in the Willows*', human animals who give us the best of both worlds. Though they wear clothes, carry baskets to market, pick bunches of cowslips, inhabit perfectly appointed kitchens and parlours, there is never any sense of unreality about them or their doings. Thanks to the pictures, which fulfil the text, these books can be read aloud by those who cannot read, and though

the reader rapidly becomes word perfect in them they never pall. Their sovereign merit is that they are 'straight*, factual, and amoral, and that they never lapse into the sentimental, the facetious, or the grotesque.

HI

Looking before and after I think that the years between 1870 and 1914 were perhaps the Golden Age of nursery life in England. There was hardly a country house which did not possess its nursery wing, certainly no house of any size in either town or country without its nursery floor. Within this dedicated space children possessed a self-contained kingdom of their own.

No day-nursery was complete without a rocking-horse, sometimes of huge dimensions, a doll's house and a Noah's ark, and a high guard round the fire on which hot flannel 'aired' eternally, A common feature was a scrap-book screen, a mosaic of quite unrelated pictures pieced together from old books, papers, and Christmas cards—stray 'fragments of our dream of human life'.

Over this kingdom reigned a Nannie, an essentially English institution of infinite permanence and power. No other country in the world produces Nannies, and there is a world demand for them at almost any price. But they are unwilling exports, even to America, where I have sometimes seen them, functioning nostalgically at the salary of a first grade civil servant.

A Nannie must enter into her kingdom when the baby is a month old, not a day sooner or later. 'I had him from the month* is with her equivalent to saying 'He is my own child'—and from that day onward he is. From the first moment of 'taking over', pride, vigilance, authority, devotion, are recklessly poured out upon a succession of children who do not in fact belong to her, but whom she makes her own.

The 'prostitution of maternity' her function has been called, wrongly, for there is no commerce in it. To be a Nannie is not a profession but a vocation. But that it is a substitute for maternity and for much else besides is certainly true. No Nannie has ever looked, or felt, like an old maid. Though weatherbeaten they retain an ageless freshness and warmth. They prove, I think, that if spinsters are starved, it is not for want of husbands but for want of children.

Loyal lipservice is paid to the authority of parents. They are the centre of gravity, the source and dispensers of all things, the

final Court of Appeal. But day to day executive decisions are invested in the Nannie, and to overrule her would involve not merely a constitutional crisis of the first order but a moral earthquake.

In *Left Hand, Right Hand* Mr. Osbert Sitwell discusses the immense importance of the relationship of the children of Victorian and Edwardian days with the servants of the household, who acted as a kind of shock-absorbing screen between them and their parents. This screen has fallen with a crash to-day. The dearth of 'domestic help' created by the war has brought about a revolution in English family life. For the first time in English history parents of all income-groups have been equally obliged to 'bring up' their own children. Nannies have gone out of business, and nurseries have virtually ceased to exist. As a result children, instead of being confined to their own quarters and released only for certain limited periods of time, now range at large throughout the whole of every household during the whole of every day. They may be found not only in the drawing-room, but in the kitchen. They are both seen and heard without respite or intermission. The 'Children's Hour' has ceased to exist, because all hours belong to children now. The 'Grown-Ups' Hour' has not yet come into being, though grown-ups may in time be driven to demand one. Has this revolution come to stay? And is it a change for the better or the worse? It is perhaps too early to pass judgement. Profit and loss are as yet difficult to estimate. Children certainly show no signs of 'feeling the weight of too much liberty', while parents are developing new powers of Spartan endurance.

The relative merits of direct versus delegated upbringing are being put to the test. It is to be hoped that the direct method is going to vindicate itself, and that both the root and the flower of the relation between parents and children will not only survive the test of close and constant contact, but will gain immeasurably by it.

IV

There are still two nations in this country, and its children belong to both. It is true that even the sheltered children of the privileged classes have, in the past, not been immune from hardship, danger, and suffering. They have been exposed to the hazards of being 'brought up' by loving, well-meaning, but often

misguided parents and teachers, and they may have suffered more than the unprotected children of the poor from their upbringing and education, because their parents had more leisure to devote to it.

Parents often appear to have failed in their first and most obvious duty—that of keeping their children alive. To save them from the Devil seems to have been a more urgent preoccupation.

But the dangers and discomforts of parental ignorance, pedantry, and mismanagement cannot be compared to the tortures of commercial exploitation to which the children of the poor were mercilessly sacrificed in the mills and in the mines during the Industrial Revolution, little more than a hundred years ago. During those years, surely the darkest in our history, the machine became, for a time, the master of man, and the children of England as well as their parents were bound like slaves to the machine. Orphaned, destitute, and friendless children were sent up in cartloads to the mill-owners from the slums and workhouses of London and other big cities by the parish authorities. They were consigned to their employers at the age of seven, and until they were twenty-one they belonged to them and were completely at their mercy.

The conditions in which children worked night and day in the darkness of the mines were, if possible, even more terrible.

The first report of the Children's Employment Commission (1842), which brought these hideous facts to light, aroused the sleeping conscience of England. Within a month of its publication, Lord Shaftesbury, who was already fighting for a ten-hour day for children in the mills, introduced a Bill[1] to exclude from the pits all children under thirteen, all parish apprentices, women and girls.

That many of the enlightened philanthropists, humanitarians, and reformers who had fought for the abolition of slavery in the British Dominions, should have tolerated and defended the slavery of children in the factories and mines of England appears to us to-day fantastically inexplicable. We must, I suppose, accept the explanation that they were deluded fatalists, bowing to what they believed to be a melancholy economic necessity. They were convinced that poverty was inevitable and incurable and that any interference with economic processes could only result in disaster for all mankind. This belief may explain their callous acceptance

[1] **After many abortive attempts this measure was finally carried to victory in 1847 by Fielden, the largest cotton-spinner in England.**

of industrial suffering in the factories and mines. It cannot explain their refusal to protect the child chimney-sweeps—'the Climbing Boys'—whose fate Lord Shaftesbury declared to be ten times worse even than that of the factory children.

Blake, who could neither blind his eyes to human suffering nor turn away from it, had written his poems about chimney-sweeps.[1] Charles Lamb also wrote of his

'kindly yearning towards these dim specks—poor blots—innocent blacknesses . . . these almost clergy imps, who sport their cloth without assumption; and from their little pulpits (the tops of chimneys) in the nipping air of a December morning, preach a lesson of patience to mankind'.

It was characteristic of the spirit of the age, that even to Lamb's sensitive understanding the lesson preached was one of 'patience* —not of revolt. Blake and Lamb, though they shared the suffering of these martyred children, seem yet to have accepted it as inevitable. Dickens and Kingsley fought for them. Dickens's championship of the rights of childhood was an integral part of his bigger battle for the underdog, wherever he might be found.[2] Later (in 1863) Charles Kingsley wrote the *Water Babies*—one of those rare books which, like *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* changed the hearts of its readers, and through them the laws of the land. It was not until 1875, twelve years after its publication, that Lord Shaftesbury at last succeeded in carrying the bill which brought these horrors to an end. To his humanity, courage, and patient persistence, the forgotten children of the 'Other Nation' owe perhaps more than to any man in English history.

It is difficult to explain to ourselves or to others the character of England during these black years. This was an age in which, in one of the 'Two Nations', childhood was coming into its kingdom. Happiness was at last recognized to be its birthright. The child's mind was approached with a new reverence, tenderness, and interest. Great writers bent their imagination to the task of reaching it through prose and poetry, fantasy and nonsense. Great artists tried to see through childhood's eyes, and

[1] **When my Mother died I was very young**
And my Father sold me while yet my tongue
Could scarcely cry 'Weep I Weep I Weep! Weep!'
So your chimneys I sweep and in soot I sleep.

[2] **In the story of *Oliver Turist* (1837), a parish child, Dickens describes Oliver's narrow escape from being apprenticed to the master sweep Gamfield—and Gamfield's interview with the parish board.**

poured their vision into picture-books for its delight. This gentle and enlightened world existed apparently oblivious of the underworld where children were 'stolen from the sunshine as soon as they could crawl beneath a machine or watch a trap-door in a mineV

How could one nation be so blindly callous to the fate of the other?

Religion, which has been called the 'opiate of the poor' seems to have acted in those days as an opiate to the conscience of the rich. The miseries of this world were accepted by the rich on behalf of the poor as a Divine dispensation, with which it would be impious to quarrel. For the poor (as they were frequently reminded) there was always, fortunately, another world—the world to come.

Resignation, like intolerance, is to-day no longer a Christian duty. The children of the 'Two Nations' are drawing closer together, though they are still far from being one. Compulsory education has kept children out of the factories. It has brought with it, after long and bitter struggles, school meals; for it was finally recognized that even the State cannot compel a hungry child to learn.

Kindergartens, started in the seventies, have led on to nursery schools[2] and play centres. Fresh air and country holiday funds, clubs and holiday camps, have come into being so that our slum-children, those prisoners of the pavement, may be taken to the country to enjoy 'happy play in grassy places'.

The Children's Charter of 1908 set up children's courts, as an

[1] **J. L. Hammond, *The Town Labourer.***

[2] **The idea of nursery schools was first conceived and put into practice by Robert Owen in 1816. When (in 1799) he took over the New Lanark Mills for David Dale he found that an attempt was being made to teach the mill-children in evening classes. The experiment was not successful owing to the fatigue of the children after a long day's work. Owen then started his 'New Institute for the Formation of Character*. This included an adult school, a day-school for children between six and ten, and an infant school for babies of a year old and upwards. Owen believed that character is shaped and moulded from without, not formed frorrt within. The basic principles of the New Institute were that a child's mind is plastic and that human nature is innately good. 'The education given in the two schools was presented conversationally and intuitively—that is, knowledge of things was communicated not through books, but by means of the things themselves* *(Cambridge History of English Literature)*—a forecast of the Montessori method. Above all it was impressed on each child that he must endeavour to make his companions happy. Owen claimed that his schools made children both rational and altruistic. Unfortunately he alienated public sympathy and support by his attacks on all particular forms of religion. But his great experiment led to the institution of infant schools, and the nursery schools of to-day are the crown of his achievement.**

alternative to the old police courts where children used to be herded together with every class of miscreant and criminal. The grant of family allowances, after a twenty-years' campaign, marks the final recognition by the State of the importance of children in our national life.

The 'spirit of complacent pessimism', which Mr. Hammond tells us did more than any other to create the two nations in this country, is banished from our midst for ever.

But those who feel tempted by a spirit of complacent optimism should not yield to it until they have read two books, both published within the last five years: *Branch Street*, by Marie Paneth, and *Our Towns—A Close Up.*[1]

Branch Street is a study of a gang of outcast children living in a London slum.

'These children', says the authoress, 'have no store of happy memories. First and foremost they expect evil to happen_____Their background, their bag-full of experiences, has taught them not to trust, not to hope, but to attack, to grab, to lie, to steal and cheat. . . . A merciless world full of danger and ill-will, barring them from every chance—that is the world as Branch Street sees it/

Our Towns is a report by the Women's Group on Public Welfare, written anonymously by one of its members. Its scope and content are summarized in the name given to the first chapter: 'Evacuation: the window through which Town Life was seen.' One effect of evacuation, as the preface tells us, was 'to flood the dark places with light[1]. The flashes of the blitz opened our eyes to many things which had been hidden from them. They revealed the existence in our very midst of submerged children, still living in conditions which are a reproach to our humanity.

This book describes the forgotten child of our great cities—the child who has never slept in a bed but only under one, who runs late and breakfastless to school, who suffers from lice, jmpetigo, and scabies, who lies and pilfers.

But there is another side to this dark picture. Those of us who were privileged to spend the years of war in London or in some other of our big cities witnessed a different 'close-up' and learnt its lesson.

We saw the undefeated gaiety and courage with which the poorest of the poor, children and grown-ups alike, faced mortal danger, the destruction of their homes and few possessions, the

[1] **To these must now be added the Report of the Curtis Committee, 1946.**

loss of all that to them made life precious or even tolerable. We learnt to recognize and honour the greatness of spirit which grows in our meanest streets.

A conversation in a bus is recorded in *Our Towns.* As it passed down the main street of a prosperous seaside town, a group of poverty-stricken children was seen standing on the kerb. 'They don't look much, do they?' said one housewife to another. 'Well, anyhow,' replied her companion, 'that's what England always falls back upon.'

England can always 'fall back upon' her children in the assurance that they will not fail her. Her need is theirs, but not her need alone. They are heirs also to the kingdom, the power, and the glory which they have helped to save, and they must now enter into their full inheritance.

V

One of the characteristics of the English people is a certain complacent candour about their own most obvious defects. We boast unashamedly of being unmusical, illogical, unable to speak foreign languages, incapable of cooking vegetables (and indeed of cooking many other things besides!).

No Englishman would resent the charge of being under-educated, though he might add to his own admission of illiteracy a tribute to the overwhelming superiority of the Scots.

Is the charge justified? Compared with many continental nations we are certainly under- rather than over-educated. As a nation we are a little shy of 'learning', chary of acquiring too much, of displaying too much, even sometimes of admitting that which we possess. It is our weakness that the 'intellectual' still inspires mistrust amongst us. 'High-brow' is a frank term of abuse; even 'clever' is a tribute barbed with suspicion.

Very few English children know what it is to be 'crammed' nowadays, except in moments of dire practical extremity.[1] I can imagine a definition of present-day English education as an attempt to turn a child into a grown-up without harming it in the process—an aim which, though it may sound modest in scope and

[1] **This is not true of the past. For many centuries forcing and flogging were the order of the day. Sir Thomas Elyot exclaims: 'Lord God how many good and clene wittes of children be nowadays perished by ignorant schoolmasters!* and he urges on tutors 'that they suffre not the child to be fatigate with continued studie or lernynge wherewith the delicate and tender witte may be dulled or oppressed*** ***(The Governour).***

even negative in purpose, is not without a certain wisdom. We are right in believing that education should be a springboard rather than a treadmill, an opportunity to be freely seized rather than the imposition of a sentence of hard labour.

We have been remiss in not ensuring that that opportunity should be available to all on far more equal terms. English education at its best can more than hold its own with that of any nation in the world. But because its function is undervalued by the nation as a whole it has been applied sporadically and unevenly, without much system or method. Yet it may be that this somewhat casual and unregulated process has enabled us to throw up genius even in our darkest days beyond the usual measure, and, as some think, beyond our deserts.

The birth, growth, and development of education in England have come about in a characteristically English way. For they have been achieved throughout by the free action and enterprise of individual pioneers and voluntary bodies, in whom, for many centuries, religious faith was the motive force. Though it may be justly condemned as a random and haphazard patchwork it still preserves the precious qualities of variety, flexibility, and independence, born of freedom, almost, it may be said, of chance. It is true, as Sir Ernest Barker writes (in *Britain and the British People),* that English education 'began at the top, spread down to the middle, and ended with the people at large'. But it was nevertheless an essentially democratic process because it was created by the English people for themselves and not provided for them ready-made by a paternal government.

Until 1870 the whole cost of the education of our people was borne by private and religious charity.[1]

It is a curious fact that religion, which throughout our history had been the spearhead of our educational progress, proved in the end the major obstacle to the establishment of a national system. Education had become the battleground of different sects and persuasions, and no government had the courage to intervene between the combatants. Gladstone finally faced the issue in 1870. King Alfred's directive to his bishops 'that all the youth of England may be grounded in letters', was at last carried out when, by the passing of Forster's Bill, the State assumed respon-

[1] **The State's contribution began in 1833 as a meagre pittance of £20,000 a year towards the school buildings of the various voluntary societies, and it was to distribute this dole that the first Education Department was set up in 1839.**

Master Montgomery

Greenwich. Kent.

Christmas 1824.

										£	s	d
For	Board & Instruction, with a single Bed,								from Midsummer to Christmas 1824	29	8	-
	Assistants & Servants	1. 11. 6			Geography				Mathematics	1	11	6
	Danancy & Entrances	2. 12. 6			Drawing					2	12	6
	Fencing				Military Exercise	1. 11. 6				1	11	6
	Apothecary		Dentist	1. 1. 0	House Medicines	7/6	Washing	3. 3. 0		4	11	6
	Hatter & Cap	3/6	Linen Draper		Honor				Glover	-	3	6
	Shoemaker	4	Shoemender	3. 1. 6	Taylor	12/6	Seamstress	7/6		1	7	6
	Shoe strings	8	Garters	5/	Combs & Brushes		Hair cut	4/		-	9	-
	Lock smith	4/	Pocket Money	12/	Post & Parcels	16/	Coaches			1	12	-
	Copy & Copy Books		Pens & Ink	2. 12. 6	Slates & Pencils	4/6	Ruler			2	17	-
	School Library	5/	Charity Sermon	1/	Seat in Church			6/		-	12	-
										-	-	-
	Entrance Fees of Students Entrance Money 10/ Examples Maps, 7/6									-	17	6
	Masters Exercises, 2/6 Confidential Exercises, 4/6									-	7	-
	Present to Mrs Bicknell, at Christmas (if approved)									1	1	-
										£52	1.	6.

PRIVATE SCHOOL BILL OF THE YEAR 1824

sibility for a system of universal primary education. Secondary education followed with the Balfour Act in 1902; and since then the 'educational ladder' has risen, rung upon rung.

The State, a late-comer in the field, has now very thoroughly recognized its duty. But though it has filled gaps, increased justice, and widened opportunities, it has not attempted to lay upon us the dead hand of uniformity. The variegated pattern of the past remains. The old public schools with their traditions rooted in the Middle Ages, the great grammar schools which have their own history and individuality, exist side by side with the new secondary schools established by local education authorities after 1902, and others which are 'aided* by Local Education Authorities although they have independent foundations of their own. In the elementary sphere there are the voluntary schools maintained by religious bodies as well as the schools of the State.

A French Minister of Education is said to have boasted that he could pull out his watch at any moment of the day and say to himself with absolute certainty: 'At this moment every child in France between the ages of *X* and *Y* is doing Long Division, reading Corneille, conjugating Latin verbs, &c.'—as the case might be.

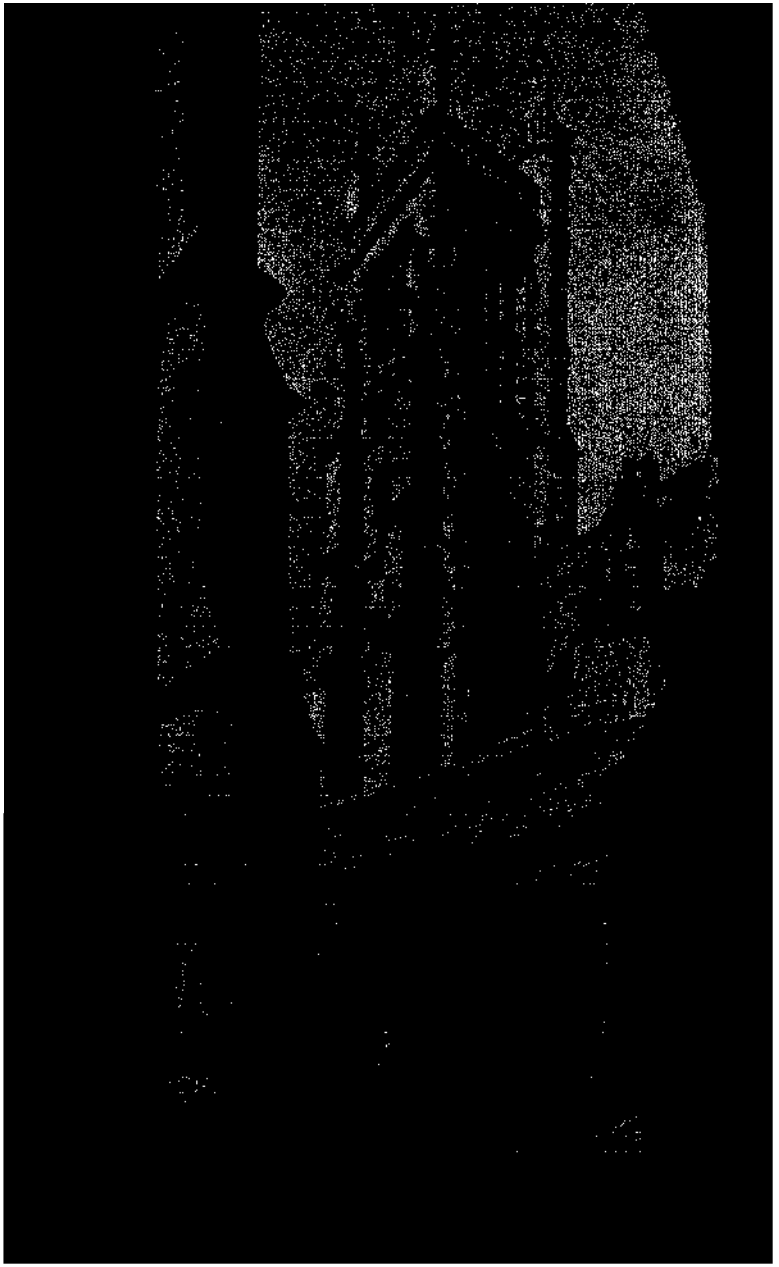
This represents the exact antithesis of our English practice. We believe, irrevocably I hope, that variety, experiment, freedom for the individual to live and learn in his own way, are the life-blood of education. Whatever the economic order of the future may be, this country will never become a flat lawn in which the blades of grass are all mown down, or trained up to exactly the same height. It will retain, I hope, its present character of an English woodland, in which trees of all statures, 'the oak and the ash', can grow freely side by side in their own shape and habit.

This diversity is ensured at present by three vital freedoms. First there is the freedom of the parent to choose between different kinds of school, both voluntary and state; a freedom still limited, it is true, in some directions by their means but increasing more and more through state help.

Then there is the equally precious freedom of the teacher. Our Board of Education gives no orders to its teachers, nor does it pay them. Its influence is confined to suggestions. In its handbook for the guidance of teachers *(Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers)* it is clearly stated that 'uniformity in details of practice is not desirable even if it were attainable[1].



EDUCATION IN 1896
'Right versus Might* or Child versus Parliament. A tug-of-war with the dignitaries of the Churches looking on.
A 'Truth' Christmas number cartoon of the year by 'Rip*



WINCHESTER COLLEGE

In Cloisters looking past Fromond's Chantry to Chapel Tower

Copyright 'Country Life'

Teachers are free **to frame their own curriculum and to choose their own text-books within a wide general framework This freedom inevitably develops in them a sense of responsibility and an initiative which could not exist if they were robots, subject to a rigid, centralized control.**[1]

Lastly there is the freedom of every Local Authority to make its own educational **plan, and the freedom of the self-governing school** which receives direction **neither from Whitehall nor from Local** Education Authorities, but works **out its own salvation.**

It may therefore, **I** think, be fairly claimed **that** our **English** system is in essence democratic. **It** is based on the **principle 'that** education is largely a voluntary activity, and that self-government and freedom of choice must be preserved at every stage*. But that it is not equalitarian cannot be denied. The two nations scale their parallel, but separate, ladders until they meet and mix at the universities on equal terms, but still in unequal proportions.[2]

There is the ladder of the many, starting with the nursery school for under-fives, and going on to the primary and secondary schools, and that of the few who go to the (so-called) 'Private* and 'Public' schools.

It must be admitted that one of the few social frontiers which still survives in England to-day is that which divides the 'Public* schoolboy from the rest. 'Public' schools, for better or for worse, are admittedly a purely English conception. Little resembling them or their human products is to be found anywhere else in the world. How did they come into being?

Throughout the changing pattern of our English education a certain thread of continuity has remained unbroken, a few traditional trends peculiar to this country have survived intact. First among these is the English custom, so consistently misunderstood by foreigners in all ages, of sending children away from their homes to be educated.

As early as 1500 an Italian visitor to this country commented

[1] **Teaching has been described by Ian Hay as the * worst-paid and most richly rewarded.' of all professions. In England it is certainly the worst paid. The function performed and the service given by teachers to the nation is second to none in importance. Yet no other servant of the State is so disgracefully underpaid. An assistant mistress in a primary school receives to-day a maximum salary of £420 a year after 40 years of work. The under-paymcnt of teachers and the size of classes (sometimes 60 or more in one class) are the two greatest blots on our educational system to-day.**

[2] **At Oxford and Cambridge one-third of the undergraduates began their education *in* primary schools and a half receive assistance from public funds.**

on this (to him) inhuman habit. 'The want of natural affection in the English displays itself specially in their conduct towards their children; for having kept them at home till they arrive at the age of seven or nine years at the utmost, everyone, however rich he may be, puts away his children into the houses of others/ (Italian Relation of England, *c.* 1500.)

A few years before the war a distinguished Chinese visitor was equally puzzled, though less outspoken. After a detailed inspection of our private and public schools he remarked to his cicerone: 'Admirable! Nowhere have I seen anything to compare with these schools. But please tell me—what is wrong with the *homes* of all these children?' It was difficult to explain to him that it was precisely those children, with whose homes there is least 'wrong', who in this country are invariably banished from them at an early age.

The English parents of the Middle Ages who sent their children to be trained as pages in the great houses, were perhaps influenced by the same reasons which lead those of to-day to exile theirs to boarding-schools. Whatever the parents' motive may be, it certainly does not spring from hardness of heart but more nearly from a mistrust of their own softness. It may be the belief that children are apt to behave better in other people's houses than in their own, and that the power to stand alone and make their own terms with life and with their fellows can best be learnt away from home.

Much has been said and written about public schools, and most of it in terms of immoderate praise or blame. They are alternatively acclaimed as the bedrock of our national greatness, the crucible in which character is formed, the training-ground for leadership, &c, or pilloried as class-conscious, Philistine, and muscle-bound, the last preserve of privilege, the soil in which snobs, Blimps, and bullies grow. Which is the truer picture? I can write of them only through vicarious, yet intimate, experience.

The first thing to be recognized is that a public school is not primarily a place in which you learn to learn, but rather one in which you learn to live. It is a graduation in manhood. At Winchester, our first and oldest public school with a continuous existence from its foundation, the pathfinder and pattern for all that followed, a boy, however young, becomes a 'man* from the first day of his arrival.

The public school has built round a kernel of 'education', in the limited sense, a system which tries to cover every field of masculine activity from athletic skill to the most esoteric forms of intellectual eccentricity. Ornithology, archaeology, debates, Greek dramas, orchestras, and choirs are normal and accepted activities. No boy is now derided or persecuted because he likes poetry or music. Shelley might have been perfectly happy at Eton to-day. But though the activities of the public schoolboy are neither conventional nor circumscribed, the society to which he belongs is the most rigidly conventional and hierarchical which exists.

A public school is governed, like many parts of the colonial empire, by a system of indirect rule, through the boys themselves.

Everyone knows his exact position in society. He is either a member of the nobility, i.e. a prefect, or of the middle classes who organize public opinion, or of the inarticulate masses below. The power of the nobility is absolute, the pressure which the middle classes can exert is formidable, the subjection of the masses (except for their capacity to make their superiors ridiculous) is complete.

In this small world a boy must win for himself a position, not necessarily of power, but at least of security from public opinion. The attainment of such a position is a slow and even painful process, but once it is won, the victor is invulnerably secure. The privileges of success at school are more open and unashamed, and the power they bring more absolute, than any that await most men in after-life. (Hence the nostalgic fixation with which so many Englishmen of no particular distinction look back upon their schooldays.) And it is not only the athletic hero or the school prefect who has this recognized status, though theirs is the most flamboyant and universally acclaimed. The musician, the naturalist, the stamp collector, and even the 'clever' boy and the eccentric, may win for themselves an accepted and secure position in the hierarchy.

Against the system it may be (and often has been) said that it exalts conformity and caste, discounts originality, overrates the importance of games, and develops the critical faculty at the expense of the positive and the creative. The 'leadership* developed at public schools is essentially executive rather than intellectual leadership. On the other hand, it has the immense practical

advantage of making boys make things work, and of teaching them to stand on their own feet, to preserve their inner core of independence, and to call their souls their own within an iron framework of conventions and taboos.[1]

Whatever may be said about the system, no one who has passed through its mill or read about its drastic rigours in the past can accuse it of any degree of ease or softness. Nor can the pre-eminence of its products in English life and in the world at large be solely due to 'privilege'. The fact that the officers killed in this war numbered three to one in proportion to the men is in itself a proof that responsibility and sacrifice are recognized as the first duties of privilege. (I am not, of course, suggesting that all officers come from public schools, but that most public schoolboys become officers.)

But perhaps the greatest virtue of the public schools is their rejection of vocational training and narrow specialization. They recognize that to learn a trade, even to specialize in a subject, is not an equipment for life.

The public schools, to their credit, do not attempt to forge an efficient instrument for the discharge of any particular task. They aim, as the Greeks did, at producing a fully developed human being. However far they may fall short of it, they do pursue the Platonic ideal of attaining a harmony between the mind, the body, and the spirit. This may, in part at least, be the explanation of their much-criticized adherence to the classical tradition. Scholarship, a sense of beauty in the written word, is not the private perquisite of specialists. It overflows into the whole of life. Among the initiated I can imagine mathematical interchanges of tense and breathless interest, but for the ordinary human being mathematics open no new windows on the world. Those of us who are outside the pale suffer no sense of conscious deprivation. But if we had never read great poetry or prose and

[1] **Taine wrote a true and pertinent comment on English public schoolboys when, comparing them to their French contemporaries, he said:**

'Ils sont plus enfants et plus hommes; plus enfants c'est-à-dire plus amateurs du jeu et moins disposéd à dè'passer les limites de leur Sge; plus hommes c'est-à-dire plus libres, plus capables de se gouverner et d'agir.

'Au contraire l'ecolier francais est ennuye, aigri, affine, precoce et trop prdcoce; il est en cage et son imagination fermente.' ***(Notes sur l'Anghterre.)***

This contrast does not, however, apply only to the products of the public schools. All English schoolboys seem to belong to a different species from their continental opposite numbers, who drink red wine at seven, do homework all night, and fall in love when they are fifteen.

felt their spell, if we had never heard 'what song the Sirens sang', then surely we should feel beggared and disinherited, exiled from the holiest places of the mind.

The reason usually given for teaching classics at school is that they provide good intellectual gymnastics and inculcate precision and right thinking. But there is a deeper reason for their preservation. We owe to the classical tradition our laws, our politics, our poetry, our art, our sense of public right and wrong. Our belief in free discussion is, as it was with the Greeks, not a mere conscientious principle but a positive taste. Like the Greeks, we take an intellectual pleasure in understanding our enemies as well as defeating them.

Many of the 'old school tie' virtues are not an insular patent but a direct inheritance from the Greeks. The hatred of *ὕβρις*, the rule of *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, are reflected sometimes in even exaggerated form in the passion for understatement, the almost morbid avoidance of limelight, self-dramatization, personal exhibitionism, which are so deeply inculcated at public schools as the first rules of decent behaviour that they have become an innate code of national conduct.

I have left to the last the best gift which a great minority, at least, of our Public Schools have to give to their inmates—the chance of spending their most sensitive and receptive years, the years of awakening, in surroundings whose beauty, consciously and unconsciously, is woven into the pattern of their everyday experience and remains their lifelong possession.

I remember hearing that after the last war a discussion took place at Winchester as to what form the War Memorial should take. Should it be utilitarian or aesthetic? Some wanted to devote the money raised to practical and philanthropic schemes, and others to some form of building worthy of the beauty of its context. The practical proposal seemed to be winning when a shy Old Wykehamist who had remained silent throughout suddenly intervened. He said: 'I was never a success at Winchester. I learnt little. I was bad at games. I made few friends. I cannot even say that I was very happy here. But looking back I am aware that the beauty of the place has had a permanent effect upon my life/

Those who know Winchester will understand him.

Its walls of flint and stone hold something more than beauty. They wear, like lichen, an intangible deposit left by time. Within

their span we feel the power and peace of an enduring tradition. The silvery cathedral in its close, Chamber Court, Chapel, and Cloisters standing among great trees and clear chalk-streams, the green quiet of Meads on summer evenings, the scent of limes in bloom—all these distil a sense of sure and lovely continuity. We feel that they have been bequeathed to us and hallowed for us by the unbroken faith of centuries. The past is with us as we learn or play, *a presence not to be put by\

This is the heritage of the few to-day. But those fortunate few need not be chosen from any one particular class. William of Wykeham built his College so that 'poor and needy scholars' could be housed and fed as well as taught. The Statutes of Winchester and Eton both provided for the 'poor and indigent'. Cranmer's words,[1] Tf a gentleman's son be apt to learning let him be admitted; if not let the poor man's child that is apt enter his room', have opened only a chink of the door to scholars ever since. They will have a wider application when the recommendations of the Fleming Report come into force. The public schools must be opened to the ability of the nation and not only to the ability of one class. There is no reason why either their individuality or their ideals should suffer when the best education England has to give is offered on equal terms to the best minds of all her children.

VI

Have English children changed? Since the days of Marjorie Fleming (and even earlier) they seem to have changed very little; since the days of the 'Fairchild family' they seem to have changed a great deal.

The truth is that it is not English children who have changed, but their elders. No one can doubt that parents are nowadays much 'nicer', more humane and civilized beings than they were; no one can deny that being 'brought up' is a much pleasanter experience than it used to be.

Whether as a result children are or are not 'nicer', better

[1] When it was proposed in 1540 that only the sons of gentlemen should be admitted to the cathedral school of Canterbury, Cranmer spoke out boldly and said: 'Poor men's children are many times endowed with more singular gifts of nature which are also the gifts of God, as with eloquence, memory, apt pronunciation, sobriety and such like, and also commonly more apt to apply their study than is the gentleman's son, delicately nurtured. Wherefore if a gentleman's son be **apt** to learning let him be admitted; if not, let the poor man's child that is apt enter his room.' Strype.

fitted for life than they were in days gone by, there is still some divergence of opinion. There are those who maintain that we have exchanged Sparta for Capua; that tolerance and indulgence have led to a general lowering of standards; that if there is to-day less brutality, sentimentality, and bigotry than there used to be, there is also more irresponsibility, more cynicism, and less faith.

But on the whole I think the verdict must be that parents are getting better at their job, and that their children must sooner or later be the better for this improvement. At least a real effort is being made to understand them.

English parents have learnt a great deal. They have learnt that delight and liberty, so far from being demoralizing, are as vital to a child's spirit as fresh air and exercise are to its body. They have learnt to value and to foster *in* their children qualities like candour, courage, and independence, rather than the old slave-virtues of obedience, patience, and submission. They have learnt above all to recognize their own fallibility.

Most of us realize nowadays that some things are revealed to children, which are hidden from our eyes. Our endeavour to-day is not to trouble or darken that vision but to share it.

> Hence in a season of calm weather
> Though inland far we be,
> Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
> Which brought us hither,
> Can in a moment travel thither,
> And see the children sport upon the shore,
> And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore.

X

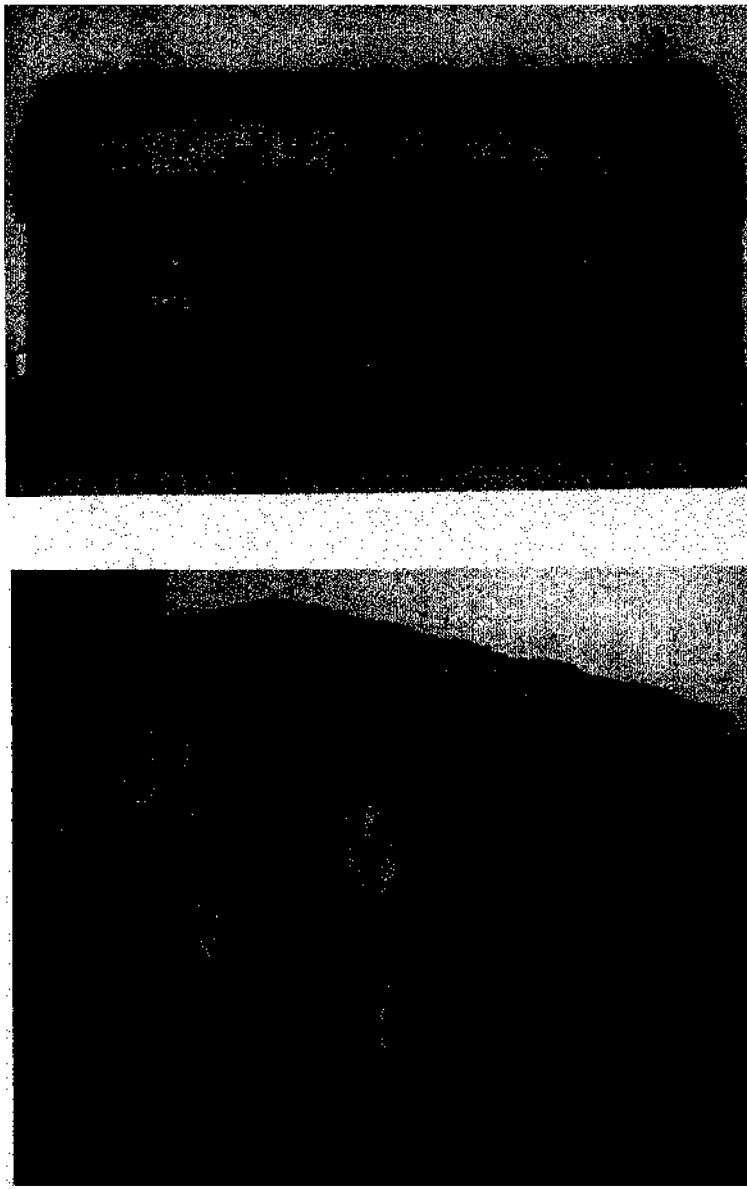
UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOLARSHIP

By **SIR MAURICE POWICKE**

I

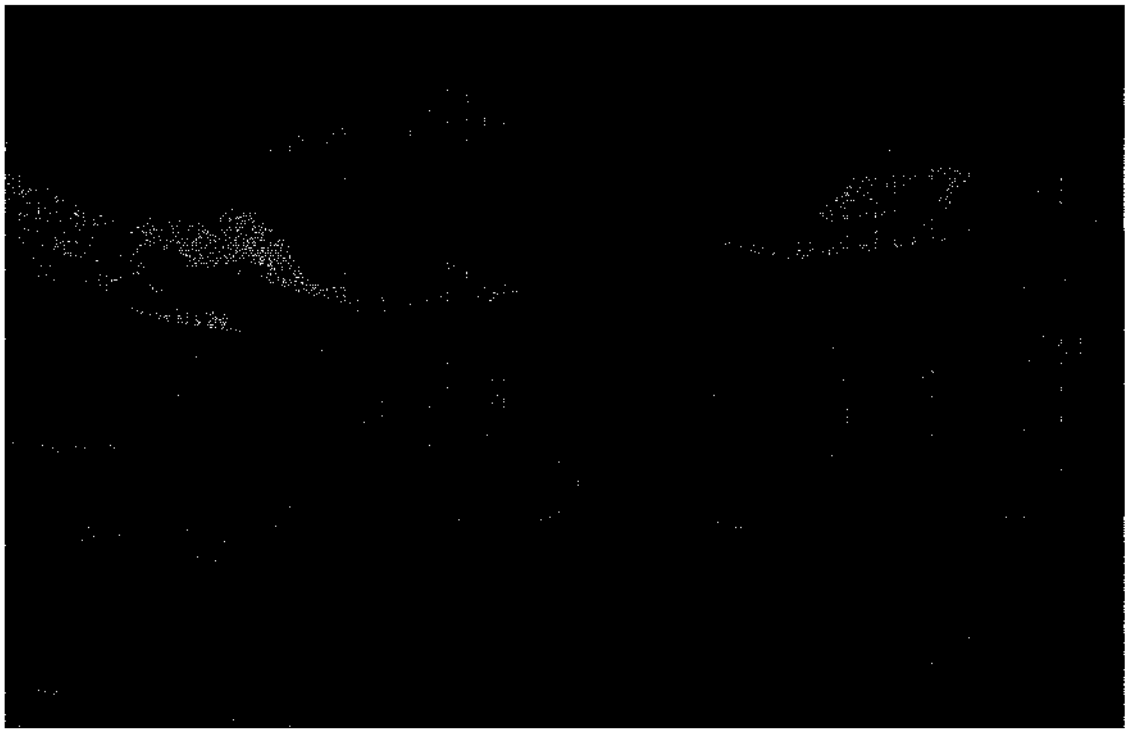
FOREIGNERS find our universities very English. There is nothing like them in the world. This, perhaps, is the only generalization about them to which nobody would demur. Oxford and Cambridge, especially Oxford, have attracted and repelled their children to an extraordinary degree. When J. H. Newman described the university of his dreams he drew on his Oxford memories; yet his own experience had been varied and, as he knew quite well, other great men, Joseph Butler, Edward Gibbon, Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, had got little or no profit from their residence there, and in Newman's own time the university was the object of violent controversy. Oxford and Cambridge have been homes of learning, frequently of the highest learning, for seven hundred years, yet much of the best and most creative work even in the region of English learning has been done outside their walls or the walls of any university. Thomas Hardy, who owed nothing to Oxford, wrote a novel about a young countryman who longed to go there to study: he lived in the old town where famous Dominicans and Franciscans had once lectured and written books, but he was outside the Oxford of his desire; he ran his fingers along the mouldings of college walls behind which he could not enter. Matthew Arnold, who owed a very great deal to Oxford and was her devoted son, put into his best poems all that he felt about her, and their theme is a young man, a scholar gypsy, who could not bear to stay.

The history of Oxford and Cambridge is part of the history of England; yet if we would picture these universities in their earliest days we must ruthlessly dismiss from our minds nearly everything that they mean to us in our thoughts. We must imagine country market towns where, for some reason, groups of masters, clerks licensed to teach, had come together and gathered young men about them. They had no property in common except a little money kept in loan-chests for the help of poor scholars. They 'congregated* for their business and sermons in churches,



TWO OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY'S CHESTS

The unpainted chest was brought into use in 1412 and is now in the Ashmolean Museum. The other, purchased in 1668 and repainted in 1707, is still in the University Chest office



THE SENATE HOUSE AND PART OF THE OLD LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE

they lectured and disputed in hired rooms or 'schools', they lived in hired rooms or tenements. They brought profit and pride to the townsmen who fleeced and fought them. They were far less substantial than the king's sheriff who ruled the county from the royal castle or the landholders who took their rents or the richer townsfolk and officials of the borough. At first they had no abiding place. Scholars have tried in vain to show why Oxford and Cambridge rather than Exeter or Lincoln or Salisbury, which, like other cathedral cities, had their 'schools', became the homes of our oldest universities. It seems incredible, though it is true, that some of the most important intellectual work ever done in Europe was done in Oxford between 1200 and 1300, that already men who had studied there, men of parts and not a few from the ruling families in the land, exercised a profound influence upon the political and ecclesiastical life of England, that popes and kings and learned men everywhere took pride in or at least paid eloquent compliments to Oxford as a centre of light, that the traditions of that distant age still exist, traceable in the constitution, the practices, even in the studies, of the Oxford that we know. The truth is that the later Oxford or Cambridge could not have emerged from this strange, active, uncomfortable life if it had not nurtured and passed on a corporate independence, a capacity for self-direction born of its own mental intensity, seen to be worth while, protected by the powers that be, both spiritual and secular. Our modern universities, while they owe so much more than the masters of the thirteenth century to deliberate contrivance, royal charters, and endowments, can with propriety look back to these men as their kindred, for the best that is in them is derived from the same need for self-expf ession. Something has happened in the last hundred years in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Bristol, Reading, and the older university of Durham. The later glories of Oxford and Cambridge may not be repeated in these crowded cities; but this does not matter. What does matter is that our new centres of learning aspire to an efflorescence of their own, in the spirit in which the medieval masters began their work.

Our universities began not as institutions but as adventures of the mind. Their masters were men caught up by a movement which knew no frontiers. The Oxford and Cambridge which we know were the gradual creation of a patronage which respected learning, enlarged the privileges and opportunities of the masters

and scholars, and turned two English boroughs into busy monuments of our national life. The process has never ceased. Its peculiar quality is the result of the impact upon a new kind of privileged society of the wealth, interests, ways of life which belonged to other privileged elements in a small compact kingdom. The continuous stream of endowments began when an old Oxford man who had made his way at court, Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, changed his intention of a fund to help scholars—hitherto the usual way of showing regard—into a plan for a settlement in a fixed place with a definite way of life of young men, preferably his kinsmen, who had already proceeded to the first or bachelor's degree. A few years later (1284) his example was followed at Cambridge by the Bishop of Ely. So, with Merton at Oxford and Peterhouse at Cambridge, the college system began. The bishops did in the English places of learning what Robert de Sorbon and others had already begun to do in Paris. They could not have had any idea that they were setting in motion a movement as strange as any of the strange things which our insular genius has turned into second nature. They were led by the motives of piety which for centuries had founded and endowed churches and monasteries;[1] the universities and colleges survived the Reformation as societies within a reformed Church of England; but, whereas the Church continued to live on such ancient endowments as it was allowed to keep, Oxford and Cambridge became richer as the objects of an ever-widening generosity. Long before the abolition of tests they were as much lay as clerical corporations, although, in the English way, they retained, as they still retain, their traditional connexion with the national Church. In a word, they became national institutions, upon which all sorts of men might shower an enlightened patronage. While their venerable privileges were respected, their societies of 'poor scholars' were given a place in the national life.

In the course of four or five centuries the relations between town and gown were reversed. The burgesses went on their old way, but their streets and tenements were invaded or circled by

[1] **Merton College Chapel, the earliest 'academic' building in Oxford, was obviously planned on a large scale as though for a community of secular canons* It was never completed. The scholars or fellows of Merton had been given the parish church of St. John with the obligation to serve the parish. A similar endowment at Cambridge, St. Peter's Church, rebuilt as St. Mary's-the-Less, accounts for the name of the college there, Peterhouse.**

buildings which gave shape to the changing moods of an endless adventure. Every adaptation of the old style, every revival of the classical forms, every impulse to the gracious or the grandiose was put to the service of the academic life. The alliance between wealth and learning was whole-hearted. It was an expression of the new order, of the union of Church and State, of the respect for learning and science by spirited and inquisitive minds, of the desire to leave permanent memorials of wealth and dignity, of a confidence which, rooted in the past, did not hesitate to destroy the old if this were necessary in the interests of the new. A. wonderful change came over these market towns. Who can wander in the Cambridge Backs by the glorious sequence of St. John's and Trinity, Clare and Kings, or walk up the Oxford High Street on a sunny morning, or linger on a clear night in Radcliffe Square, and not be aware of something more authentic than the life of every day? It is as though the men of former generations had unconsciously humbled themselves before the steadier power of material things, and confided to this wealth of brick and stone their secrets and their hopes, building for men, stronger and better than themselves, who may come some day.

The gradual establishment of forty or more colleges in Oxford and Cambridge changed the structure and altered the balance of university life. Benefactors, it is true, did not neglect the universities as such. For instance, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester's lovely Divinity School at Oxford, with the library above it, was the first of the noble group of university buildings which occupy the place of the medieval streets between the church of St. Mary and the line of the old north wall of the town. But it was upon the colleges that kings, queens, bishops, lords, country gentlemen, merchants, and others lavished lands, houses, rents, tithes, plate, books, and ornaments. Moreover, they gave opportunities for study within and for advancement without the university to men who came to regard their colleges with a peculiar loyalty. The Master of Trinity at Cambridge lives in a small palace. The fellows of Magdalen at Oxford enjoy, at any rate in their corporate capacity, the amenities of Chatsworth. As landlords and patrons of livings most of the colleges, great and small, have the privileges and duties and, within their courts and quadrangles, much the same domestic dignity and discomforts, of which our country gentlemen and their manors have not yet been wholly deprived. Naturally enough, the members of the governing body or fellows

of a college tended to combine, and often did combine, the cloistered life of a learned cleric with the interests of an English gentleman. Their ecclesiastical standpoint, whatever it might be, was not unaffected by the social and political partisanship of the class with whose fortunes they were now associated. Their discussions and wrangles among themselves reflected the movements of thought and passion in the national life outside. They are conservative, though not so much as they were, and regard their die-hards, just as they treasure their 'freaks', with an indulgent affection, but it is misleading to describe their societies as the homes of lost causes, except in the sense that, in their contentions, a cause that is won implies a cause that is lost. In every age some, like Thomas Hearne in Queen Anne's reign, have complained that the university was going to the dogs. Irresponsible, because secure, forthright in speech because they can give their minds free play against a background of social urbanity, the college dons are affected, in a rarefied atmosphere, by every current in our national life, religious, social, economic, and political; and, just as parties combine to meet a common danger, so all shades of academic opinion are merged in the defence of their essential liberties.

The colleges gave homes and standing to the undergraduates. Until the sixteenth century the colleges were, by their statutes, open only to senior men. Such facilities as they or their fellows gave to undergraduates were exceptional, and their nature has not always been understood. Moreover, as societies, they took no part in the administrative life and academic discipline of the university, which was controlled by the chancellor and masters in their faculties and congregations. The undergraduates, round about a thousand in number, were, in the main, boys in their 'teens, who lived in lodgings or in small groups in halls hired and ruled by a licensed master. They were taught in the schools by regent masters who lectured to them and others and supervised their exercises and disputations. They would seem to have been subjected to no examinations in our sense of the term, as they were in Paris, but it would be a mistake to suppose that, in the early days, they proceeded as a matter of course to the degrees of bachelor and master. In the ardent atmosphere of the schools only men of staying power and purpose can have survived the long periods of study and disputation required of the graduate. Many of the young clerks who thronged the schools must have

dropped by the way. The process of supplication for the degree of master, particularly in the higher faculties, was a solemn affair. The candidate had to be assured of the testimony to his fitness by masters who knew all about him. The actual 'inception* was a social event, the occasion of laudatory speeches and feasting and the gathering of friends. In the case of an important man—and more men of family and substance attended the schools than is usually supposed—it might be described as a public event. Obviously a system of this kind was saved from formality only by the intellectual seriousness and high purpose of the teaching body. When these waned it tended to become a matter of form, and the practice of granting 'graces' or dispensations from this or that obligation began to deteriorate into complicated routine. After the Reformation, in the age of fresh interests, new and distracting subjects of study not comprised within the traditional curriculum, and hostility to the scholastic approach to fundamental problems, the universities lost their inner coherence. It was at this time that the college system came into its own. Every undergraduate was required to reside in a recognized college or hall. College tutors and lecturers were appointed to direct them. Boys and youths filled the college halls, rooms, and courts. New buildings were erected, the old ways of life were revised to meet the needs of men of different ages, drawn from all ranks of society, and separated from each other in academic standing.

The undisciplined state of the universities in the sixteenth century was not due to lack of energy but to an unregulated diffusion. The part taken by Oxford and Cambridge men in national controversy had never been greater than in this age of adventure, nor did Tudor statesmen neglect the universities. Yet 'if remedy were not applied in time there would scarce any face be left of a university'. So William Laud was told, and it was Laud who made the most successful attempt to reform his own University of Oxford.[1] He realized that the college and tutorial systems, of which in his own college of St. John's he was a great benefactor, could and must be used to maintain the ancient traditions in a coherent university discipline. He gave statutory authority to the unofficial weekly meetings of the heads of colleges and hails, and thus established the Hebdomadal Council which, as reconstituted by university commissions in the nineteenth century, still

[1] For the policy which underlay the promotion of the Laudian statutes see especially W. C. Costin's lecture on *William Laud.*

assembles every Monday afternoon to deal with university affairs and to draft statutes and decrees for the approval of the ancient congregations of masters. He restricted the election of the proctors—then the chief executive colleagues of the Vice-Chancellor—to the colleges in turn. He re-established a delegacy which had been appointed to codify the university statutes and which not only redefined the old practices, exercises, religious and other ceremonies, and formalities of every kind, but also introduced an examination system before the grant of a degree. The university, though so greatly changed, is still based, in its constitution and more formal practices, upon the revised medievalism of the Laudian statutes. The least successful of the Laudian innovations was the examination system, hailed at the time as the most beneficent of his reforms, as, in the words of the President of St. John's, 'giving life to the private pains of tutors and the public pains of readers', completing 'all that the founders of colleges and lectures intended'. In that luminous time of great scholars, great books, and high hopes, eager and reforming minds could instil new life into disputations and lectures and sermons, and ensure that young students should face 'fundamental questions'; but, though great scholars came and went and great books continued to be written, the cleavage between the prescribed curriculum and the distractions of social and intellectual movements was not healed. Gradually the exercises became a farce, the professors and lecturers neglected their duties, the tutors ceased to maintain more than a formal discipline, the oral tests were reduced to mockery. College life degenerated into a sheltered existence of complacent ease or futile discord, university life into a dignified routine. Such were the unreformed Oxford and Cambridge of the eighteenth century. And yet—so misleading are all generalizations—England owes a good deal to that long breathing space of leisurely freedom. If it sheltered the idle and the desultory, it opened spacious opportunities to industrious and reflective minds. It satisfied the unhurried scholarship of Warton and the pensive moods and curiosities of Gray. It gave security to pleasant things. Its outlook of detached and cultivated urbanity was clear enough to take stock of the past and steady enough to leave a legacy of confidence with which to face the turmoil of the future, when wealth and privilege would be 'called upon to justify themselves to the nation'. The first steps towards reform were taken by the universities themselves,

at Cambridge by the changes made in the course and examination for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and at Oxford, at the turn of the century, by the recasting of the examination system as a whole. These, without any serious breach with tradition, led to the more drastic changes of the nineteenth century.

Of all the recollections and caricatures of university life during the years before the reform, perhaps the best is Thomas Jefferson Hogg's. Hogg went up to University College, Oxford, from Durham Grammar School in 1810 and in the following October made friends with a freshman, an Etonian, Percy Bysshe Shelley. As every reader of English literature knows, the university career of these eighteen-year-old boys was very brief. Hogg, in his description of their life at Oxford, written some twenty years later, recalls the disappointment which he had felt with a life so praised and so eagerly awaited. His love of Oxford and its countryside, and his genuine, if crude, appreciation of its scholastic traditions, add force to a youthful criticism which found the greatest charm of the place to lie in its social freedom and the 'negative inducements to acquire learning'. At the close of one memorable day he and Shelley spoke together

'of our happy life, of universities, of what they might be, of what they were. How powerfully they might stimulate the student, how much valued instruction they might impart. We agreed that although the least possible benefit was conferred upon us in this respect at Oxford, we were deeply indebted, nevertheless, to the great and good men of former days who founded these glorious institutions, for devising a scheme of life, which, however departed from its original direction, still tended to study.'

The colleges became the centres of ordered life for undergraduates and graduates alike. They could rely on the affections and patronage of their sons. They made connexions with towns and grammar schools in particular parts of England and were more easily associated than the university could be with the general educational life of the land. The springs from which they drew their strength were both diffused by them throughout English society and ran to them along its conventional channels. Hence they were hardly affected by the tremendous changes which broke the English social unity. The toleration of dissent from the established Church simply meant that the intellectual energy which refused to submit itself to religious tests was diverted from them. The Industrial Revolution created a vast urban population which, in so far as it lay outside the older

agrarian system of squire, parson, and freeholder, left Oxford and Cambridge undisturbed. In one respect, however, social changes did affect the universities. Until well into the eighteenth century the undergraduates came in the main from 'free* grammar schools and endowed schools which were fairly uniform in social comprehensiveness. Even Winchester, which was part of William of Wykeham's twin foundation of Winchester and New College at Oxford, and Eton, which was similarly connected with Henry VTs foundation of King's College at Cambridge, were not clearly distinguished socially from the free schools. The long line of illustrious men who went up to Oxford or Cambridge from, let us say, Richard Hooker in the reign of Elizabeth to William and Christopher Wordsworth (1787 and 1792) were in no way embarrassed because they had not been educated in more famous places of instruction than the grammar schools at Exeter and Hawkshead. But social changes revolutionized the countryside. The diffusion of new wealth brought peculiar prestige to a group of schools, some old, some new. These were the 'public schools', frequented by the sons of the gentry, the more prosperous clergy and professional men, and those families whose success in industry, commerce, banking, and the like had led to social stability within or alongside the ruling elements in Church and State. The development coincided with and perhaps assisted a remarkable improvement in the standards required both by the universities and by the public schools themselves. It reflected the seriousness and sense of responsibility which were a feature of the Victorian age. It gave to a mixed society the cohesion and exclusiveness derived from a common code of behaviour and a conscious conformity, in spite of divergences of party and ecclesiastical differences, to the established order. It marked the culmination of the long process in which the older universities were absorbed, fully and unequivocally, into the national life and especially into the public service. By those who were shut out of this elysium the older universities might be regarded as the home of privilege and intolerance, incompatible with a political system which had encouraged freedom of thought and worship, had enlarged the franchise, reformed the municipalities, and given social recognition to the human instruments of its wealth. More reflective minds were led to inquire what was the function of a university. Was the pursuit of learning to be subordinated to the formation of a certain type of character and the training of a

privileged class for the service of Church and State? In fact, the tendencies which provoked criticism had hardly shown themselves when relief came. The universities helped to break down the social barriers which they seemed to maintain. The movement which invigorated their somnolent life and, under the inspiration of Thomas Arnold, created the public-school system, was itself part of that deliberate readjustment which, responding to new needs, set England in the way to balanced democracy. It could not be isolated from the liberal impulse which abolished tests, and welcomed the latest work in the arts and sciences, nor from the reforming zeal which has gradually brought every aspect of the national life under public scrutiny. The most ardent and, on the whole, the most sensible reformers were found within the universities themselves. All the same, Oxford and Cambridge have been too influential, too sure of the things for which they stand, and too deeply rooted in their traditions to suffer fundamental change. They have survived one Royal Commission after another and made incessant accommodations to the spirit of the age without any breach of continuity in their long history. They are a bulwark of academic liberty. They have shown that responsibility to the community and the enjoyment of public subvention are compatible with freedom from State control. They still adhere to the view that the pursuit of learning is more than an end in itself and maintain the *morale* derived from their association with the public schools.

II

The older universities were the outcome of a twofold discipline, the first, self-imposed methods of study and self-nurtured ways of life, the second, supervision by the powers of Church and State of recognized groups of scholars. As schools of higher learning they had no monopoly. They drew from more than their own springs; and in so far as they disregarded the life about them they tended to become arid or perverse. Truth knows no frontiers and the pursuit of it evades the restrictions of time and space. None the less scholars are not like the angels; they are creatures of flesh and blood, responsive to immediate needs. The universities met these needs, and when England became a densely populated industrial state, new homes were required for the cultivation of the mind and, in particular, of interests which had played only an incidental part in the traditions of Oxford and Cambridge. During the last

hundred years the old universities have been drawn into a wider academic life* The changes to which they have submitted or which they have devised for themselves have been their response to a general movement, and a condition of their continued leadership* They have created new faculties, built laboratories, abolished religious tests, admitted women. They have reshaped their administrative system and supplemented the gifts, tangible and intangible, of their colleges by the acceptance of great endowments and annual grants from public funds. Half their teachers, scholars, and commoners come from quarters which, a century ago, did not exist for them, if they existed at all.

In Elizabeth's reign Sir Humphrey Gilbert the explorer had written about a university or academy for London, and Sir Thomas Gresham's foundation was intended to become a third university. Proposals for universities in London and Manchester were put forward in the middle of the seventeenth century. That enlightened man, Daniel Defoe, played with the idea in his *Augusta Triumphans, or the way to make London the most flourishing city in the universe* (1728). The movement which led to the foundation of University College (1826-8) and the incorporation by royal charter of the University of London in November 1836, began in the mind of Thomas Campbell the poet as he conversed in 1820 with the professors of Bonn,[1] though it soon passed into the control of firmer minds. It was urged on by the example of German and American universities, the encouragement of the Edinburgh intellectuals, and the vigorous and practical idealism of such men as Henry Brougham, George Grote, Joseph Hume, Zachary Macaulay, James Mackintosh, and James Mill. It profited by the experience of the dissenting academies and other educational experiments. At first the college took the name of 'the University of London', but the criticisms of other teaching schools, led by the medical schools, and legal objections to the assumption of the functions of a university by a private company, led to the separation of the college and other constituent elements from the body which granted degrees. In any case, the insistence of a reformed House of Commons was required to convince the English Government in the face of the opposition which the project aroused. The degrees given by the older universities were 'the indication of a religious profession, and the habits, and education, and

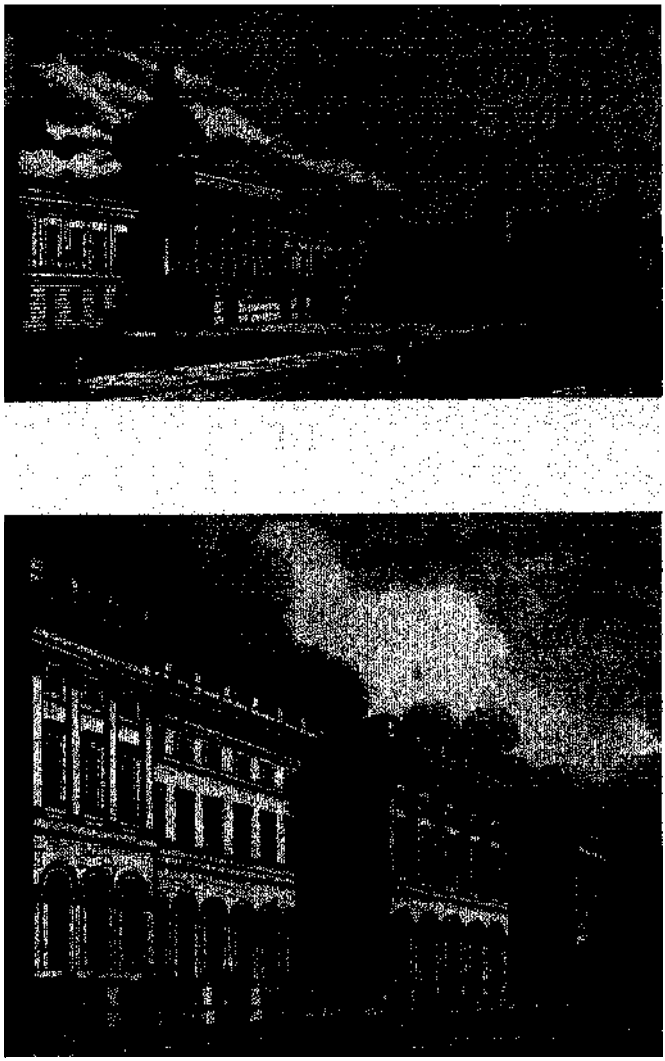
[1] For what follows see H. Hale Bellot, *University College London 1826-1926.*

associations of a gentleman'. The new 'Joint-Stock Company in Gower Street' was the negation of every essential quality of a true university. It was doubtful, so the legal spokesman of the University of Oxford argued, whether the king could legally incorporate a university which did not conform with the doctrines, discipline, and worship of the Church of England. In the view of the more penetrating critics the theological objection went much deeper than a regard for Anglican privileges; it seized upon the danger latent in an alliance between universities and the civil government. The professor of jurisprudence in the new college was no less a man than John Austin, whose theory of law tore up 'the foundation of all that has hitherto been regarded by the world as firm and established', the sense of obedience to a higher law than that imposed by an absolute state. His doctrines were implicit in the foundation by royal charter of a university, which, unlike the new university of Durham, and the new King's College at London, was a frank and blatant creation of secularists, working in uneasy co-operation with schismatics who did not realize where their educational ambitions would lead them. Events have not justified the fear that an uprising of the spirit of intellectual freedom, giving academic responsibilities and opportunities to some of the most distinguished scholars and scientists of the Victorian age, would allow itself to be bridled in tame obedience to an all-powerful State. But this has happened elsewhere, and no law of nature is strong enough in itself to prevent its happening anywhere.

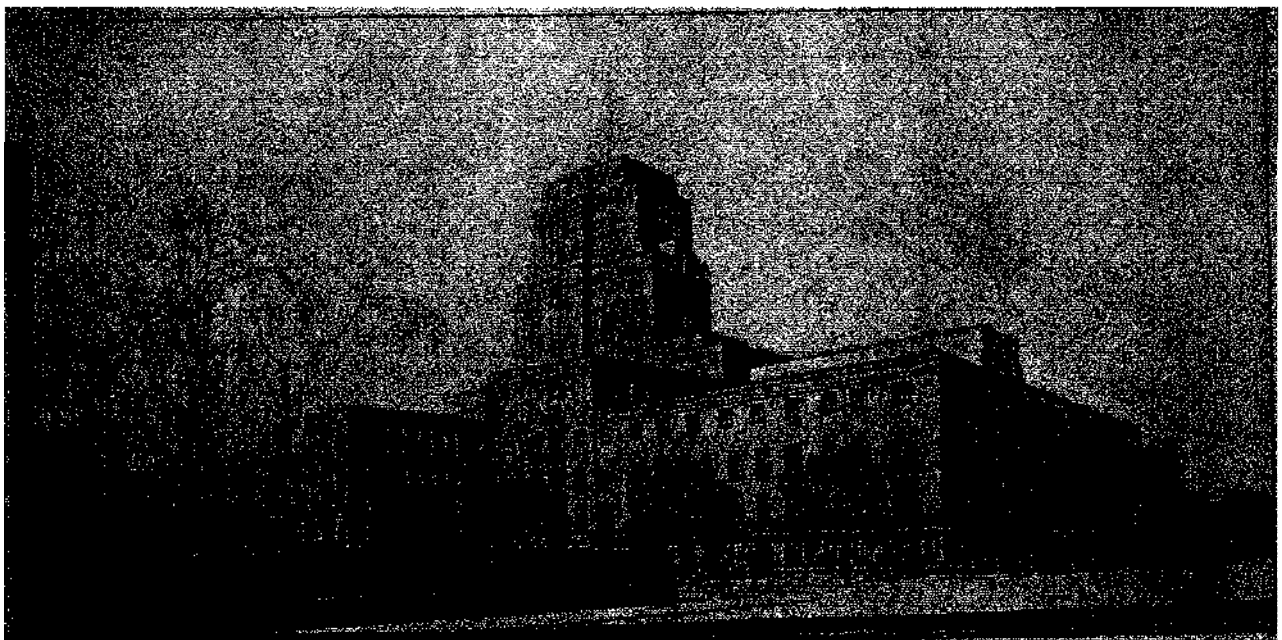
I am not required to trace the history of London University and of the eight other English universities whose history begins with the foundation of the Owens College at Manchester in 1851, The story reveals anomalies, frustrations, and incoherence; periods of depression after times of energy, cynical acquiescence or extravagant despair—the counterparts in these cramped civic institutions to the ups and downs in the story of Oxford and Cambridge. But however drab the record may sometimes seem to be, no man whose mind has first been opened in one of these homes of learning or has acquired a sympathetic understanding, as a teacher, of its life and work can fail to be conscious of the part which it has had and can have in the evolution of a great society derived from an ancient civilization. The English universities owe their being to the peculiar needs of an energetic people, but they are grafted on to a western tradition which goes

back to the days of Bede of Jarrow. As they grow older they transcend the limitations which civic patriotism has sometimes sought to impose upon them, and take control of the local obligations to which, as members of the republic of learning, they can give a richer content. They need more space, more amenities, and a happier atmosphere of security and responsibility for their junior teachers; but they are firmly based as independent corporations in a society which is teeming with educational and inquiring life. Their own immediate ancestors were the academies and learned societies, scholastic experiments and private groups, which gave direction to the intellectual vigour of Englishmen from the time of Priestley to the days of John Stuart Mill. These earlier centres of activity lay outside the older universities, but they were anything but remote from learned thought on the Continent. In the broad view of history they did for England what Oxford and Cambridge and the Royal Society had done in the later seventeenth century, the European brotherhood of scholars in the Jacobean age, the friends of Erasmus in the early sixteenth century, and the great scholastics of Paris and Oxford earlier still. They rallied English intellectual life, linked it with European thought, pushed forward the work of free scientific inquiry, and so prepared the country as a whole for the academic developments of our own day, in which the cleavage between the old and new universities is becoming as blurred as the social distinctions between Anglicans and dissenters.

The growth of the new universities has depended, in fact, upon much more than civic needs or local patriotism. It was derived from and caught up the discussion on the meaning and scope and idea of a university, a discussion which still continues. The new places of learning tried to realize Priestley's demand for a 'better furniture of the mind', and to test the conceptions of Sir William Hamilton, John Henry Newman, and their successors. They have been affected by the useful though historically erroneous interpretation of the word *universitas* as connoting the widest range of study rather than a recognized corporation of masters and scholars formed for the pursuit of the highest learning; but, happily, they have, through many of their greatest teachers, come under the influence of the powerful tradition which was established by the medieval scholars and was passed on in Oxford and Cambridge to later times—that a university is a centre of pure learning, a learning which knows no frontiers, and engages the



(Above) UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, GOWER STREET (1826-8) and *(below)* KING'S COLLEGE, STRAND (1829-31)



NEW UNIVERSITY OF LONDON BUILDINGS PLANNED OR BUILT IN BLOOMSBURY

From a Drawing by the architect, DR. CHARLES HOLDEN

The plan for the wing on the extreme *left has been modified* ***in*** *the meanwhile*

faculties of the mind on problems of general significance and import. The Oxford and Cambridge colleges, by the opportunities which they gave to secular clerks who might otherwise have been forced to seek a living outside, emphasized the wider purposes of a vocational training.

The pursuit of knowledge in universities is a self-perpetuating tradition. The study of mathematics, for instance, was an established part of their curriculum everywhere centuries before Newton's time___Newton, when he went to Cambridge as an undergraduate, stepped straight into this tradition. . . . It was the social function of the universities to set free from the pressure of other motives men who had the desire to know.'[1]

The value to England of her universities, old and new, lies in the maintenance of this tradition, enriched, as it has been and will be, by a catholic reception of fresh learning and a constant adaptation to fresh needs.

Yet, when all has been said, the peculiar quality of academic life in England has long been due to its close relation to a national character from which it is inseparable. Academic life in England draws upon and purifies, or ought to purify, the experience of a living society whose native intelligence has rarely been subjected or perverted, and is reflected both in its mingled speech and in its undaunted inquisitiveness. Not long after the meeting of the reformed House of Commons in 1833, Thomas Creevey, himself a man of racy speech and boundless curiosity, sat down to read his friend William Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, which had first appeared in 1795. He wrote about it:

'I can scarcely conceive a greater miracle than Roscoe's history—that a man whose dialect was that of a barbarian, and from whom, in years of familiar intercourse, I never heard above an average observation . . . who had never been out of England and scarcely out of Liverpool—that such a man should undertake to write the history of the 14th and 15th centuries, the revival of Greek and Roman learning and the formation of the Italian [?]—that such a history should be to the full as polished in style as that of Gibbon, and much more simple and perspicuous—that the facts of this history should all be substantiated by references to authorities in other languages, with frequent and beautiful translations from them by himself—is really *too!*'[2]

[1] G. N. Clark, *Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton.*

[2] *The Creevey Papers*, edited by Sir Herbert Maxwell. The word omitted was illegible to the editor.

Few of us, perhaps, would now endorse Creevey's judgement as a whole, but it points to a feature in English life of which Roscoe's passion for self-education and expression is but an extreme instance. From the earliest times these islands of ours have been inhabited by men and women who could express themselves and have insisted on absorbing all sorts of information and ideas without loss to their common sense. Between them and the men of high learning have appeared, in courts and monasteries, in lords' households and country parsonages, in academies and local coteries, in counting-house and workshops, others who, while innocent of academic attainments in the ordinary sense, have turned themselves into poets, scientists, historians, and discoverers of every kind, and frequently, in doing so, have become, as citizens of the world, more familiar than the scholars in universities with the best thought of their age. Chaucer stands out among such men, and the history of English literature is greatly concerned with them. George Grote and most of his circle, both old and young, were men of this type; so were those scientific pioneers, Priestley, Dalton, Davy, Faraday, a noble galaxy. Then we have the men who, though they were Oxford or Cambridge men, found their inspiration elsewhere. The two greatest philosophic thinkers of the eighteenth century, Locke and Butler, owed comparatively little to Oxford; the one derived most from his foreign associates, the other from a dissenting academy in Gloucestershire and his English friends. Until recent times our leading critics and historians, economists and social philosophers, were anything but exponents of academic trains of thought; they used what they had got from the universities, if they had been there at all, to develop new modes of study in their own way, under other influences. From Sir Walter Ralegh and Francis Bacon and the great antiquaries to J. S. Mill, Buckle, and Herbert Spencer, they appear as men of the world, like Gibbon, or publicists, like Macaulay, as ecclesiastics, lawyers, bankers, and the like, not as university dons. They fed the universities, and were not fed by them. It was the Tractarian and still more the liberal movement in Oxford, the evangelical and still more the scientific movement in Cambridge, which went out, in the name of the universities, to challenge or to absorb the prevalent tendencies in English thought, and so to give the lead to the universities in all humane and scientific studies.

Englishmen should remember these facts with pride. They

imply no depreciation of the academic life. If this were the place, it would be a congenial task to write the apologia of the universities from the days of the schoolmen onwards, to describe their contributions to sound learning, and their influence upon social and public life. It is necessary, however, to say with emphasis that the universities have done and given so much because they have received so much. They have been functions of a lively and vigorous community. One school of thought, of which in the last century Matthew Arnold was the most persuasive exponent, prefers to regard the universities' and our educational activities in general as an apostolic adventure in a barbarous world, and it is tempting to adopt this view in the face of the forces which have corrupted our dialects, defiled the wells of fresh and apt expression, and now, with every kind of mechanical contrivance at their command, appeal to the facile, the sensational, and the second-rate. An organized system of cultural persuasion is required to meet the mass-production of the worthless. Yet there is danger in this course. It may make us forget the intellectual vigour and alertness in our people, not as virtues to be elicited by superior minds, but as a treasure-house of inspiration, the ever-active and changeful vehicles of a great inheritance. It is the function of a university to set standards of critical exactitude, to open opportunities, to be the storing-place and clearing-house of knowledge, to suggest new ways of approach to old problems, and, serving the cause of free and independent inquiry, to welcome all who seek the truth.

XI

SCIENCE

By SIR WILLIAM CECIL DAMPIER

WHERE there is intercourse between nations, science, broadly speaking, is international. Before the foundation of scientific academies in the seventeenth century, communication was difficult and carried on chiefly by correspondence. But such bodies as the Royal Society of London soon began to issue accounts of their meetings, and thus scientific work was published to the civilized world.

There is, therefore, no specifically English science as there is English law, English literature, or even English philosophy. We can but trace the history of science in general, describing the special contributions made in England as the ages pass.

Nevertheless, different countries have been prominent at different periods. In classical times the intellectual centre of the world was first Greece and then Alexandria. While Europe went through its dark ages, the cultivation of learning, including science, was carried on by Arabic-speaking peoples. By A.D. 1200 or 1300 the lead had returned to Christian Europe, and thereafter science became mainly a European activity.

The scientific Renaissance, like its literary and artistic counterparts, began in Italy. In the late seventeenth century the best work was done in England, in the eighteenth in France, while Germany came forward to share the front 100 years later. The three periods when English science most clearly had predominance were the epochs of Newton, Darwin, and then of J. J. Thomson and Rutherford.

A certain difference in kind may also be detected. France's science, like her literature, is clear-cut and logical. At the beginning of the nineteenth century German universities still provided courses of lectures on *Encyclopädie,* which included philosophy as well as science. England had learned to isolate and study distinct problems, and had a happy knack of getting to the bottom of some of them. Moreover, many Englishmen with no academic or other profession devoted their leisure, their chief activities, sometimes their whole lives, to the study of nature. Among these amateurs (if we may call them so with no suggestion of inferiority)

we may mention Robert Boyle, Henry Cavendish, Sir Joseph Banks, Charles Darwin, the third and the fourth Lords Rayleigh, and the eighth Earl of Berkeley. The increasing complexity and cost of modern scientific apparatus, together with diminishing incomes, will probably reduce the number of such men of science in the future.

i

The earliest English science appears in the writings of Bede of Jarrow (673-735), an Anglo-Saxon monk, who based his work on the *Natural History* of the Roman Pliny, but made observations of his own, as, for instance, on the tides. Alfred the Great was said to be 'curiously eager to investigate things unknown'; he caused many Latin books to be translated into the vernacular. One of the first to bring Arabic learning to the west was Roger of Hereford, who flourished about 1180.

In the thirteenth century a great advance in European knowledge was brought about by the rediscovery of the full text of Aristotle's works, hitherto only known in commentaries or summaries. Translations into Latin were made; first from Arabic versions and then direct from the Greek. In the latter work an active scholar was the Englishman, Robert Grosseteste, Chancellor of Oxford and Bishop of Lincoln, who invited Greeks to England and imported Greek books, while his pupil Roger Bacon wrote a grammar of the Greek language. Their chief object was not literary, but to unlock the original tongue of the New Testament and Aristotle.

Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar and the greatest English man of science during the Middle Ages, was born near Ilchester in Somerset about 1210. At Oxford he came under the influence of Grosseteste and of Adam Marsh, a mathematician. While studying all the writings he could obtain, he realized, unlike his contemporaries, that observation and experiment alone gave certainty. He also proclaimed that mathematics and optics, which he called perspective, should underlie other studies. He described the laws of reflection and the general phenomena of refraction. He understood mirrors and lenses, and designed a telescope, though apparently he did not make one. He gave also a theory of the rainbow.

Bacon described many mechanical inventions, some then known, others as possibilities for the future, among the latter mechanically driven ships, carriages, and flying machines. He

dealt with magic mirrors, burning glasses, gunpowder, Greek fire, the magnet, artificial gold, and the philosopher's stone, in a confused mixture of fact, credulity, and prediction. His fame would have rested on popular tradition of his magic had not Pope Clement IV (Guy de Foulques) commanded him to write out his work 'notwithstanding the prohibition of any Prelate or the constitution of his Order*. The books that resulted give us our chief knowledge of Bacon's achievements. Unluckily, Clement died, and Bacon was condemned and imprisoned. He seems to have been released by 1292, when he wrote a tract, but thereafter we hear of him no more.

11

The great intellectual ferment which we call the Renaissance began as a literary revival, but familiarity with classical writings soon reopened also the scientific aspects of Greek thought. The exploration of the Portuguese and others increased geographical knowledge; the Greek theory of the sphericity of the earth became widely known, and in 1492 Columbus reached the Bahamas. The revolution in science which followed was chiefly due to Copernicus (1473-1543), who revived the theory of Aristarchus that the earth and the planets move round the sun within a sphere on which the stars are fixed.

The first Englishman to adopt and improve the Copernican view of the heavens was Thomas Digges (died 1595), mathematician and engineer, who replaced the idea of an immovable sphere of the 'fixed stars' by the concept of an immensity of space with stars scattered through it. Another convert was John Dee, who was a competent mathematician, though he also wrote on astrology and alchemy. Dee was appointed by Elizabeth's government to consider a reform of the calendar, a change delayed in England for 170 years by episcopal opposition.

Among the naturalists who at that time revived the study of plants and animals was Edward Wotton (1492-1555), who also collected all known information, true or false, about them. The increasing security of life led to the laying out of parks and gardens, especially those designed to grow medicinal plants. Books on botany appeared in the form of herbals; in England one by William Turner, an early field naturalist, was published between 1551 and 1568, and another, better known though perhaps less accurate, by John Gerard in 1597.

One of the first to experiment in physical science was William Gilbert of Colchester (i540-1603), Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and President of the College of Physicians. He collected all that was known on magnetism and electricity in his book *De Magnete,* adding many observations of his own. He examined the forces between magnets, and showed that a magnetic needle, freely suspended, not only set north and south, but also, in England, dipped with its north pole downward. Gilbert concluded that the earth acted as a huge magnet, with its magnetic poles nearly, but not quite, coincident with the geographical poles. The variation in time of the magnetic set, or declination, from the geographical north was discovered in 1622 by the mathematician Edmund Gunter (1581-1626), who found that the declination had changed by five degrees in forty-two years.

Gilbert also examined the forces developed when certain bodies such as amber were rubbed, and he coined the word electricity from the Greek word ἤλεκτρον amber. He tried to explain the magnetic and electric forces, and also gravity, by the Greek idea of an ethereal, non-material influence. Queen Elizabeth gave Gilbert a pension to enable him to carry on his researches.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626), Lord Chancellor of England, philosophized about the experimental method which Gilbert practised. Bacon held that by recording all available facts, making all possible observations and experiments, and collecting and tabulating the results, an inquirer might discover general laws almost automatically, and thus steadily extend man's power over nature. But advances in science are seldom made by the pure Baconian method. There are too many facts and possible explanations; insight and imagination must be evoked to choose hypotheses likely to give results. Still Bacon helped to free science from *a priori* methods based on the dicta of Aristotle, and started it on a truer course.

Ill

In the seventeenth century English biological science was made famous by the work of William Harvey (1578-1657). Harvey was the son of a Kentish landowner, and studied at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. He spent five years abroad and then practised as a physician in England. He 'turned his mind to vivisections', and discovered the circulation of the blood. Before Harvey's day men thought that arterial and veinous blood were

separate streams, which each flowed and ebbed independently. Harvey found that in half an hour the heart drives forward as much blood as is contained in the whole body. 1 began to think', he says, 'whether there might not be a motion, as it were in a circle/ His book, published in 1628, marks an epoch in biology, and made possible modern physiology and medicine. During the Civil War Harvey retired with King Charles to Oxford, and for a time was Warden of Merton. He left his estate to the Royal College of Physicians, to be used 'to search out and study the secrets of nature'.

Harvey's mechanical outlook is seen a little later in Glisson (1597-1677) and in a group of men who dealt with the mechanics and chemistry of breathing—Robert Boyle (1627-91), Richard Lower (1631-91), and Robert Hooke (1635-1703). They proved that air is not homogeneous, but contains an active principle, which they called *spiritus nitro-aereus,* needed both for breathing and burning—clearly our modern oxygen. Metals when burned increase in weight, and this increase was traced to a combination with 'nitro-aereal particles'. Hooke showed that, in breathing, motion of the walls of the chest was not necessary if a current of air were blown over the lungs, and Lower proved that the change in the colour of blood took place in the lungs by contact with air. Much of this work was summarized by John Mayow with some additions of his own.

It is curious that the increase of knowledge which followed the Renaissance did not destroy a belief in magic in the form of witchcraft. One of the very few in Europe who resisted this mania was Reginald Scot, a Kentish squire, who in a book named the *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) took the modern common-sense view that the whole thing is a mixture of illusion and roguery. But King James I wrote a book in which he reprobated Scot, and great physicians like Harvey and Sir Thomas Browne were called in to examine witches. Not till the eighteenth century did the civilized world discover that it had ceased to believe in witches before it had given up the practice of burning them. Early science did not grow on a healthy prairie of ignorance, but in a noisome jungle of false and often cruel beliefs.

IV

In our account of English science we are now approaching the first great physical synthesis, beginning with Galileo in Italy and culminating in the work of Newton, when England stood higher than any other country in 'natural philosophy*. Before describing these discoveries, it will be well to give some account of the general scientific atmosphere which Newton breathed as a young man.

The first of the moderns was Galileo, who, by introducing the method of mingled observation, induction, mathematics, and experiment, placed the subject of terrestrial dynamics on a sound basis and clarified the philosophy which underlay it. He proved that a moving body continued in straight motion till an opposing force acted, and that the velocity of a falling body increased in proportion to the time of fall. Then came Huygens, dealing with circular motion and taking the work done on a free body by an impressed force as equal to the kinetic energy. But these new ideas did not at once replace the Aristotelian concepts, or the traditions of the Middle Ages.

While most universities still held to Aristotle, the new experimental method was encouraged at this time by the formation of scientific academies. The earliest were in Italy, but a society began to meet in 1645 at Gresham College in London, under the name of the Philosophical or Invisible College. In 1648 most of its members moved to Oxford owing to the Civil War, but in 1660 the meetings in London were revived, and in 1662 the body was formally incorporated by a Charter of Charles II as the Royal Society. The corresponding *Acaddmie des Sciences* was founded in France in 1666. The advantages given by scientific academies were not confined to the meetings they facilitated between men of science. Most of the societies soon began to print translations or proceedings, and thus gave publicity to the discoveries of their members. In both these ways, the scientific academies helped to promote natural knowledge. Certainly the Royal Society of London formed a focus for inquiry, experiment, and information.

One of the early Fellows of the Society was the Hon. Robert Boyle, physicist, chemist, and philosopher. He was the fourteenth child of Richard Boyle, the 'great' Earl of Cork, and was born at Lismore in Ireland in 1627. From 1646 to 1654 he lived

on his estate at Stalbridge in Dorset, where he fitted up a laboratory. During the next fourteen years he worked at Oxford, with the help of Robert Hooke, improving the air-pump and with it demonstrating a relation still called Boyle's Law—that the volume of a mass of air is inversely proportional to the pressure. He then moved to London,

His chief interest was in chemistry. In 1661 he published a book *The Sceptical Chymist,* in which he demolished both the 'subtile reasonings' of the Aristotelians and the alternative idea that 'Salt, Sulphur and Mercury are the True Principles of Things'. He believed in unalterable atoms, which survive different chemical combinations and other changes. Thus Boyle foreshadowed the chemistry finally founded by Lavoisier and Dalton, after it had followed false trails for an intervening century. Boyle was described (possibly in an Irish epitaph) as 'Father of Chemistry and Uncle of the Earl of Cork'.

Chemistry had to wait for its true start, but mechanics and astronomy were beginning to move in the right direction. Jeremiah Horrocks (1617-41), in a poor Lancashire curacy, ascribed to the moon an elliptic orbit, and predicted and observed a transit of the planet Venus across the sun's disk. Here we have another instance of an Englishman following science for its own sake—in this case with scanty leisure and with meagre resources.

V

In the year 1642, in which Galileo died, Isaac Newton was born at Woolsthorpe, in Lincolnshire. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1661, where he attended the lectures of Isaac Barrow. Newton was elected a Scholar of the College in 1664 and a Fellow in 1665, and in 1669 Barrow resigned his Professorship of Mathematics in Newton's favour. Newton's first subject for his lectures and researches was light.

But during 1665 and 1666 the plague was rampant in Cambridge; Newton retired to Woolsthorpe, and, as he says, 'began to think of gravity extending to ye orb of the Moon . . . and . . . compared the force requisite to keep the Moon in her orb with the force of gravity at the surface of the Earth, and found them answer pretty nearly'.

Apparently 'to answer pretty nearly' was not good enough, or Newton already disliked publication, for he took no steps to make his result known. But perhaps another obstacle prevented him.

The sizes of the sun and planets are so small compared with the distances between them that the whole of each body may fairly be taken as concentrated at its centre. But the moon is relatively less distant from the earth, and the earth is gigantic as compared with things on it. The calculation of its attraction for the moon or terrestrial bodies presented great difficulties, and for a time Newton put aside the problem.

But by 1685 the general question of gravitation was being keenly discussed by fellows of the Royal Society in London, especially by Hooke (originally Boyle's collaborator), Halley (an eminent astronomer), and Wren (the famous architect). It was agreed from Huygens's work that, if planetary orbits, really ellipses, were taken as circles, the gravitational force necessary to bend them out of a straight path must vary inversely as the square of the distance. But none of these men could solve the actual problem of the ellipse. So Halley went to consult Newton at Cambridge, and found that he had obtained solutions two years before, showing that, on the inverse square law between the particles, a sphere would attract as though its mass were all placed at its centre, and the planets would move in ellipses with the sun at one focus. Newton had mislaid his notes, but he worked out the problems again, and sent the proofs 'with much other matter' to Halley in London.

Under Halley's stimulus, Newton collected his results in the *Principia* (1687), the 'Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy', the greatest book in the history of science. In it Newton laid down the fundamental principles of dynamics, distinguished finally between mass and weight, and established mathematical astronomy. But beyond a few tentative suggestions, Newton did not try to explain the *cause* of gravitation—that is another, a later, and a deeper problem.

In 1666 Newton says he 'procured a triangular glass prism to try the celebrated phenomena of colours'. He proved that white light is a mixture of coloured rays, as seen in a prism and the rainbow. He also examined the colours of thin plates by pressing a prism on to a lens of known curvature, thus obtaining what came to be called Newton's rings. Though Hooke suggested a wave theory, the fact that light travels in straight lines led Newton to believe that it consisted essentially of a flight of particles or 'corpuscles'. But the colours of thin plates indicated that the corpuscles 'stir up vibrations in what they act upon'—a combi-

nation of particles and waves strikingly similar to some modern views about the nature of electrons.

Newton was also interested in chemistry, even in alchemy. He had a laboratory behind his rooms in Trinity College, and probably spent more time there on fruitless labours than he gave to the work that revolutionized mathematics and astronomy.

After a threatened breakdown in health, Newton left Cambridge for London, and became Master of the Mint. For many years he was President of the Royal Society, and the acknowledged head of English science.

Newton's astronomical work carried much farther the change in thought begun by Copernicus and Galileo. The heavenly bodies, to Aristotle divine and different from earthly things, were shown to move in accordance with terrestrial dynamics; even comets, whose motions had previously been thought to be incalculable, were brought into conformity. Halley observed and examined the comet afterwards called by his name, and in 1692 wrote that it was controlled by gravity and returned periodically; that it was, indeed, the same comet as the one pictured in the Bayeux tapestry, a portent thought to presage disaster to the Saxons in 1066.

Newton and his English disciples, such as Bentley and Clark, interpreted his discoveries in a religious sense. This most beautiful System of the Sun, Planets and Comets', Newton wrote, 'could only proceed from the counsel and dominion of an intelligent and powerful Being' . . . God 'endures for ever and is everywhere present, and by existing always and everywhere, he constitutes duration and space'. To Newton, then, absolute time and space are constituted by the everlasting and boundless presence of God. But to Voltaire and some of the French Encyclopaedists of the eighteenth century, and to some Germans of the nineteenth, Newton's work appeared to favour a mechanical and materialist philosophy, holding sway, not only over stars and planets, but also over the bodies and minds of mankind. Meanwhile most of the practical English, unlike the logical French and the metaphysical Germans, found no difficulty in accepting simultaneously Newton's science and the religion to which they were accustomed. Both worked well in their respective spheres.

VI

Hitherto biologists had directed their labours chiefly to rediscovering 'the learning of the ancients', but at the time we are now considering they began to make new observations, and in that work Englishmen played a notable part.

While Newton was combining his own work with that of Galileo and Huygens in the first great physical synthesis, a group of biologists were meeting first at Cambridge and later in London. Among them we may mention two men: first Nehemiah Grew (1641-1712) who published the recognition of stamens as the male organs of plants, though he refers the original idea to Millington; second, John Ray (1627-1705), botanist, zoologist, entomologist, and an early writer on the relations between science and religion. Ray travelled through the counties of England and some countries of Europe, often with his friend Francis Willughby, studying plants and animals, and making lists of them. He wrote many books—*A History of Plants, A History of Insects,* and *Synopses* of animals, birds, reptiles, and fishes. Ray also devoted attention to problems of classification, especially of plants, taking account of all qualities to reach a natural grouping. He recognized the importance of the distinction between plants in which the first leaves are single and the plants in which they are double —monocotyledons and dicotyledons. He explained fossils as shells or bones. His writings include *The Wisdom of God in the Works of Creation,* in which Ray follows Newton and the English astronomers and physicists in a theistic interpretation of Nature. Ray resigned his offices at Trinity College because, although a churchman, he did not approve of the Act of Uniformity. Afterwards he carried on his work at or from his birthplace—Black Notley in Essex.

We must not overlook the scientific work done by the great physicians. We have already dealt with Harvey, and in Newtonian times Sydenham upheld the method of observation in medicine, as did John Locke, chiefly known as a philosopher. In the next generation Lady Mary Wortley Montagu introduced from Constantinople the practice of inoculation from a light case of smallpox, which, by the later observations of Jesty and Jenner, was replaced by vaccination—inoculation from a calf—the foundation of modern studies in immunity.

VII

During the eighteenth century the chief advances in mathematics were made on the Continent, but an appendix to Newton's work—the measurement of the gravitation constant or the actual attraction between terrestrial masses—was carried out in England. Maskelyne about 1775 observed the deflexion of a plumb-line on the opposite sides of a mountain, and in 1798 Henry Cavendish described observations on the force between two heavy balls in a balance devised by Michell. A much more delicate balance was used by Boys in 1895. From these experiments the force between two point masses of one gram each, one centimetre apart, can be determined. From this result and the value of gravity it can be calculated that the average density of the Earth is about 5 J times that of water. Another physical constant was determined in 1729 by Bradley, who, from the apparent movement of the stars as the earth travels in its orbit, measured the velocity of light through space. What seemed to be the final confirmation of Newton's astronomy was given in 1845 by J. C. Adams and a Frenchman, Leverrier, who independently predicted the existence and position of a new planet from its effect on the path of the known planet Uranus.

Though chemistry was led astray by the idea of 'phlogiston', the principle of fire with a negative weight, yet solid information was being gained, much of it in England. Stephen Hales rediscovered the gas afterwards named oxygen in 1729 and collected it over water, though he still thought it was air modified by some other substance. About 1774 Joseph Priestley again prepared oxygen, and observed its power of supporting combustion. A little later, by exploding together the constituent gases, Cavendish, and, nearly simultaneously, Priestley and Watt, demonstrated the compound nature of water, thus finally banishing it from the list of elements.

Henry Cavendish (1731-1810), eldest son of Lord Charles Cavendish, and thus grandson of the second Duke of Devonshire, was a man of great wealth and such inexpensive habits that most of his income accumulated. He was of a curiously retiring and taciturn disposition, seldom seeing other people except at meetings of the Royal Society, and even there he rarely spoke. His only interests were in mathematics and 'Natural Philosophy', in which he made notable advances, thus carrying on the English tradition of gifted and laborious amateurs.

The first English voyage undertaken definitely with scientific aims was that of the ill-found 'Roebuck', commanded by William Dampier, who not only explored the Australian seas and islands, but made observations on flora, fauna, winds, currents, and terrestrial magnetism. His book of *Voyages* (1699) led to much of the 'travel literature' for which Defoe in *Robinson Crusoe* and Swift in *Gulliver's Travels* set the example. Later (and more successful) were the voyages of James Cook, who carried farther the exploration of the South Seas, and was sent to Tahiti to observe a transit of the planet Venus across the sun. In the course of his voyages it was discovered that scurvy could be prevented by proper diet. Meanwhile the art of navigation was much improved. Latitude could easily be found, but the determination of longitude was only made accurate when John Harrison improved the chronometer in 1761 by compensating the effect of changes in temperature by the unequal expansion of two metals. Greenwich time could then be taken voyaging on any ship.

This increasing knowledge of the earth led to inquiries about its structure—that is, to geology. In 1728 John Woodward left his geological collections to Cambridge University. They did much to show that, as Leonardo da Vinci and Ray had held, fossils were animal and vegetable remains.

The work of Gilbert on electricity was taken up again in the eighteenth century by Stephen Gray and Priestley, who distinguished between conductors and insulators. They used a fluid theory—electricity being imagined as either two fluids with opposite qualities, or an excess or defect of one fluid. Cavendish proved experimentally that there is no electric force inside a closed electrified conductor, from which it follows that the inverse square law of force holds good for electric charges.

VIII

During the eighteenth century inventions made in England pointed to the coming Industrial Revolution. They owed little or nothing to science directly; they were practical improvements made by men working in various industries; but they gave a great advantage to English manufacture, and, by the general mental atmosphere they engendered, indirectly helped the growth of science.

The stationary steam-engine was made workable by Newcomen,

and improved by Watt's addition of a separate condenser, and by the high steam pressure introduced by Trevithick. Transport was facilitated by the roads, bridges, and canals formed by engineers such as Brindley and Telford, and entirely changed by the steam locomotive, first successfully designed by Stephenson. Textile manufacture was greatly advanced by new machines such as the spinning-jenny, invented by Hargreaves and much improved by Arkwright, while this and other industries were carried forward by the use of steam power.

In the nineteenth century we see a change in the relative positions. Science passes to the front, and shows the way to practice. Faraday's experiments led to electrical engineering; Perkin's discovery of an aniline dye produced, chiefly in Germany, a great new industry; Maxwell's equations elucidated electromagnetic waves, and, at long last, made possible radio and radar.

IX

The atomic ideas of the Greeks were revived at the Renaissance, and in England were later advocated by Boyle and Newton. But a new light on these concepts was thrown by John Dalton (1766-1844), the son of a Westmorland hand-loom weaver, who, in his scanty leisure in a teaching post in Manchester, experimented on gases. He saw that their properties were explained by the atomic theory, and pointed out that chemical combination could be represented as the union of discreteparticles with definite weights characteristic of each element. These combining weights gave a means of estimating the relative weights of the atoms themselves. Thus the speculations of former atomists became a definite scientific theory, capable of examination by quantitative measurement.

The voltaic pile, invented in Italy, was used at once in England to examine the chemical effects of the current given by the pile, and in 1807 Sir Humphry Davy by its means isolated two new elements, potassium and sodium. In 1801 Wollaston proved that voltaic currents were of the same nature as the electric discharges obtained by friction.

The next advances, such as the discovery of the magnetic effects of currents, were made on the Continent, but England again took the lead in the work of Michael Faraday (1791-1867), who had been Davy's assistant and succeeded him at the Royal Institution. Faraday passed electric currents through conducting solutions and reduced the complexity of the phenomena to two

statements known as Faraday's Laws: (1) The mass of substance liberated is proportional to the strength of the current and to the time it flows, that is, to the total amount of electricity passing; (2) the mass liberated is proportional to the chemical equivalent weight of the substance. Thus Faraday founded the subject of electro-chemistry. Later it was pointed out that his results indicated an atomic nature for electricity, an idea which underlies the beginning of the modern work on atomic structure.

Of equal importance were Faraday's experiments on electro-magnetism. After many attempts and failures he found that when an electric current was started or stopped, a secondary, momentary current was induced in a neighbouring coil of wire. The same result appeared if a magnet were inserted in the coil or withdrawn. Electrical engineering depends on this discovery, as does much of the work in our physical and chemical laboratories.

X

Another old idea resuscitated at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the wave theory of light, the credit being due jointly to Thomas Young (1773-1829) and a Frenchman, Fresnel. Young passed a narrow beam of sunlight through two pin-holes in a screen, and placed another screen beyond the first. Where the rays from the two pin-holes overlapped on the second screen, Young saw a series of coloured bands. If simple coloured light were used instead of complete sunlight, the bands were alternately bright and dark. Young explained the facts by supposing them due to the interference of waves. If the wave from one source has half a wave-length farther to travel than the wave from the other, the crest of the first wave will coincide with the trough of the second, and darkness will result. The waves are exceedingly short—about one fifty-thousandth part of an inch—and this explains the normal passage of light in straight paths. Young also pointed to evidence that the waves of light were transverse to the direction in which they travel. To carry these waves it was thought necessary to invent an ether, and, as the waves were transverse, the ether had to possess rigidity. Many attempts were made to imagine such a medium, but without much success.

Young also developed a theory of vision. He was not only a physicist and physician, but an eminent classical scholar and Egyptologist. He deciphered the inscription on the Rosetta stone

from the Greek which accompanied the hieroglyphics, a discovery which first enabled us to read ancient *Egyptian* writings.

Radiant heat was shown by Tyndall and others to be light of longer wave-length, and the middle of the nineteenth century was marked by investigations into the nature of heat in general, stimulated by the improvements in the steam-engine. Boyle and Newton regarded heat as molecular agitation, but later work laid stress on heat as a quantity, and for a time men found it easier to regard heat as a subtle, weightless fluid. But by 1840 evidence had accumulated that the 'powers of nature' were mutually convertible, that, for instance, mechanical work could be transformed into heat. Among others, an English judge and man of science, Sir W. R. Grove, wrote a book on the *Correlation of Physical Forces.*

From 1840 to 1850, J. P. Joule (1818-89) measured experimentally the heat liberated by electrical and mechanical work. He found that, however the work was done, the same amount of work produced the same amount of heat. To warm one pound of water through i° Fahrenheit always needed the expenditure of 772 foot-pounds of work (or their electrical equivalent), a figure afterwards corrected to 778. Hitherto the word 'force' had been used in two senses, a fact which had been recognized by Young. But now Rankine and William Thomson employed instead of 'force' the word 'energy' to mean the power of doing work. Joule's experiments could then be said to show that the total energy of the system remained constant; this indicated a principle which can be called 'The Conservation of Energy'; it may also be called 'The First Law of Thermodynamics'.

Closely allied to the idea of heat as molecular movement is the general kinetic theory of gases, on which the pressure of a gas is due to the bombardment of its molecules. Waterston and Joule showed independently how to calculate approximately the velocity with which different molecules must move—hydrogen, for instance, at o° Centigrade travelling about 1,844 metres, or more than a mile, in a second. A more accurate theory, in which account is taken of the probability of groups of molecules moving within a certain range of velocities, was worked out, among others, by James Clerk Maxwell (1831-79), a Scotsman holding an English professorship at Cambridge.

Thermodynamics were developed further and a Second Law established by men whose names show the essentially international nature of science—Carnot, a Frenchman; Clausius, a German;

Willard Gibbs, an American; and William Thomson, Lord Kelvin, a Scotsman. England does not appear, unless Thomson's temporary residence as an undergraduate at Peterhouse, Cambridge, brings him permanently over the border.

In a heat engine a difference of temperature is necessary, a source of heat and a condenser, and work done with conduction and frictional losses diminishes that difference, so that, in an isolated system, while the energy itself is constant in accordance with the First Law, the availability of the energy continually becomes less—the Second Law. Clerk Maxwell pointed out that control over individual molecules by a being with faculties fine enough, whom Maxwell called a demon, would enable him (or her) to increase temperature differences and the availability of the energy. In Maxwell's day, molecules could only be treated statistically in very large numbers, but single molecules and atoms can now be traced and examined, and perhaps will soon be controlled. The modern physicist, among other functions, may then be able to play the part of Maxwell's demon.

Thermodynamics gave, in the hands of William Thomson, an absolute scale of temperature, with a zero about 273 ° Centigrade below the freezing-point of water. This work, and experiments by Thomas Andrews on the continuity of the liquid and gaseous state, showed the conditions necessary for the liquefaction of gases, in the practice of which a great advance was made by Sir James Dewar, who liquefied hydrogen. To preserve the gases as liquids, Dewar invented the vacuum vessel, so well known later as a thermos flask.

We now come to the subject called at its inception by the name of spectrum analysis. Newton, as we saw, used a prism to obtain a coloured spectrum. It was now found that light from flames tinged with metals or salts gave spectra with bright lines on a dark background, and in 1823 Sir John Herschel suggested that these lines might be used as a test for the metals. On the other hand, Wollaston discovered in 1802 that the bright-coloured spectrum of sunlight was crossed by a number of dark lines. The explanation was given by Sir George Stokes, who pointed out that any mechanical system will absorb wave-energy which falls on it in rhythmic unison with its own period of vibration. The vapours in the outer envelope of the sun will therefore absorb those waves coming from the hotter interior which synchronize with their own periods, so that the dark lines indicate the elements present in the envelope.

Bright line spectra led to the recognition of several new elements. Later Lockyer with Frankland observed a dark line in the green of the solar spectrum, and inferred the existence of an unknown element, which they named helium (from ἥλιος, the sun). It was afterwards discovered by Sir William Ramsay in the mineral cleveite.

Huggins gained much knowledge by using a principle due to Doppler. When a source of waves and an observer are in relative motion, the frequency of the waves as received is altered. If the source and the observer are approaching each other, the pitch of the sound or light is raised; if they are receding it is lowered. With sound, this is easily observed when an express train dashes through a station. With starlight the shift in the spectral lines, though small, is measurable, and enables astronomers to determine the velocity of a star in the line of sight—an apparently insoluble problem. From such measurements the revolutions of double stars round each other can be traced.

Much of Faraday's work in electricity was inspired by his belief in the importance of the dielectric (or insulating) medium. His ideas were clarified and put into mathematical form by Maxwell, who showed that electric and magnetic forces must be reciprocally related, and found an equation which expressed the velocity of an electromagnetic wave. This velocity can be estimated by measuring the ratio between certain electric units, and proves to be 3×10^{10} centimetres or 186,000 miles per second, equal, as near as may be, to the velocity of light. Thus light is an electromagnetic wave, differing only in wave-length from the radio-waves now so familiar. Electromagnetic waves were first demonstrated in Germany, but the theory was due to Maxwell, and much of the development work was done in England. Aerial wires were introduced by Marconi, but the invention of thermionic valves was based on experimental researches, chiefly of Sir Ambrose Fleming and Sir Owen Richardson.

XI

When the atomic theory was firmly established, chemists turned their attention once more to chemical action. The idea of a chemical equilibrium, in which a reversible reaction proceeds equally in opposite directions, was introduced by A. W. Williamson about 1850. Certain substances, called catalysts, help chemical action without themselves undergoing change;

sometimes they are necessary for any action to occur; for instance, Dixon found in 1880 that the explosion of hydrogen and oxygen to form water-vapour will not occur if the gases are quite dry. These catalysts are now of great importance both in academic and in industrial chemistry, and also in physiology and biochemistry, where they are known as enzymes.

In 1856 W. H. Perkin, experimenting with a newly discovered substance named aniline, obtained aniline purple or mauve, the first aniline dye. But the development of this English discovery and its application to countless industrial processes were chiefly carried out in Germany.

In 1895 the third Lord Rayleigh (1842-1919) found that nitrogen separated from the air had a density slightly greater than that of nitrogen extracted from its compounds, and with Sir William Ramsay he traced the difference to the presence in air of a heavier, chemically inert gas which they named argon. Four other inert gases were soon afterwards discovered and called helium, krypton, neon, and xenon. Lord Rayleigh succeeded Clerk Maxwell in the Cavendish chair of physics at Cambridge, and held it for five years. Otherwise he followed and illumined the English tradition of amateur men of science.

XII

The most important biological work of the nineteenth century was that of Darwin on natural selection, which led to a general belief in the old idea of evolution. Charles Robert Darwin (1809-82) was the son of an able country doctor of ample means, Robert Waring Darwin of Shrewsbury, who left enough property to enable his son Charles to devote himself to natural history, free from the trammels of a profession. Darwin's main idea came to him (and, by a curious chance, also to A. R. Wallace) from reading an *Essay on Population* written by T. R. Malthus, curate of Albury in Surrey. Malthus proclaimed that the human race tends to outrun its means of subsistence unless redundant individuals are eliminated. We can detect nowadays qualifications which limit this statement, but at the time it seemed reasonable. Darwin saw that, as living beings vary among themselves, 'favourable variations would tend to be preserved and unfavourable ones to be destroyed', if the pressure of numbers or the competition for mates were great. Thus variations might be intensified, perhaps new species formed.

With this idea as a guide, Darwin tead widely and made countless observations on variation and inheritance in plants and animals, work extending over many years. By 1844 he had convinced himself that species are not immutable; in 1858 he and Wallace both published their views at the Linnaean Society, and in 1859 Darwin's great book *The Origin of Species* appeared. While some men have thought that the small variations studied by Darwin are insufficient of themselves to bring about changes in species, the broad idea of evolution, however it may be carried out in detail, has become more and more probable with the increase in evidence. It is interesting to note that Darwin's work was appreciated sooner in England than in other countries, perhaps because of a national love of plants and animals, well expressed at an earlier date in Gilbert White's classic *The Natural History of Selborne.*

Larger variations had long been known to horticulturalists, and these 'mutations' were studied by Mendel in and about 1865. His experiments, forgotten for forty years, were rediscovered in 1900, again by continental biologists. But much of the work that followed was done by William Bateson and his followers in England, while others in this country, such as Karl Pearson and Weldon, studied Darwin's small variations on a statistical basis. In recent years other statisticians, in particular R. A. Fisher, have brought together these two lines of inquiry. In 1869 Darwin's cousin, Francis Galton, traced the inheritance of physical and mental qualities in mankind, with the idea of studying and possibly improving the innate characters of the human race—a subject he called 'eugenics'. This biological inheritance is to be sharply distinguished from the cultural inheritance whereby national characters are often preserved.

Darwin's work on natural selection, which made acceptable the theory of evolution, brought about a revolution in thought. The first effect was to intensify a controversy concerning the literal interpretation then current of the creation story set forth in the Book of Genesis—a controversy already started by the discoveries of geologists. Anthropology, both physical and social, came to be regarded from a new angle, and the change in man's concept of his place in nature, initiated by Copernicus and Newton, was carried yet farther by Darwin. The many observations which had been made on the customs and beliefs of primitive people, such as those collected by Sir James Frazer from literature and other

evidence in his book *The Golden Bough* and by W. H. Rivers by living among them, received fresh interpretations. Even philosophy and theology had their outlooks widened.

Another biological subject founded and partially developed in England concerned the problems of nutrition. About 1912 Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins showed that young rats fed on chemically pure food ceased to grow until minute quantities of fresh milk were added. Milk, it seems, contains something necessary for growth, which Hopkins called an 'accessory food factor' and was afterwards more conveniently named a 'vitamin*. The chemical constitution of some vitamins has been determined, and in 1933 Haworth synthesized ascorbic acid and identified his product with vitamin C. Large numbers of vitamins are now known, each one with its specific property of producing some necessary physiological action or preventing some disability.

Certain physiological changes are made possible or hastened by organic catalysts, which have been called 'enzymes'. Some of these are formed in one organ and carried by the blood to another, where they show their effect. Sir William Hardy named them 'hormones'. One such, extracted by Banting and Best from the pancreas of sheep, and injected into diabetic dogs, was found to restore the power of digesting sugar; it is now made on the large scale as 'insulin' as a cure for human diabetes. Again, thyroid extract, studied by Kendall in 1919 and Harington in 1926, can suppress the mental deficiency known as cretinism, while a hormone named acetyl choline, active on the nerves, was isolated from the spleen by Dale and Dudley.

In recent work on ultra-microscopic viruses, English biochemists again appear. As examples, Dunkin and Laidlaw obtained immunity from distemper in dogs by injecting weakened virus, and Kenneth Smith, investigating plants, found a disease which needed infection by two different viruses acting together.

The study of genetics has made much recent progress. In each cell-nucleus are found a definite number of thread-like bodies now called chromosomes, the conjunctions and divisions of which may explain the facts of Mendelian inheritance. Some plants will not fertilize themselves or plants nearly allied—other varieties have to be planted near. This limitation is specially important in fruit trees. Much of this work, too, has been done in England.

XIII

Till towards the end of the nineteenth century, it seemed that the main lines of physical science had been laid down once and for all; what remained to be secured was merely increased accuracy in measurement, and the invention of a not too incredible structure for the hypothetical luminiferous ether.

The turning-point may be taken to be the somewhat accidental discovery of X-rays by Röntgen in 1895, but English physicists at once took up their study, especially Sir Joseph John Thomson (1856-1940) and his pupils in the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge. X-rays were first revealed by their photographic effects, but Thomson investigated another property—their power of making a gas into a conductor of electricity. Thomson and Rutherford traced this power to the production of electrified particles or ions which move through the gas. Conduction in gases was thus connected with that in liquids, investigated by Faraday. But while liquid ions seem always present, gaseous ions only exist while the X-rays or other ionizing agency remains at work.

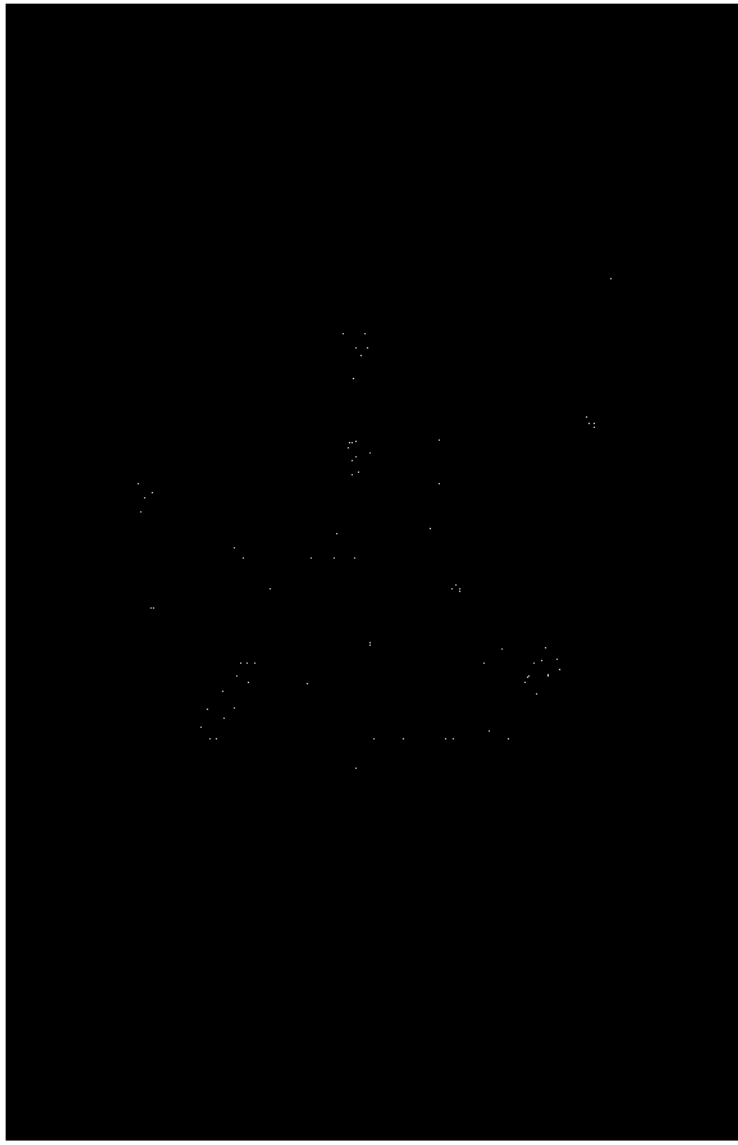
When a gas is pumped out towards a vacuum while an electric discharge is passed through it, straight rays appear, proceeding from the negative terminal or cathode. Where these cathode rays strike solids, X-rays are shot out. If the cathode rays are sent through a magnetic field, they are deflected, and measurements of the deflexion were made both here and on the Continent in 1897. In October of that year Thomson showed that an electric force would also deflect them, and from the magnetic and electric deflexions combined he measured both the velocity of the cathode rays (about one-tenth of the velocity of light) and the ratio e/m of their electric charge to their mass, a ratio much larger than its value for the hydrogen ion in liquids. This might mean either that the electric charge on the gaseous particles was greater, or that the mass was less than that of the hydrogen ion or atom. Thomson preferred the latter alternative, and his choice was soon justified. In doing so he used a method due to C. T. R. Wilson, who found that gaseous ions, like dust particles, act as cloud nuclei in moist air. A single ion can thus be traced by its line of cloud; its charge, too, can be determined. The charge was also measured by Townsend and others, and always proved to be the same as on liquid ions. The mass of the cathode particle therefore must be less than that of the hydrogen atom, previously thought



THE TNEUMATICAL ENGINE' AND ITS PARTS

From Boyle's 'Spring and Weight of the Air' (Oxford 1661)

This was the first air-pump constructed in England, and was used by Boyle in his experimental investigation of the properties of gases, by which he afterwards established 'Boyle's Law' concerning the relation between pressure and the volume of a gas



EARLY COMPOSITE PHOTOGRAPH OF NOTABLE MEN OF SCIENCE
FARADAY, HUXLEY, WHEATSTONE, BREWSTER, AND TYNDALL

to be the smallest entity. The particle has only about the one eighteen-hundredth part of the mass of the hydrogen atom.

Thomson at first gave these particles the Newtonian name of corpuscles, and regarded them as material constituents of matter —its long-sought common basis. Each particle carries a unit negative charge, while an atom deprived of a corpuscle is positively electrified. But shortly afterwards cathode particles were identified with isolated electric charges and renamed 'electrons*, a name universally adopted. They can be obtained in other ways; they are emitted by substances at high temperatures and by metals under the influence of ultra-violet light. These many experiments gave Thomson and the Cavendish Laboratory a reputation which attracted research students from all over the world, and developed the great Cambridge school of experimental physics.

X-rays had been shown to be electromagnetic waves shorter than the waves of light, and the regular layers of atoms in a crystal diffract X-rays as an optical grating diffracts ordinary light. This result opened a new field for research into the structure of crystals, a field explored chiefly by Sir William and his son Sir Lawrence Bragg. Taking a simple cubic crystal like rock salt, they showed that the crystal was formed of layers of atoms or ions, with no linkage to form molecules, the distance between the planes of atoms being extremely small. Much further information about the structure of solids was obtained by Sir Charles Darwin, a grandson of the first Charles Darwin, G. W. C. Kaye, and H. G. J. Moseley.

Moseley, who was killed in the first German war, an incalculable loss to English science, discovered a most important relation concerning the lines in X-ray spectra. Passing from element to element, he found that the square root of the frequency of vibration in the strongest spectrum line shows a simple change. He thus got a series of atomic numbers, ranging from hydrogen i to uranium 92, with only two or three gaps for then undiscovered elements. These atomic numbers seem more fundamental than the chemical atomic weights.

The negative or cathode rays described above were soon matched by positive rays coming from the anode. From their magnetic and electric deflexions, J. J. Thomson showed that the anode rays were flights of particles with masses of the same order as those of chemical atoms. He found that the gas neon, with a

chemical atomic weight of 20*2, gave two sets of particles with atomic weights of 20 and 22. Such elements, with the same chemical properties but different atomic weights, were named by Soddy isotopes. Our knowledge of them has been much extended by F. W. Aston, who obtained regular 'mass spectra' of many elements. Taking oxygen as 16, hydrogen is 1*00837, and the atomic weights of all other elements are very nearly whole numbers; chlorine, for instance, which chemically is 35*46, was shown to be a mixture of two isotopes, 35 and 37. By 1935 about 250 stable isotopes were known.

Radioactivity was discovered by Becquerel in 1896, and radium first isolated by M. and Mme Curie in 1900, but its nature was revealed by Ernest Rutherford (1871-1937), a native of New Zealand, who held a studentship at Cambridge and professorships successively at Montreal, Manchester, and Cambridge; in 1931 he was created a peer as Lord Rutherford of Nelson. England can fairly claim a share in the development and culmination of his genius. In this place it is impossible to describe a tithe of Rutherford's work. We can but pick out his two most outstanding and revolutionary achievements: (1) the experimental examination and physical explanation of radioactivity; and (2) the establishment of the nuclear theory of the atom with the great discoveries which followed.

The element uranium emits continually three kinds of rays, differing in their penetrating power. They were investigated by Rutherford, who called them α-rays, which are helium atoms, ß-rays, which are electrons, and y-rays, which are of the nature of light or X-rays of very short wave-length. Simultaneously new elements appear in the uranium. The radioactivity depends on the element present, and is not affected by combining the element in a chemical compound; so radioactivity is an atomic and not a molecular manifestation. The energy of the α-rays, measured as heat by Curie and Laborde, is far greater than that of any known chemical action. In 1902 Rutherford and Soddy put forward the hypothesis that single atoms here and there in the radioactive substance undergo spontaneous and explosive transmutation. Rutherford traced the pedigree of one radioactive family, finding some fifteen generations, beginning with uranium and ending with lead.

Geiger and Marsden, working in Rutherford's laboratory at Manchester, had proved that α-particles, when colliding with

atoms, sometimes showed a violent deflexion. Rutherford, linking this with other facts, saw that atoms must possess heavy, positively electrified nuclei, massive enough to deflect colliding a-particles; outside the nucleus are negative electrons. Thus Rutherford founded the nuclear theory of the atom, which is the basis of modern atomic physics.

In 1919 Rutherford proved that certain long-range particles, found by Marsden when X-rays were fired into hydrogen, were fast-moving hydrogen nuclei. He gave them the name of protons. They were also produced by the collision of a-particles with nitrogen, which was thus converted into hydrogen—the first artificial transmutation of an element. In this way the dream of the medieval alchemist came true. Many of the lighter elements were afterwards similarly disintegrated by Rutherford and Chadwick, while Cockcroft and Walton devised a method of obtaining artificially particles of great speed by the use of very high voltages, a method developed further in America.

Besides electrons and protons, several other varieties of subatomic particles are known. In 1932 Chadwick proved that certain rays, first observed abroad, were particles with masses about equal to those of hydrogen atoms and no electric charges; they are now called neutrons. As Feather and others have shown, these particles are very effective in causing transmutation. To this result we shall return.

Appleton, Barnett, and Ratcliffe investigated radio problems, especially the reflection of radio waves from the ionosphere, a conducting layer in the high atmosphere. Through his pupils and colleagues, Rutherford's influence is still a potent factor in the advancement of knowledge, and English physicists, Rutherford's pupils and others, are more than holding their own. Though the three chief developments in recent physics—relativity, quantum theory, and wave-mechanics—were initiated abroad, they were taken up and carried forward partly by English men of science.

In 1927 it was found that a moving electron when striking a thin film produces a train of waves, a result confirmed in this country by Sir George Thomson, son of Sir Joseph Thomson. The wave-length is about the millionth part of that of visible light. It will be seen that these electrons closely resemble Newton's corpuscles of light, 'which stir up vibrations in what they act upon'.

The most recent theories, those of wave-mechanics, go farther, and leave the description of electric particles in terms of wave-equations. Thus we depart entirely from the older ideas of material bodies, and establish a completely new basis for physical science. Englishmen, it is true, being for the most part mechanically minded, have for long sought atomic models which they could understand, but some, at all events, are now willing to leave fundamental concepts in the decent obscurity of mathematical equations. Once more let us remember Newton, who held that the ultimate cause was certainly not mechanical.

XIV

Newton's astronomy held good for 250 years, and even now gives true results except in measurements of extreme accuracy. Einstein's theory of relativity was first expounded in England by Sir James Jeans, and was confirmed experimentally by an English astronomer. The minute deflexion of a ray of light passing near the sun is twice as great on Einstein's theory as on Newton's. During the eclipse of 1919, Sir Arthur Eddington (1882-1943) in the Gulf of Guinea photographed a star just clear of the sun's disk and settled the matter in favour of Einstein.

Our ideas of the Stellar Universe have been much altered by modern concepts of relativity, units of radiation, and wave-mechanics. Laplace's nebular hypothesis is unable to explain the origin of the Solar System—the mass of that system is too small. But Jeans and others have proved that the enormously greater bodies called spiral nebulae might produce whirling arms in which may be formed condensations the size of stars. Spiral nebulae are star-groups or galaxies in the making. Smaller conglomerations, like our Solar System, might be made by a chance approach of two stars in a gaseous stage, when tidal waves would arise and perhaps break up into planets.

From the size and density of the sun, Eddington calculated the rate of increase of pressure with depth below the surface, a pressure supported by the elasticity of the gas and its radiation. The internal temperature must be very high; Sir Ralph Fowler gave evidence which indicated some 20,000,000 degrees Centigrade. The temperature of the external radiating layer is, of course, much less—a few thousand degrees.

With these enormous internal temperatures, atoms will be ionized, that is, stripped of their outer electrons, and very dense

stars, with densities of about a ton to the cubic inch, have been discovered; in them atoms must consist of nuclei only. To the phenomena of these dense stars Dirac and Fowler have applied the recent theories.

A problem which has puzzled many generations is the source of the energy continually emitted by the sun and other stars. Modern astronomers—Jeans and others—have thrown a completely new light on the problem. On the principles of relativity, mass and energy are mutually convertible, and if protons and electrons join to neutralize each other, gigantic outbursts of radiant energy would result. But there is another possibility, suggested by Aston's mass spectra—that in the sun hydrogen is being transmuted, chiefly into helium, but leaving a balance which appears as radiant energy. This process would supply less radiation than that given by complete conversion, but if only 10 per cent, of the sun's mass were transmuted from hydrogen to other elements, enough energy would be liberated to maintain the present radiation for some ten thousand million years—a period perhaps long enough for us to contemplate.

Kelvin applied the principle of dissipation of energy to the Universe, arguing that it led to the conclusion that all energy would ultimately pass into heat uniformly distributed and so useless. The modern view sees much the same conclusion, though it reaches it by looking to the conversion of mass into radiation. Jeans holds that there must have been a definite beginning, and that finally there will be 'neither sunlight nor starlight, but only a cool glow of radiation uniformly diffused through space'. Whether some unforeseen contingency may intervene to stop or reverse this process must be left undecided.

XV

To some men the idea of science concerns only discoveries which have industrial or military importance, and their view of research looks to immediate practical use. But, as this chapter shows, the true object of science is the increase of knowledge; application of its results to the arts of life may or may not follow, and it is impossible to tell beforehand what theoretical work will have practical bearings. Nevertheless, on a lower plane, scientific experiments can sometimes be devised to answer definite practical problems as they arise. To meet this need, and to cope with the increasing complexity of inquiries and cost of equipment,

enlightened governments have been led to subsidize research. In England subsidies are given from national funds to universities and to the Royal Society, and three bodies have been formed to deal with special practical subjects without neglecting fundamental science—the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Medical Research Council, and the Agricultural Research Council, while, to initiate and support promising inquiries both scientific and social, not otherwise provided for, the Development Commission waits quietly in the background.

A tremendous impetus to such practical *ad hoc* researches was given by the war of 1939-45. An enormous number of problems were examined, and very many solved. Here it is only possible to describe two of the most important. Radiolocation, later called radar, was developed on the principles used by Sir Edward Appleton and his colleagues in their investigations on the ionosphere. Short electromagnetic waves, a few centimetres in wave-length, when condensed into a beam are reflected by distant objects—ships, aeroplanes, buildings, or inequalities in the ground—and can be used to detect and locate them. British radiolocation, better than that of the enemy, helped to win the Battle of Britain, and later, joined with American, it revolutionized navigation and naval tactics, and guided our aeroplanes to their targets and home again.

In 1932 Sir James Chadwick, as described above, proved that certain rays, first observed in Germany and then in France, consist of uncharged particles with masses about equal to those of hydrogen nuclei or protons; these particles are now called neutrons. They are very effective in causing transmutation—a discovery which has led to portentous results.

When the element uranium, atomic weight 238, is bombarded with fast neutrons, some of its nuclei suffer fission into two nearly equal parts, and its isotope uranium 235 is divided even more extensively by slow neutrons. Either change liberates more neutrons, which themselves may cause fission. From a small lump of uranium the neutrons escape, but beyond a certain critical mass of uranium 235 they are stopped, and in their turn become effective; we then get a cumulative or 'chain* reaction and an explosion, enormously more violent than any previously known. Certain substances absorb the neutrons and can be used to control the process. They were employed at

one stage of bomb production, and may perhaps point the way to the operation of atomic energy in the arts of peace. It is impossible to name all the English physicists, chemists, and engineers who co-operated with Americans and Canadians in producing the atomic bomb, and it would be invidious to mention a few.

The control of atomic energy and its use in peaceful industry sets difficult problems to science and technology. Doubtless they will be solved and a new power put at the disposal of mankind. How that power will be used, for good or evil, the governors, statesmen, and people of the nations must decide.

XII

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

By C. T. ONIONS

I

THE vast volume and range of the English language can be perhaps best appreciated by turning over a sequence of the 15,000 quarto pages of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, where its development through some 1,200 years of its history is systematically displayed within the restrictive limits of the alphabet. Another kind of view may be got by comparing the size of the complementary parts of a two-way dictionary in which both languages receive adequate treatment; it will often happen that the English-X part is markedly larger than the X-English part. This enormous wealth of vocabulary and idiom is due to the great mass of native elements that have finally survived the wear and tear of conflict; to an influx of foreign words unparalleled in any other language; to the spontaneous invention of many 'roots' of the echoic or symbolic kind; and finally to the incessant interaction of these constituents on one another, producing hosts of new and often hybrid formations and myriads of idiomatic phrases and syntactical combinations.

The number of English-speakers at the present moment may be reckoned at something near two hundred millions; this great total is the outcome of unceasing growth and expansion since the first landings on the shores of Britain in the fifth century A.D. of some shiploads of adventurers from Denmark and the Low German areas of the Continent. Writing about the year 730, the Venerable Bede states that the invasion and settlement of this country was by three tribes, Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. This tribal partition is reflected in the earliest records of the English language by certain dialectal differences, with varieties that became accentuated later, until political and social conditions as well as the requirements of literature finally imposed the necessity of a generally accepted standard. This standard language was based on an East Midland variety of speech, with London and the two universities as cardinal points.

English is a Germanic language, that is, it belongs to the group that includes the Frisian dialects, Dutch, German, the

Scandinavian tongues, and Gothic. This group belongs in turn to the immense stock that embraces nearly all the languages of Europe from Ireland to Russia, and extends beyond Europe through the Middle East to India. Comparative philology shows that these languages had many sets of words in common, which must consequently have belonged to what is called Indo-European. Such are names of parts of the body, *arm, ear, eye, foot, heart, knee, nail, tooth;* terms of family relationship, *father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, widow;* names of animals, *beaver, cow, goose, hound, wolf,* and of the heavenly bodies, *sun, moon, star;* the numerals from one to ten; the pronouns /, *me, thou, ye, it, that, who, what,* and such primary verbs as *come, do, eat,* and *sit.* There are some words, on the other hand, that have no known cognates outside the Germanic area, e.g. *drink, give, heaven, hell, holy, horse, rope, swear, wife, world,* and the points of the compass *north, south,* and *west.* Others are still more limited; for, while *ewe* is of Indo-European range, and *lamb* is restricted to Germanic, *sheep* does not extend beyond Western Germanic. Moreover, each of the main Germanic languages has words that are not shared by the others, and for English one can cite as peculiar to it a miscellaneous list comprising *adze, bird, dark, distaff, ever* and *never, fieldfare, heifer, oakum,* and, notably, *worship* (which is 'worth-ship') and *woman* (originally a compound of *wife* 'woman* and *man* 'human being'), with *lord* and *lady,* which are both based upon the Anglo-Saxon *hlaf* 'bread', 'loaf, and are primarily evidence of the master's and mistress's concern with the food of the household.

At the present day, the vocabulary of every European language that is something more than a patois is a medley of many origins. With English, this mixture had begun before the language was brought to this country, through the incorporation of many Latin words; and the adoption of Latin elements was to continue through succeeding centuries with varying intensity. Latin was also the medium whereby Greek words first made their way in; and in the thousands of adoptions from French that have been made at different stages since (or even before) the Norman Conquest down to this present century we have in the main what is merely altered Latin, that is, Latin in a Romance form. The earliest of the Latin elements have assumed, and did so at a very early date, the appearance of belonging to the native stock—such are *butter, cook, cheese, dish, priest, inch, pound, wall* A French word of the

first stratum of adoptions has done the same, viz. *proud* (from an Old French form now surviving *as preux),* which looks and sounds as English as *bud.* The Englishman, indeed, has a knack of concealing such aliens from all except the philological detective. Thus, the verb *strive,* which is from Old French *estriver,* was actually taken into the *drive* conjugation, and given a past tense *strove* and a past participle *striven,* just as, long before, the Latin *scribere* was naturalized by all the Western Germanic peoples, whence the German *schreiben, schrieb, geschrieben,* and the English *shrive, shrove, shriven* (with a specialized application). Another example of forcible treatment of an alien is in the formation of *pride* on the adjective *proud;* this was carried out on the model of many pairs of native words, one of which was organically related to the other by the process called 'mutation', the regular operation of which had ceased long before. In later times we have continued to force alien words into our own linguistic frame, especially by imposing upon them the native fashion of stress, as in such a word as *tndnner,* which began as *manure,* after the French end-stressed system: this vacillated for a time between *manure* and *mdner,* until the latter triumphed. And so with a host of words such as *honour, bacon, city, justice, nature.*

The Englishman has dealt with foreign languages at his own sweet will, and French especially. Dryden caught up the seemingly rare *double entendre* in 1673, and it has remained with us ever since, being preserved, no doubt for all time, in a nineteenth-century nonsense rhyme. We use *papiër mdchk* as no Frenchman uses it, instead of the proper *carton-pdte.* We have presumably invented the French-looking *ipergne,* which still defies the etymologist. Having taken over French *morale* 'morals, morality' in the eighteenth century, we continue to use it for what the French call *le moral* 'the disciplinary state of the fighting man'.

The English have always had a genius for naturalization, so that the alien word finally ceases to stand out from its surroundings and blends with its environment by a sort of protective mimicry. Thus, *chauffeur* at one time inevitably became *shover;* and the English soldier made *chemmy* out of *chemin-de-fer* and *pontoon* out of *vingt-et-un.* In the war of 1914-18 his invincible humour converted the French *estaminet* into *stay-a-minute,* and did not hesitate to make a comparative *the tooter the sweeter* from *tout-de-suite. (Il) n'y en ap(l)us* 'there is none left' became *napoo,* which served as a word-of-all-work in any kind of disastrous situation. It was

the army in India, too, that made the thoroughly English-looking *blighty* out of the Hindustani *bilaitiy* which means simply 'foreign', and made it mean 'England', whence it was applied to a wound that sent the soldier home. We may note a few other items of cognate interest. In our anglicization of Italian *fascismo,* we are content to retain *se* and pronounce the word either in semi-Italian fashion with *sh* or in a modified form with *s*; French, on the other hand, pronounces it with s, while German reshapes the spelling to *Fasehismus.* The Russian *borshtsh* has been known in English for half a century, but we still refuse to pronounce it with all its consonants, and cooks may spell it *borsch, bortsch,* or *borscht.*

Although English has forced many foreign words into its framework and thoroughly naturalized their form, it has, on the other hand, retained many with the original spelling in spite of its antagonism to the native scheme, and it attempts an approximate foreign pronunciation: e.g. *role, cafi, imigri, facade, aberglaube, schadenfreude, aria, obbligato, chiaroscuro, intelligentsia.* It is curious, too, that, with our supposed contempt for things foreign, we should use abbreviations of French words and formulas in our everyday affairs, for example, Messrs. (the French *Messieurs)y* which provides a plural for Mr., R.S.V.P. *(Repondezs'il vous plait),* and P.P.C. *(Pour prendre congė).* There is a lengthy list of unaltered Latin words in general use, apart from a much larger number of scientific technicalities; such are *alias, congeries, farrago, genius, hiatus, larva, maximum, nil, series', solus, veto, virago,* and *bonus* (but why the masculine form?). We may conveniently mention here the technical term *moron,* together with *kudos, nous,* and *hubris,* which no doubt emanate from the scholar, with the traditional English pronunciation of Greek.

A commonplace paragraph, taken at random from an evening newspaper, may serve to illustrate the distribution of native and foreign elements in the English language as it appears in the day-by-day presentation of news or opinion.

There is nothing to frighten the most *nervous* in the new *Government appointments. Age* and length of *service seem* so far to have been *regarded* as the *essential requirements,* and the *result* is a sound team *competent* enough to *enable* the new *firm* to *carry* on without *serious* fear—always *barring* the *incalculable accident*—of any *grave catastrophe.* But it is a *remarkably* elderly team: and there is little *evidence* in it of any *very considerable fervour.*

The words of alien origin are here italicized, but one must point out that some of them have taken native suffixes or inflexions, as *regarded, barring, remarkably.* One of the foreign elements, *seem,* is of Scandinavian origin, and therefore Germanic; the rest are of Latin extraction (with one ultimately Greek), but mediated for the most part through French. We observe at once that the small but indispensable counters of discourse are native, and that the foreign element may be described as, in general, abstract.

Though many other tongues have a large percentage of adoptions from foreign sources, none but English can show the same kind of verbal mosaic. It has been paradoxically said that it was the salvation of English that it became a Romance language. It has certainly been to its great and inestimable advantage that a large part of the Latin dictionary—and not a little of the Greek—has been emptied into it. It is, indeed, difficult to exaggerate the benefits that have arisen from the employment of different bases for the same notion, of words derived from various sources and supplying terms for use in different spheres of science or art, or providing alternative—and sometimes subtle—shades of meaning and distinctions of application. In general or common diction one may mention *brotherhood, fatherly, heavenly, kingly, boyish, hellish,* by the side of *fraternity, paternal, celestial, royal, puerile, infernal.* Then we may instance such convenient forms as *ocular, mental,* and *oral* as the appropriate adjectives for *eye, mind,* and *mouth,* whereas any forms based on the native words with native suffixes would have been intolerable, and appear never to have been used for such a purpose. Passing to the scientific field we note the apt adoption of such a word as *osseous,* whereby *bony* can be reserved for the special sense of 'having prominent bones', and the convenience of the verb *ossify* compared with the clumsiness of any conceivable synonymous derivative of *bone.* There are almost innumerable examples to choose from and there is space here only for a few. We may, for example, contrast human *foresight* and *prevision* with divine *providence,* and observe that the adjective *provident* goes with *foresight,* but *providential* with *providence.* And alongside English *eye* and Latin *ocular* are to be set Greek *optical* and *ophthalmic,* and beside *bone* and *ossify* there is the Greek *osteology* (bone-lore); beside the native *sunny* (a sunny day, a sunny beach, a sunny smile), the Latin *solar* (a solar eclipse, solar rays) and the Greek *heliacal* (of the rising and setting of the sun); beside the English *hearty* (a hearty laugh), the Latin *cordial*

(a cordial handshake), and the Greek *cardiac* (cardiac weakness). Again, how should we fare now if we had not, alongside the English/oe, the French *enemy,* and the Latin *adversary* with *hostile* and *inimical* ? And how could the lawyer be without the English *murder* and *manslaughter,* beside the French and Latin *homicide}*

Nor have we been content to adopt a foreign word in one form only. The diversity of the Anglo-French current in this country for nearly 500 years and the adoption of the same word from French at different periods and consequently in different shapes, or the direct adoption of the Latin original of such a word, have led to extensive duplication, such as we see in *catch* and *chase, blame* and *blaspheme, sure* and *secure, royal* and *regal, dragon* and *dragoon, dainty* and *dignity;* there is duplication even by difference of stress, as with *gdllant* and *gallánt.* These are specimens of what philologists have called doublets. There are, moreover, triplets in *leal, loyal,* and *legal,* and even quadruplets in *gentle, gentile, genteel,* and *jaunty.*

This brings us to consider the wealth of approximate synonyms which English possesses, and which makes its competent use in speaking and writing a thing of great delicacy. A few instances must suffice in illustration. According to the needs of the occasion we may choose between *rich, wealthy, opulent, affluent, well-to-do,* and *well-off;* we make a useful distinction between *legible* and *readable,* where German has only *lesbar,* though French has *lisible* and *Usable*; similarly, *edible* and *eatable* can be kept rigidly distinct, though they are not seldom interchanged. *Audacious* and *daring* are not so simply distinguishable, and the choice between *repellent* and *repulsive* is a nice matter. It has been held by some that a language is at a disadvantage that has such a plethora of epithets as *hateful, odious, loathsome, repulsive, offensive,* together with *disgusting, distasteful, nauseating, sickening, noisome*; but the discerning will know what is the right place for all of these. And we have concerned ourselves here only with adjectives; the subject is inexhaustible.

Thus far we have considered only French, Latin, and Greek importations, and especially *vis-d-vis* their native counterparts. But the alien element arising from our contact with the nations of Europe in warfare and politics, in the arts and the sciences, and with countries outside the Continent by travel and colonization, is as miscellaneous as it is extensive. To give a few examples

of the diversity of origin—which is all that would be feasible here—might be merely misleading. Thus, to name the original languages of words such as *horde, crimson, monsoon, sampan, fez, civet, chocolate, mahogany, uhlan,* would convey much less than the truth about their adoption into English, since all of them have arrived by a chain, longer or shorter, of transition, each of them representing the final term of a migration from one intermediary language to another.

The creation of new 'roots' has been active for many centuries, and English now contains a very great number of words of the echoic kind typified by *bang, thump, bump, rumble, squelch, giggle, tap, rap, titter,* as well as of the reduplicated or jingling kind, such as *fiddle-faddle, hurly-burly, argle-bargle, see-saw, roly-poly.*

The formation of new words by shortening is of several kinds. The initial syllable may be discarded, as *in fence* for *defence, fend* (whence *fender)* for *defend, sport* for *disport, size* for *assize, lone* for *alone, cute* for *acute.* Another kind is made by dropping all but the first syllable, as *cab, mob,* and *phiz* for *cabriolet, mobile vulgus* 'the fickle crowd', *physiognomy.* The abnormal reduction of *omnibus* and *telephone* to their final syllables is comprehensible when one reflects that any other truncation would leave unmeaning disyllables.

The creativeness of the language has been well illustrated of late by the multitude of synonyms it has made for things of immediate moment, such as the Vergeltungswaffe of the Germans. Thus, the pilotless plane, first launched over England in 1944, became known within a week or two as p-plane, bumble bomb, buzz bomb, doodle-bug, flying bomb, fly-bomb, robot plane, and robomb. More recently still, the atomic bomb has appeared in newspapers as atom bomb, ato-bomb, and A-bomb; and its currency has given rise to a new application of *atomic* in atomic age and pre-atomic age, with fantastic developments like atom age, atom policy, atomic control, atomic war. The earlier example of *Quisling* is a simpler matter, but not less characteristic. The Norwegian major's name not only became a common noun, but it acquired a derivative *quislingite* and gave birth to a verb *quisle* by our favourite device of back-formation, which has produced, among others, *bant, edit, suckle, laze, burgle,* and—most remarkably—*greed* from *greedy, difficult* from *difficulty, partake* from *partaker.*

The incorporation of local words and usages into a standard language is a general phenomenon, and English has some remarkable examples. Thus, from the south-eastern area come the forms of the adjectives *left* and *merry,* which in the midlands had the vowel 1. The pronunciation *wun' of the numeral *one* is pretty certainly a western or southern trait; it goes with 'wuts', for *oats.* Equally remarkable is the influence of the same regions in the establishment in standard English *of vane, vat, vent* (in garments), and *vixen,* with *v* instead of/.

Examples of the invasion of the general vocabulary by dialect words can be traced back at least to the sixteenth century. There is every likelihood that *swagger* was an intruder from the eastern counties; and at this time also the northerly interests of Spenser provide, among others, the word *glen,* which is a Scottish word of Gaelic origin, like *clan, linn, pibroch,* and *claymore.* Other Scotti-, cisms, of Scandinavian origin, such as *beck, gill,* and *tarn,* have been domiciled in literary English at various dates from the seventeenth century. Of a different class are *narrate* (which was stigmatized as a Scotticism by Samuel Richardson and by Johnson), *ne* er-do-weel* (in which the northern form of *well* is commonly retained by Southerners for its particular colour), *outcome* (which was brought from his native country by Carlyle), *uptake* (familiarized by Scott, but often used in conversation with a consciousness that it is foreign).

A number of words have been taken in from Anglo-Irish, some appearing first in the works of George Farquhar (1678-1707); such words as *spalpeen* and *squireen* have become so familiar that the Irish suffix *-een* is almost felt to be native.

In the adoption of words and phrases from other forms of English, the contribution of the United States of America takes first place in more recent times. In this field our insular idiom has used a discrimination that is difficult to assess; for one reason or another some of the commonest phrases which make journalistic American incomprehensible to us have not 'caught on* in this country. It will surprise many to learn that *bedspread, belittle, law-abiding, grave-yard, overcoat, lengthy,* and *telegram* 'hail from' the U.S.A. There are other expressions, however, which seem to carry an American hall-mark about with them; such are *graft, log-rolling, soft pedal, rake-off, pep, coon, show-down, put across, face up to, check up on.*

II

The part played by individuals in the making of our vocabulary can rarely be determined with certainty before the sixteenth century. Though Chaucer may appear to be the first user of many words, in a historical account of the evidence the fact that he often shares what seem to be novelties with Wycliffe, Langland, Gower, and John of Trevisa imposes caution in this matter. But 'makers of English' is a title that can undoubtedly be given to Coverdale and Tindale, eminent as translators of the Bible, to the first of whom we owe *loving-kindness,* and to the second *long-suffering,* and the epoch-making rendering *elder* of the Greek original of *presbyter.* From Spenser's personification of vain-glory in the character of Braggadochio was derived a picturesque common noun for the person and the action of the swaggerer. In his works we also find the first examples of *blatant* and *elfin.* In this sphere Shakespeare is pre-eminent, but with him, as with Chaucer, we have to be on our guard against a too facile attribution of 'earliest instance' where the whole evidence cannot in the nature of things be available. It can, however, be stated that his works are the earliest that have been adduced for *dwindle, illume,* the noun *critic* and the adjective *critical, exposure, pedant, seamy, impartial*[9], for several adjectives in *-ful,* as *eventful, fitful;* and for some impressive phrases like *the be-all and the end-all.* An exhaustive list is out of the question here; but one other item must be mentioned, namely, Shakespeare's abundant use of the prefix *out-* to express 'outdoing', notably exemplified in *out-Herod Herod,* which has been the model for many similar compounds. A remarkable parallel to this has been seen in the present century, when *Superman,* Mr. Bernard Shaw's felicitous rendering of Nietzsche's *Vbermensch,* has set a new fashion in *super-compounds.*

Milton stands in strong contrast to Shakespeare in this, for there are few novelties to be attributed to him; the chief of them is *pandemonium,* originally his title for the abode of the devils. Of other proper nouns which have become common some noteworthy instances are: *Abigail,* the name of the waiting gentlewoman in Beaumont and Fletcher's 'The Scornful Lady'; Swift's *Yahoo* and *Lilliputian;* Dickens's Sarah *Gamp,* the monthly nurse whose surname has become a synonym of 'umbrella'. *Malapropism* is from Mrs. Malaprop, a character in Sheridan's 'The Rivals'.

We end with a mixed bag: Samuel Johnson's *clubbable,* T. H. Huxley's *agnostic,* Lewis Carroll's *chortle* and *galumph.* This brief treatment of an important subject has left out of count the many technical terms that have had their origin in English.

It is to be doubted whether there is any other language of which both the literary and the conversational forms are so much interlarded with words, phrases, and scraps of sentences that have been caught up from great writers and speakers, or that have impressed themselves upon the public mind through some memorable event or some casual popularity, and have become part of the universal stock, to be drawn upon for any occasion, from the most solemn to the most trivial. Such elements, often degraded into mere tags, may occur in speech or writing without any hint of allusion or marks of quotation; many of them have entered into the very texture of the language and coloured the everyday idiom. The share of the Bible and the works of Shakespeare in this matter has often been emphasized, but it should be noted that the Book of Common Prayer has in proportion to its size played a commensurate part. Pages could be filled by a full list of such 'household words' from Shakespeare—this very phrase is his. A few of them are: 'caviare to the general', 'yeoman's service', 'to the manner born', 'the very pink of courtesy', 'beggar all description', 'suffered a sea-change', 'hoist with his own petard', 'more honoured in the breach than the observance', 'salad days', 'a consummation devoutly to be wished', 'one touch of nature', 'stale, flat, and unprofitable', 'bear a charmed life', 'brave new world', 'very like a whale', 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune', 'this sceptr'd isle', and 'in his habit as he lived'. From the Bible we have: 'unstable as water', 'full of good works', 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness', 'threescore years and ten', 'corn in Egypt', 'heap coals of fire upon his head', 'conquering and to conquer', 'the fatted calf, 'loaves and fishes', 'the letter killeth', 'strain at a gnat', 'to appeal unto Caesar', and 'the peace of God which passeth all understanding'. From the Prayer Book: 'all that are desolate and oppressed', 'understanded of the people', 'outward and visible sign', 'read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest', 'in quires and places where they sing', 'in the vulgar tongue', 'the old Adam', 'the outward and visible sign', 'their lawful occasions', 'unity, peace, and concord', 'flourish like a green bay tree', 'peace in our time', and 'all sorts and conditions of men'.

Spenser and Milton have not furnished much in this kind, but we can cite 'squire of dames' and 'well of English undefiled' from Spenser, and from Milton 'dim religious light', 'the light fantastic toe', 'hide their diminish'd heads', 'to scorn delights and live laborious days'. But we may go back to earlier times for the source of many allusive phrases, even to the thirteenth century and its famous lyric beginning 'Sumer is icumen in', a casual echo of which has appeared even in a daily newspaper. Coming to the great name of Chaucer, we may instance 'a verray parfit gentil knyght' and 'a clerk of Oxenford'. From Marlowe we have 'infinite riches in a little room'; from Ben Jonson 'Swan of Avon' and 'Marlowe's mighty line'. Bacon is represented by 'hostages to fortune', Dryden by 'God's plenty', Pepys by 'and so to bed', Pope by 'fools rush in where angels fear to tread' Gray's Elegy by 'some village Hampden', 'the madding crowd', and 'waste its sweetness on the desert air', Burke by 'men of light and leading' (a phrase familiarized by Disraeli but based originally on a passage in a little-known prose work of Milton's). Burns gives us 'the best-laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley', Goldsmith 'the dog it was that died', Samuel Johnson 'clear your mind of cant' and 'to point a moral or adorn a tale', Wordsworth 'trailing clouds of glory' and 'the world is too much with us', Keats 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ever', Blake 'England's green and pleasant land', Southey ' 'twas a famous victory', Dickens 'the taste and fancy of the speller', 'waiting for something to turn up', 'extensive and peculiar', and 'in its Pickwickian sense', Carlyle 'the Dismal Science', Browning 'God's in his heaven' and 'the first fine careless rapture', Macaulay 'in the brave days of old', Tennyson 'broadening down from precedent to precedent', 'the old order changeth, yielding place to new', and 'someone had blunder'd', Keble 'there is a book who runs may read', Matthew Arnold 'home of lost causes', Longfellow 'to suffer and be strong'. More recent times have given us Queen Victoria's 'We are not amused', Kipling's 'the lesser breeds without the law', 'an absent-minded beggar', and 'East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet' (with its attractive archaism *twain),* Joseph Chamberlain's 'learn to think imperially', Henley's 'I am the captain of my soul', H. G. Wells's 'the shape of things to come', and Winston Churchill's 'terminological inexactitude' and 'blood, toil, tears, and sweat'. Lastly, among the miscellaneous we may mention: 'half as old as Time', 'the way of all flesh', 'pretty Fanny's

way*, 'the hand that rocks the cradle', 'the thin red line', 'every bullet has its billet', 'a walking dictionary', 'an elegant sufficiency', 'a stiff upper lip', 'always on the buttered side', 'ploughing **the** lonely furrow', 'and heard great argument', 'I do not love thee, Dr. Fell', 'What's lost upon the roundabouts we pulls up on the swings', 'Are we downhearted?', 'How goes the enemy?', 'make do and mend',' 1066 and all that'. The source of some of these may not be distinguished, but they 'get there all the same'.

The familiar bandying about of such phrases has sometimes led to careless quoting or to disregard of the proper meaning, and the following are not infrequently mangled or misapprehended: the Biblical 'a drop *of a* bucket'; Shakespeare's 'the sere, *the* yellow leaf; 'for this *relief* much thanks'; 'that state of life unto which it *shall please* God to call me' of the Prayer Book; Milton's 'fresh *woods* and pastures new'; Pope's 'a little *learning* is a dangerous thing'; Burke's *'rapacious* and licentious soldiery', Carlyle's *'trans-cendent* capacity *of* taking *trouble'.*

III

The oldest form of English known to us—Anglo-Saxon or Old English—was a fully inflected language with more variations than are to be seen in German at the present day. This inflexional system—the paradigms of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs —has now in the main been reduced to a few relics of a highly complicated order: viz. the *s* of the genitive singular and of the plural of nouns, and of the third person singular of the present indicative; the *-d* or *-t* of the past tense and past participle of 'weak' verbs (the only living conjugation); the *-ing* of present participles and gerunds; and a few distinctive pronominal forms, as *his ,whonty those.* There are survivals of mutated plurals such as *men, feety teethy* and *micey* and (with extraordinary vowel variation) *woman* wʊbmin, *women* wimin. There are unaltered plurals like *folk* and the animal names such as *sheepy deer, horse* (as in *three thousand horse),* which in the oldest English were all, like many more (e.g. *leaf wife, thing, sword),* neuters having the nominative and accusative singular and plural identical in form; other uninflected plurals of different origin are exemplified by *fortnight* and the archaic *sennight,* by the use *of foot* and *stone* in measurements, of *year* in *two-year-old,* and of *dozen* and *thousand* when qualified by another numeral. There are two survivals in common use of the n-declension in *oxen* and *children,* with

brethren as a specialized and restricted form beside *brothers.* But only the first of these, *oxen,* has come down from the earliest period, as the old poetical *eyne*—in present Scottish *een*—has done. The others are new formations—two only of many that were created in southern dialects: which prompts the reflection that, if the West Saxon variety of English had prevailed instead of an East Midland form, our declension of nouns might have been an n-declension and not an s-declension, and *housen* and *hosen* and *shoon* would have been standard instead of local (as they are to-day), and *kine* would have superseded *cows* entirely. Then we have among pronouns the new possessive *its*—new, that is, in the sixteenth century—a convenience unparalleled elsewhere; we have also the unpredictable *this-these* and *that-those,* and the distinctive *hers, theirs,* and *ours* beside *her, their,* and *our.* A fossilized genitive of adverbial meaning, and not consciously connected with the s universally applied to nouns, appears in 'go your ways', 'nowadays', and 'must needs'. In verbs there are sturdy and extensive remains of the 'strong' conjugation typified by *sink, sank, sunk* and *write, wrote, written*: but the inflexions of the 'weak' conjugation, viz. *-d, -t,* have invaded the 'strong' at many points. At the same time some old 'weak' verbs now exhibit a mixture of root-vowel inflexion (due to various causes) that is superficially analogous to that of the 'strong' verbs, as in *tell-told* (contrast *fell-felled), buy-bought, seek-sought, feed-fed.* Furthermore, there are nearly a score of verbs, such as *set* and *cut,* that have all their principal parts identical. Thus, while the systems of declension and conjugation have been simplified and normalized on the one hand, on the other, what has survived shows the most glaring anomalies and incongruities.

One result of the reduction of inflexions in English is that there is no other language of the Indo-European stock in which the part of speech of any given word is so little recognizable by its outward shape. For instance, *like* can be a noun *{the like* or *likes of this),* an adjective *{it is like this),* a verb (/ *like this),* an adverb *{as like as not),* a quasi-preposition *{it goes like this),* and a conjunction *{like this is*—a use four centuries old, but still frowned upon). The bases of these variations of *like* are to be found in four Old English words, an adjective *gellc,* a noun *gellca,* an adverb *gellce,* and a verb *lician* (originally meaning 'please'). *Round,* though of French origin, is also susceptible of all these categories, except that of conjunction.

The transference of a word from one part of speech to another does not now involve a change of form; thus, the verb *bid* or *make* becomes a noun merely by prefixing the definite or the indefinite article or some demonstrative, or by the affixing of the plural ending *s*. This process of derivation is based ultimately on the correspondence of such a pair as the noun and the verb *name;* these were in Old English *nama* and *namian,* both of which, by phonetic reduction, became *namë,* and finally, by the loss of the ending, a monosyllable. Such a correspondence made immediately possible the derivation from verbs of a multitude of nouns, such as *break, do, hold, let, stand, yell,* to mention a few at random; conversely, from early times many verbs were made from nouns, such as *hand, fool, image, land, man, time;* and the two processes are still in full swing.

This derivation by mere transference from one part of speech to another is one of the many facilities afforded by the flexionless state of our language. Another advantage is the freedom with which nouns may be used in the attributive relation without change, and without forming compounds in the German manner, and often in such a way that they become adjectival, though they never in fact become adjectives, since as a rule they are not susceptible of grammatical comparison; thus, *silk* in *silk dress,* although it means 'of silk', cannot be equated with *silken* or *silky,* nor can it have a comparative *silker* or a superlative *silkest* In the present century the attributive use of nouns has been carried to extreme lengths in newspaper usage—where economy of space is a ruling consideration in the arrangement of headlines: one need only mention such examples as 'U.S. Strike Peace Hopes' and 'Bus Overtime Work Refusal'. There are hardly any limits to such attributive uses, which may result in such a comic grouping as 'university, family, and pork butcher'.

Lack of inflexion also enables elements of different numbers and genders to be combined without inconvenience or ambiguity, as in *a thousand and one nights,* for which French has *les mille nuits et une nuit,* with clumsy repetition, and German *tausend und eine Nacht,* with illogical lack of concord. The convenience of non-inflexion is seen in various other features, as in sentences of the proverbial or aphoristic kind, like 'Better bend than break', where no indication is given of the part of the verb that is used, or 'Much cry little wool', 'One man one vote', where the case of the nouns and their grammatical relation is not—and need not

be—formally marked. Non-inflexion assists such conversions of parts of speech as are illustrated by 'the native white* and 'the white native', 'the poor Indian' and 'the Indian poor', a grammatical state of things that it is difficult to parallel in other languages. Again, where we have a distinctive inflexion, as in the plural of nouns and the third person singular of the present indicative, and the decision between a singular and a plural concord is presented, we may have recourse, for the verb, to the u£e of non-committal forms like *can, may, musty* which belong to all persons and numbers.

In spite, however, of the reduction of inflexional forms to a minimum, a feeling for certain distinctions still exists, as for that of case in relative clauses where repetition of the relative pronoun is necessary with a different syntactical function; e.g. 'a matter *that* is urgent and *which* you must attend to now[1].

It is in conformity with the English character that regularization has not proceeded with uniformity or without compromise. A determined opposition to uniformity is exemplified in the absolute personal pronouns, which might have been brought into line in the standard language by the use of a final *n* for all—after the model of *mine* and *thine*—as has in fact happened in dialects with their *hisn, hern, ourn, yourn,* and *theirn*; but this regimentation was resisted, and *hers, ours, yours,* and *theirs* were finally established with *s* on the pattern of *his,* thus leaving *mine* (with the archaic *thine)* isolated. Again, in the present of the verb 'to be' some dialects carry *be* right through in */ be, he be, we be,* &c, some generalize the *s* of *is,* and others transfer the *m* of *am* to the plural *(we'my you!my they'm)*; but these tendencies have had no permanent effect on the shape of the verb in normal English, which retains the irregular *amy arty is, are,* as German retains *bin, bisty isty sindy* French *suis, es, est, sommes, etes, sonty* and so forth. There is no urge among the literary languages of Europe to have these everyday counters reduced to uniformity.

By making use of alternative forms of earlier times we have sometimes made two words out of one; thus, by taking the variant *flour* of the *noxin flower,* we have invented a term for the 'flower' or fine state of meal. *Curtsy,* although nothing but a reduction of *courtesy,* is no longer associated with it, any more than *fancy* is identified with its antecedent, *fantasy, phantasy. Chirp* and *chirrup* are now quite distinct, since the *r* of *chirp* has

disappeared in the standard speech, and the vowel has consequently changed. Less striking, but practically serviceable, is the discrimination of *alarm* and *alarum,* which is not, however, made absolute, for *alarm clock* is still used for an alarum. Among outstanding examples of such differentiations are *divers* and *diverse, human* and *humane.*

Perhaps the most remarkable concurrent use of living variants is seen in the allocation of different forms of past participles to different meanings, as in *'sunk* ships' and *'sunken* cheeks', *'shrunk* woollens' and *'shrunken* limbs', *'swollen* lip' and *'swelled* head', *'cloven* hoof and *'cleft* palate', *'struck* all of a heap' and 'the *stricken* field', 'game must be *hung*[9] and 'to be *hanged* by the neck till he be dead'. A mere difference of spelling corresponds to difference of use in T was *born* here', 'a *born* fool', and 'She has *borne* several sons'. Two forms of the past participle of *get* are used, the ordinary *got* and the fossilized form in *'ill-gotten**; somewhat similarly we have the commonplace *clothed* alongside the literary *clad,* and *bound* beside the unshortened form in the archaic *'bounden* duty'. There are, moreover, distinctive alternatives such as *sewed* and *sewn, heaved* and *hove, lit* and *lighted, loaded* and *laden, bid* and *bidden.* Liturgical usage has preserved the *-ed* of past participles as a separate syllable, so that *'BlessH* are the pure in heart' is heard alongside *'blessed* (= blest) by a priest', while the spelling *blest* has been favoured by poets *('Blest* pair of sirens'). The solemn and the trivial or profane meet strangely in this word, witness 'the *blessid* dead', 'every *blessed* thing', and Well, I'm *blest!'*

IV

The phonetic structure of English—the assemblage of sounds that constitute it—is marked by a multitude of hisses and buzzes *(so, shoe,* haze, phase, pleasure, *judge),* by the use of two kinds of / (contrast Zeap with fa//) and of two varieties of the dental *th* (as in *thin, then),* by the absence of a trilled r, and by the prevalence of the so-called neutral vowel (in phonetic script a), into which the majority of unstressed vowels degenerate and which is the normal vowel in most unstressed suffixes and prefixes, as in *ever,* moral, famous, absurd, adore, oppose, support.

Every language is individual in respect of the consonant groups that it will tolerate. In English the possible groupings are manifold and the juxtaposition of combinations that are difficult for

many foreigners is conspicuous; one need only mention such specimens as *crumbled, fledged, stretched* (i.e. stretsht), *strengths* (one vowel set in the midst of six consonants—or seven, if one inserts a *k* between *ng* and *th).* Of the combinations of consonantal sounds, a notable proportion is found with s, viz. those represented by *sc, scl, scr, si, sm, sn, sp, spl, spr, squ, st, sir, sw.* Final *z* is very common because of the frequency of possessive singulars and plurals of nouns ending in a vowel or a voiced consonant (bz, dz, gz, lz, mz, nz, ngz, vz), and of the third person singular of the present indicative with the same phonetic conditions, e.g. eye's, eyes, houses, lies, together with the constantly recurring as, is, was, has, does.

Of the simple vowels those of *rat, rot,* and *rut* are so peculiar to the language that their acquisition causes great difficulty to foreigners. An outstanding idiosyncrasy is that, as a result of the incidence of stress, unstressed vowels may be so obscured that the phonetic correspondence between related words is so far weakened that only the consonant skeleton remains constant; *e.g.phdtograph,photdgrapher, zxAphotogrdphic,* which in phonetic notation are foutegraf, fatogrsfe, foutegraefik.

But, for the general complexion of the spoken language, nothing distinguishes it so completely from the generality of European tongues as the slackness of the mode of utterance and the absence of that muscular tension in the mouth which characterizes many other languages. Other features that differentiate it are the articulation of *t, d, I,* and *n* in the post-dental, not the dental, region, the slight degree of lip-rounding, and the diphthongal development of certain long vowels, as those of *name* and *road,* and (with some classes of speakers) those *of feet* and *mood.*

The present discrepancy between English pronunciation and English spelling is due partly to the heterogeneousness of the elements of the language or their diversity of origin, and partly —or even predominantly—to the failure of the spelling to keep pace with the development of the spoken language, for we are still using a system that represents in the main the stage of pronunciation reached about the year 1500, by which time the use of printing had begun to impose a necessary uniformity. For more than a century afterwards, however, varieties such as *onely, onelye, onelie, onlie, onlye* persisted, and were no doubt cherished by the printer as being convenient for line-spacing. One of the most notable conventions of the sixteenth century was the allocation

of *ee* and *ea* to 'close* and 'open* *e* respectively, and the evidence afforded by this difference is often of philological import. The number of useless final *e's* was in time curtailed, one result of which is that very many words now end in *w* and *y;* at the same time, no native word now ends in *i* or *u* (except *thou* and *you).* Of the consonant signs, *c, q,* and *v* cannot be the final letter of a native word; *c* is always supported by *k* in that position, and *v* by *e>* e.g. *back, give.* The once regular spelling of the suffix *-ic* as *-ick* was preserved until recently in the title of the Master of the King's Musick. There are conventions in the use of certain letters which are visually of great convenience, such as that of *y* to avoid the collocation *ii* or *iei* in *tying, dying,* and the like, and to distinguish *lie* from *lye, die* from *dye;* likewise, the use of *e* in *singeing* to separate it from *singing.* Some prefer to write *hateable* and *saleable,* &c, with an *e* to mark their derivation more clearly; the insertion or omission of the medial *e* in *judgement* and similar words is a point on which writers and printing-houses differ; the same is true of *-ise* versus *-ize.* English is unique in spelling the nominative of the first personal pronoun with a capital; the reason is that / represents the 'long i' *(i hngd)* of medieval writing, which was used for clearness' sake to distinguish a solitary *i.* English is unique also in using a capital initial for pronouns referring to God; but it should be observed that this is not the practice of the Authorized Version of the Bible or of the Book of Common Prayer.

We have retained the initial combinations *gn, kn* (earlier *en),* and *wr* of native words while rejecting the sound of the first letter of all of them. On the other hand, we had discarded at a very early date the symbols *hi, hn,* and *hr* (the words *lord, neck,* and *roof* were originally so spelt) along with the breathed sounds they represented, which are related to /, *n,* and *r* as *wh* is to *w.* The *hw* of Anglo-Saxon spelling (as in *hwit* 'white') was replaced by *wh,* which was established as early as 1200, together with *ch* and *sh,* all three of them with the sound-values that they now represent. In the type of English in which *zvh* is pronounced as *w,* the retention of the *wh* spelling affords a ready visual distinction, as between *weal* and *wheal, wile* and *while, wether* and *whether.* There are many zeds pronounced, but there are, in comparison, few written z's, and the reason may well be that given by Richard Mulcaster in 1580 'that it is not so redie to the pen as S is, which is become lieutenant generall to Z'.

The hyphen is a very important feature of English spelling and has been, and is still, the subject of much controversy; the practice of writers and of printers varies widely, and agreement on a set of rules seems to be unreachable. This is not the place for a discussion; one can only indicate, for example, its convenience for distinguishing *re-cover, re-mark,* from *recover, remark,* for showing the analysis of *re-lined, re-worded* (where *relined, reworded* would not be immediately perspicuous), for showing the pronunciation of *co-operation* .{*cooperation* suggesting *cooper*!), *re-enter, re-inter,* or the need of it in *high-angle, sun-kissed, far-reaching, profit-sharing, fine-drawn, go-cart, awe-inspiring,* to take a few examples at haphazard*

V

In the syntax of English—the construction of its sentences—largely through the loss of inflexions, word-order has reached a pitch of regularity and fixity that has no exact parallel elsewhere. Thus, apart from special circumstances, one has the progression: subject plus verb *plus* object (or adverbial adjunct, as the case may be). Even in questions and wishes the subject precedes the main verb, as 'Do *you* smoke?', 'May *he* succeed!'—this carries the corollary that the formal verb or 'auxiliary' must precede the subject. Another normal feature of English word-order is that negatives come as early as possible in the sentence or clause; contrast 'Jack does *not* like work' with the German 'Hans liebt die Arbeit *nicht*[9]. As for rhetorical inversion, this is, of course, possible and not infrequent, as in 'Only after prolonged discussion did they come to an agreement'; but here we commonly prefer to use a demonstrative formula, with normal word-order, thus, 'It was only after prolonged discussion that they came to an agreement'. And the word-order of such a German phrase as *'Vielleicht ist es aber besser* . . .' is impossible; we must say *'But perhaps it is* better . . .' or *'But it is perhaps* better . . .'. At the same time, the front position of predicatives, as in clauses like the following, has its place in our idiom: *'Rich* as he was . . .', *'Do* what he would . . .', *'Late* though it may be . . .', *'Bitterly* did he regret it', and the archaic *'Were* I Brutus, and Brutus Antony . . .'.

It is not possible in English, as it is in many European languages, to use an adjective unrestrictedly as a noun in the singular number—except with the definite article with the meaning 'that which is so-and-so', as *the good* and *the right;* there is no singular

of *the poor* corresponding to the French *le powere, tmpauvre.* This lack has been supplied by the vicarious use of the numeral *one* qualified by the adjective, as *a good one;* and there is a plural of this, *(the) good ones,* which has no parallel in the very few languages (such as Danish) that have anything comparable with the English use of the singular. The range and importance of this idiom can be gauged firstly from a consideration of the fixed composite pronouns *everyone, someone, no one,* which form a category of ancient lineage and in which *one* means 'individual person'. From this the passage to the colourless use was a natural one, by way of other fixed combinations like *little ones* for 'children', with which may be coupled the familiar *old 'un, young 'un, bad 'un.* The present wide usage is illustrated by 'the *one* to be pitied', 'that's a nice *one',* 'I've not got *one*[1]*,* 'like *one* dead', 'the great *one's* fall', 'to look a fool and feel *one',* 'the audience was, on the whole, an attentive *one'.* In conversation and in slipshod writing it is easy to drop into a careless and unnecessary use of *one* such as is avoided by skilful speakers and writers, who are abstemious in its use.

Another characteristic use of *one* is as the equivalent of the indefinite German *man* and French *on.* It appears to date back no farther than the time of Caxton, who used both *man* and *men* as well as the old alternative *me* in the same sense. It belongs to the language of the educated and even by them is sparingly used, since it may readily collide with the vicarious *one,* as in *'One* is not encouraged by *one's* friends' experience to invest in *one'.*

The frequency—one might say the ubiquity—of the gerund (the verb-noun in *-ing)* is very remarkable. It is a feature that is rivalled up to a point by the French form in *-ant,* and in both languages, it may be noted, by the way, the gerund and the present participle have the same ending and are distinguishable only by their uses (though in English these sometimes blend). French, however, has no parallel to such constructions as are seen in 'There's no *getting* over it', 'What a nuisance *turning* us out so early!', or of the attributive uses so common in English, as in *'boiling-point', 'ploughing* match', *'acting* edition', *'eating* apples'. The English gerund may be the subject of a sentence or the predicative noun; it may be the object of a verb or a preposition, and may be qualified by a possessive or an adjective or modified by

an adverb, or used like a noun in the attributive position; it may acquire an individualized or concrete meaning. Its almost endless variety is illustrated by the following: *'seeing* is *believing*[9]*;* *'belling* the cat'; *'comings* and *goings*[9]*;* 'of *making* many books there is no end', 'it will be the *making* of you'; 'something you were afraid of my *hearing;* 'such a disastrous *beginning';* 'the *beginning* of the end'; 'these encouraging *beginnings';* 'here were ease and *understanding* but no *forcing* of either'; 'my *hearing* gets worse'; 'an essay concerning human *understanding*[9]*;* 'early *rising*[9]*;* 'the restless *throbbings* and *burnings,* the weary *longings* and *yearnings';* 'his *being* there'; 'the *writing* on the wall'; *handwriting; writings; bedding; surroundings.* It is frequent with a pendent adverb or preposition, as in 'past *finding out',* 'it won't bear *thinking of'.* Moreover, the gerund lends itself easily to employment in titles of books, e.g. 'About *Conducting*[9]*, 'This Motoring', 'Going* Abroad', and especially of treatises, e.g. *'Boxing*[9]*, 'Smelting* and *Welding*[9]*, 'Climbing* and *Mountaineering*[9]. It will be found that few paragraphs of English writing are without an example.

As a result of various kinds of ellipsis, of perversions of construction, or of syntactical short cuts, a conciseness is often obtained that, however it may defy grammatical analysis, has a pregnancy and directness which could not be given by any other form of expression. Many constructions of the kind are due to the freedom with which the relative pronoun and the conjunction *that* can be dispensed with; others arise in the conversion of the active into the passive, in which one of two objects is retained, or in an inversion whereby a preposition is thrown to the end of a sentence and left without anything to 'govern' in the clause to which it belongs. Examples of the last-named kind are perhaps the earliest of such usages, for in a twelfth-century text we find (in the language characteristic of the time) 'People lighted candles *to eat by*[9]. The absence of the relative pronoun is found as early as the thirteenth century, and this is still one of the commonest of the usages we are considering: 'Here's somebody wants to speak to you', 'Is that all you have to say?', and the like. Omission of the conjunction *that* is as frequent: 'I thought it was quite as well they had gone'. English shares with some of the Scandinavian tongues the construction with the retained object, as in 'The lad was given *a good hiding*[9], 'I was not left *a single one*[9], 'He was dismissed *the service*[9]. Miscellaneous examples of pen-

dent prepositions are: 'Who is he looking *fori'* instead of the formal *'For whom* is he looking?'; 'Do as you would be *done by'*; 'How much is he going to be *done out ofV*; 'The bed hadn't been *slept in* for months'; 'They came back with two more passengers *than they went away with*[7]. Ellipsis operates often with the result that only the bare essentials are retained, as in 'I told him *to*[7]; 'Some like it, some *don't'*; T should think *not*!'. Observe how, from 'It is getting on for thirty years', one may proceed to 'He has been here for getting on for thirty years', with the preposition *for* governing a whole phrase that has been cut out of its original setting. There is nothing grammatically wrong with the following sentences: though it cannot be pretended that they are elegant, they are not unidiomatic. 'This is the kind of book I like to be *read to out of*\ 'We are all terrified of being mistaken for *what we have just missed being',* 'This is a letter *to sit down and read'* (evolved from 'Sit down and read this letter').

One of the most interesting of short cuts, as we have called them, is the idiom represented by *'these kind of* knaves' (which is found in Shakespeare); it exemplifies one of our commonest modes of expression, which can, of course, be varied by substituting *sort* for *kind.* Its evolution is one of the most complicated of linguistic stories; its genesis goes back to Anglo-Saxon times, but its history is too long and elaborate to give in this place. What is very remarkable about it is that it has thrown up *kind of* and *sort* o/as independent phrases, used both adjectivally and adverbially, since they may be inserted between a pronominal word and its noun (as in the example given above) and may be used as modifiers, as in 'She *kind of* mothered me', 'It tasted *sort of* sweet', and 'He had a fit, *sort of* (where it is a vague tag very similar to the vulgar *like* in 'all of a sudden *like').*

Very characteristic of English is what grammarians call the group genitive, which is, however, found also in Danish. In this favourite idiom the possessive *s* may be tacked on to any group consisting of a noun with its qualifiers, as *'the Emperor William's* mother', in which in the oldest period all the italicized words would be inflected. Examples taken at random are 'for *the Kingdom of God's* sake' (Bible), *'the man-of-the-world's* outlook', *'Beaumont and Fletcher's* plays', *'nine out of ten men's* ambition'. It may be carried to extravagant lengths in unstudied speech; e.g. *'the man I saw in Cardiff's* umbrella', *'the old woman in the seat opposite's* strange appearance'. An analogous usage is what may

be termed the group plural, as 'the Miss Browns' for 'the Misses Brown', 'Attorney Generals' for 'Attorneys General'.

The present structure of English has been described as non-Indo-European with sporadic relics of Indo-European age. Of these relics, however, though the number may be few, the importance is great. Apart from the elements of vocabulary that were touched upon above, there are these grammatical features: the survival of an ancient 'verb in *-mi** in *atn-is,* of a true passive formation in the archaic *hight* 'is called', 'was called', and, above all, of the primitive gradations of vowel preserved most obviously in the principal parts of 'strong' verbs. But English has lost several ancient features which most modern languages have retained: it has discarded grammatical gender; it has given up in ordinary use the personal pronouns of the second person singular; it has restricted the subjunctive to narrow fields. On the other hand, it has elaborated grammatical devices that may be deemed to be gains outweighing all these losses; among these are: the idiomatic uses of *shall* and *will*—with the further specialities of *should* and *would*—an intricate and delicately balanced scheme not shared by the English-speakers of the Celtic Fringe, of the dominions beyond the seas, or of the United States of America; the alternation of *that* with *who* and *which* as relative pronouns; and the elaboration of a system of tenses which is often the despair of the foreigner.

With all the faults—the redundancies and the deficiencies—that may be alleged against it, the English language of to-day is a superb instrument for statement and exposition, whether matter-of-fact or rhetorical, and for the expression of thought and emotion. It is solid and virile, but without the heaviness or harshness of German, though its massing of consonants makes it less fluid than some of the Romance languages. Euphonious at its best and highest, firm and clear in spite of the frequency of the 'neutral vowel' and the pervading evanescence of the consonant r, it combines vigour with flexibility, ease with directness, boldness with subtlety.

XIII

LITERATURE

By JAMES SUTHERLAND

I

A FOREIGNER, well read in English literature—and let us suppose him highly intelligent, a twentieth-century Voltaire—comes to visit us in England. What will he find? Will our literature have prepared him for the sort of people we are? Will he recognize in us the men and women he has already met with in Shakespeare and Fielding, in Dickens and Trollope? If he is intelligent enough and can make allowance for superficial changes, he will almost certainly meet before long with Mr. Justice Shallow and Squire Western, with Mr. Micawber and Mrs. Proudie. At rarer intervals he may come upon Autolycus and Parson Adams; he may even persuade himself that he has caught a glimpse of Major Bagstock staring with codfish eyes from a club window in the neighbourhood of St. James's. So long as he sticks to the English novel he will be safe enough, and if he has studied English drama our comedies will not lead him far wrong. He will also find us unconsciously mirrored in our newspapers. If he reads those, and more especially the correspondence columns ('Sir, I venture to suggest that the Home Secretary was guilty of a slight exaggeration when he stated . . / and 'Sir, Last week I dug from my allotment a potato weighing 3 lb. 5 oz. . . . Is this a record?') he may not, it is true, penetrate to the very heart of our mystery, but in those Letters to the Editor (surely one of the most characteristically English forms of self-expression, with a literary ancestry that goes back to the *Toiler* and the *Spectator)* he will learn much about the national character. As he comes to know us better he will also begin to realize that though the Englishman is English from Berwick-on-Tweed to Land's End, there are considerable local differences, most noticeably between the north and the south. If he is ever fully to understand the mind of Wordsworth, for example, he will do well to spend some time among the Westmorland dalesmen, for Wordsworth was a north-country man who had more in common with the average Scot than with the average Londoner.

These and other impediments, however, will yield to better acquaintance. What will puzzle our foreigner from the start, and may go on puzzling him to the very end, is something quite different. He will almost certainly find himself asking: How is it that this people, apparently so practical, so prosaic, so reticent in the expression of their feelings, have produced so much of the world's greatest poetry? It will not do to reply that great poets are a happy accident, and that they may be born as well in England as in any other country: English literature is also peculiarly rich in minor poets—not poets who wrote minor poetry, but poets like Lovelace and Marvell, Gray and Collins, Bridges and Housman, who wrote one or two perfect poems. The accident, in fact, has happened too often to be reckoned an accident at all. Whatever may be happening to the drama or the novel or the essay at any given period, and however the other arts of music or painting or architecture may fail or flourish, the stream of English poetry flows on like Denham's Thames:

> Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full.

Those famous lines will not, indeed, serve to describe all the kinds of poetry that English poets have written, but how well they fit Chaucer and Spenser, and after them a long succession of English poets down to our own day. The English poet is rarely a bard or a seer, rarely even a professional poet; his poetry, as often as not, is the product of such leisure hours as fall to the lot of a civil servant, or a parish priest, or a country doctor. This noble English tradition of business in the daytime and poetry at night goes back to Chaucer; the Eagle who addresses the poet in *The House of Fame* lets us into his secret:

> For whan thy labour doon al is,
> And hast y-maad thy rekeninges,
> In stede of rest and newe thinges,
> Thou gost hoom to thy hous anoon;
> And, also domb as any stoon,
> Thou sittest at another boke,
> Til fully dawsed is thy loke,
> And livest thus as an hermyte....

If the less endearing Sir Richard Blackmore mixed poetry with his professional calls on the sick, and 'writ to the rumbling of his coach's wheels', we can still salute the English tradition without

feeling compelled on this occasion to admire its results. Dryden and Pope were perhaps the first major English poets to devote all their time to writing: Milton, no doubt, would have been glad to do so if he had fallen on quieter times. The great Romantic poets—Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, and, to a lesser extent, Coleridge and Byron—either because they were economically independent or because they put poetry above every other consideration, made it the business of their life. Yet it remains true to an unusual degree that England is a land of amateur poets; and if the Gentlemen cannot quite hold their own with the Players, poetry is yet a natural—almost, indeed, a normal—mode of expression for the English race, and not a rare or remote or highly specialized kind of utterance best left to the professional bards.

What is it in the English mind and character, or in the English way of life, that has proved so propitious to poetry? The answer must surely be that Englishmen, by reason of their defects no less than their virtues, are closer than most peoples to those reservoirs from which poetry springs. 'My conversation is slow and dull; my humour saturnine and reserved: in short, I am none of those who endeavour to break jests in company, or make repartees.' It is Dryden who is speaking, and the date is 1668, but it might be the Englishman known so well upon the Continent, striding along the railway platform looking for an empty compartment. If the Englishman's home is his castle, so to an almost unsociable extent is his mind. Accustomed to respect the intellectual and emotional privacy of his neighbours, he expects a similar forbearance towards himself. More sociable nations put their ideas into a common pool, but the Englishman keeps drawing his up painfully from his own private well for his own private use.

> ... It may be deep—
> I trust it is—and never dry:
> What matter? if the waters sleep
> In silence and obscurity.

Yet this slow accumulation of experience and thought and feeling, so parsimoniously expended in social intercourse, so rarely tapped and run off in conversation, seems to be peculiarly favourable to the production of poetry. By some strange paradox, what the Englishman cannot bring himself to say even to a friend he tells without inhibition to all the world. It is significant that the most sociable period in English history, when the coffee-house seemed in a fair way to turning us into a nation of talkers, is also

the period when English poetry becomes witty and rhetorical and more a matter of public than of private utterance. The poets of the eighteenth century are, to a degree unusual in England, conscious of an audience; the habit of talking in public has crept into their poetry- If their poetry is not actually superficial, its thoughts and feelings have undoubtedly come to the surface, and are already part of the shared and conscious experience of polite society. The poets of this period avail themselves skilfully of the common stock of ideas; they hardly ever draw upon the subconscious, and in their concern to be generally intelligible and socially unexceptionable, they even tend to limit the use of their own private experience. Eighteenth-century English poetry *is* English, but it is an English variety of the poetry that was being written on the Continent; it is not peculiarly English, like the poetry of Blake or Wordsworth or Thomas Hardy.

From this deep well, then, hidden from the sight of other men and only dimly apprehended by himself, the Englishman draws his poetry. But ask him to talk about it, expect him to be a poet in public, and the old uneasiness and xenophobia return at once. Matthew Arnold notes how the poet Gray disappointed his young Swiss friend Bonstetten by refusing to be poetical in his private life: 'He would never talk of himself, never would allow me to speak to him of his poetry. If I quoted lines to him, he kept silence like an obstinate child.' Whereupon Arnold (who would probably have behaved in very much the same way himself in similar circumstances) returns triumphantly to his thesis that Gray *never spoke out.* The truth is surely simpler than that: Gray was an Englishman and a don who found it difficult to bring himself to such intimacies, especially with a man much younger than himself. It was the same, and for the same reason, with A. E. Housman. Even where we might least expect it we find this characteristic reticence in the English poet; it is related of Byron that when Moore (an Irishman) broke into rhapsodies over an Italian sunset Byron stopped him with a 'Come, damn it, Tom, *don't* be poetical'.

II

This strange intellectual and emotional isolation of the Englishman has coloured the whole of English literature. English prose seems often to derive from the same deep levels as poetry, and often, too, when it is not in any obvious way poetical. We have had writers like Sir Thomas Browne and De Quincey and Charles

Doughty who have written at varying levels of excellence what is clearly 'poetic prose'—poetic in its intention and often in its very rhythms. But there is a far more numerous class of writers, as different as Bunyan and Dryden and Sterne and Charles Lamb and Keats, who write a prose that is not actually poetical, and that is yet charged with the personality of the writer; the whole of the man seems to be involved in it, and not merely his intelligence. A plant may obtain part at least of its nourishment from the air that circulates about its leaves; and in the same way a national prose may derive most of its sustenance from the ideas circulating in the intellectual atmosphere of the time. French prose, that most admirable expression of the French intelligence and awareness and responsiveness to ideas, is characteristically of this kind; such a prose is far less common in England, and when it is found is rarely of the first order. We are most likely to come upon it, when we find it at all, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and perhaps it reaches perfection in the writing of George Savile, Marquis of Halifax. But a plant also derives its nourishment from the roots it sends down into the soil; and English prose is characteristically rooted in the clay or loam of the writer's own individual experience, and even of his own particular locality. No writer, it is true, can be completely isolated from his age, but the Englishman draws far more heavily on the English way of life, the traditional modes of thought and feeling, the immemorial habits and customs and prejudices, than upon the ideas which are stirring in the contemporary world.

This self-reliance of the Englishman—self-taught, self-sufficient, and self-approved—often leads to the queerest results.... [1] Aristotle, I have been told, has said that poetry is the most philosophical of all writing: It is so.' Who, it may well be asked, committed himself to this pompous utterance? Some opinionated windbag who had never given five minutes' thought to the matter before? Some politician, or soldier, or man of business stooping for a few minutes to the consideration of poetry? In France or Germany he might have been any of these. But the words come from the Preface written by Wordsworth for the second edition of his *Lyrical Ballads.* Aristotle, he has been told. French poets are not told such things; they absorb them from their intellectual milieu: German poets read Aristotle for themselves. But Wordsworth, who devoted his life more fully to poetry than any other English poet of comparable genius, had only 'heard

tell* about what Aristotle said, and this too though he had spent three years at Cambridge and might easily have encountered the *Poetics* in the course of his desultory reading. The truth is that Wordsworth had thought things out for himself. A man, as Haydon said of him, who had 'thought silently and painfully on many things'. It is perhaps dangerous to offer Wordsworth as a representative Englishman; and yet his lifelong habit of turning things over in his own mind, his solitary and unassisted thinking, his way of brooding over his own experience as if his mind were the first that had ever shone upon the dark face of the waters, are characteristic of the race. When Matthew Arnold complained of the provinciality of so much English thinking and writing, when he pointed out how the Englishman was too often cut off from the main stream of European ideas, he was perfectly right. 'It is so.' But Arnold, who spent much of his time in trying to remould the Englishman nearer to his heart's desire, seems hardly to have done justice to the compensating virtues that accompany this very determination of the Englishman to build his own intellectual house from the very foundations, brick by brick, slowly, painfully, wastefully, and without the aid of prefabricated materials, or even, it would often seem, any particular plan. Wordsworth's thinking was home-made, like the butter and cheese that he and his family ate at Rydal Mount: it was local, and indiyidual, and peculiar to himself: it had not been 'processed', or stamped with a national mark. Foremost among Wordsworth's excellences Coleridge placed his originality, the weight and sanity of his thoughts, 'won, not from books; but—from the poet's own meditative observation. They are fresh and have the dew upon them.' It is a claim that can be made in varying degree for a surprising number of English writers. No matter if this admirable quality is often due to sheer ignorance, or a lack of intellectual contact with what is going on in the world. In an age that lies more and more open to mass suggestion from newspapers, cinema, and broadcasting, the Englishman's stubborn determination to find things out for himself, to look with suspicion on any idea that he has not 'proved on his pulses', becomes increasingly valuable. English literature has indeed been singularly rich in men of resolutely independent and original mind. The author of *Piers Plowman*, Sir Thomas More, Skelton, Donne, Ben Jonson, Burton, Sir Thomas Browne, Bunyan (they fall thick and fast in the seventeenth century), Swift, Defoe, Samuel Johnson, Crabbe, Blake, Lamb, Shelley,

Peacock, George Borrow, Lewis Carroll, Rudyard Kipling, H. G. Wells, G. K. Chesterton, Virginia Woolf: how hard it is to find among these varied authors any common quality that can be called English except this determined individuality, amounting at times to eccentricity and caprice.

Where the Greeks said 'Know thyself, the English have always tended to say *'Be* thyself. In the process of being themselves English writers have sometimes, it is true, driven their personality too hard. We can admire the exuberance of Nashe, we can even 'have with him to Saffron Walden', but should we care to travel much farther with such an obstreperous companion? We can acknowledge the cleverness of Meredith, but we may be permitted to grow tired of his verbal pyrotechnics. Has any author the right to be so completely absorbed in self-expression and so little concerned with the convenience of his reader as Thomas Carlyle? Carlyle, a Scot living among nineteenth-century Englishmen, is perhaps an extreme example of the national energy careering like an unbacked colt wildly and heedlessly on its way. But the Englishman's determination to do what he likes comes out again in the odd stubbornness with which Thomas Hardy bent and twisted the English language till at times it screamed like a mandrake. His linguistic idiosyncrasy came to a head in *The Dynasts,* where the grandeur of the conception is often at loggerheads with a wilfully uncouth and ungainly expression:

> Hold what ye list, fond unbelieving sprites,
> You cannot swerve the pulsion of the Byss,
> Which thinking on, yet weighing not its thought
> Unchecks its clocklike laws . . .

or again:

> So may ye judge Earth's jackaclocks to be
> Not fugled by one will, but function-free.

Metrically, too, he showed the same wilfulness, pushing and jolting his words together with a deliberate awkwardness and a sort of ironical cacophony. This (he is saying all the time) is *me;* this is how I choose to do it; what I have written I have written. In England there is no public body like the French Academy to act as an arbiter of literary taste; no public opinion is shocked by verbal extravagance or the maltreatment of the mother tongue. *Manserunty hodieque manent, vestigia ruris.* From time to time a few voices are raised in protest, but an undue concern about pure

English is regarded as almost a sign of crankiness and the mark of a niggling mind. 'I acknowledge', writes a Restoration dramatist, with the plaudits of the audience still ringing in his ears, 'there are many faults in design, which I had no leisure to mend; and many in words and phrases which I had not inclination. I love not too much carefulness in small things. To be exact in trifles is the business of a little genius/ One can hardly imagine any French writer whatever treating his readers in so cavalier a fashion, but few English readers would be disturbed by such a statement, and most would probably endorse it. Even Pope, perhaps the most consummate craftsman among English poets, was prepared to raise an easy laugh at the expense of Theobald by jeering at his minute verbal criticism: he was 'a word-catcher that lives on syllables'. Such men are, in England, slightly ridiculous.

ill

Equally suspect and 'un-English' is the writer who shows anything more than a tepid interest in form and structure. In so far as the common reader in England has reached any conclusions on this subject he believes that the form should be left to take care of itself; it should be like the print of the elephant's foot in the mud, or the pattern left on the sand by the ebbing wave. It should never be uppermost in the writer's mind, it should never exercise any control over his thought or expression, and still less (if he is a novelist or a dramatist) over his characters and their actions, which must remain absolutely free and untrammelled. In his *Autobiography* Mr. H. G. Wells has described how Henry James was always thinking of the novel as an art-form. 'One could not be in a room with him for ten minutes without realizing the importance he attached to the dignity of this art of his. . . . But I was disposed to regard a novel as about as much an art form as a market place or a boulevard. It had not even necessarily to get anywhere.' To talk of shape or pattern in a novel is enough to suggest to the common reader that he had better avoid it. Formal design, an harmonious composition, correctness, balance, and symmetry, the integration of parts to the whole, all such considerations he leaves to the Latin races, secretly convinced that a care for such matters is almost certainly symptomatic of a want of creative energy. What is the shape of *Pickwick Papers* ? When we lay that great book down are we conscious of some necessary and ordered progress having reached its completion, as we are,

say, with *Madame Bovary* ? When Dickens set out on that journey of the imagination was he aware of what a modern critic of the novel has described as *a line to be followed, a tone to be taken, a form to be filled out* ? Of a tone to be taken, yes; and, more hazily, of a line to be followed. But of a form to be filled out Dickens had probably no notion whatever. The English novelist has always shown a preference for the loosest and most accommodating of forms: the autobiographical novel, the novel told in letters, the picaresque narrative, and so on. He has done so, partly because he is rarely willing to achieve concentration at the expense of fullness and variety, but partly, too, because he is unwilling to lose the natural rhythms of life. Art, he knows, implies some kind of selection, an ordering and interpretation of life; but if too much order is imposed on what is essentially haphazard, if every bolt slips into its groove and the whole novel moves like a well-oiled machine, the illusion of reality—for the English reader, at least—will probably be destroyed.

A sense of the varied and changing flow of life, an awareness of the complexity and unexpectedness of human behaviour, a nice perception of the irrelevance that almost always takes off the sharpness of the relevant and of the humble and trivial that continually humanizes the grand and the dignified, have distinguished the work of the great English novelists. Perhaps we may claim for them, too (though with no suggestion of exclusiveness), a sense of immediacy, of life as it is being lived from moment to moment, with all its perplexities, half-knowledge, desires and revulsions, prides and prejudices. It was this that Samuel Richardson was striving for in his cumbrous and repetitive novels, in which the letters written by his various characters are all dashed off 'while the hearts of the writers must be supposed to be wholly engaged in their subjects (the events at the time generally dubious): so that they abound . . . with what may be called *instantaneous* descriptions and reflections'. With all his limitations, Richardson had in his own field of experience that sort of sensibility which Henry James likens to 'a kind of huge spider web of the finest silken threads suspended in the chamber of consciousness, and catching every air-borne particle in its tissue'. We shall find this fineness of perception again and again in the English novel: in Jane Austen, in George Eliot, in George Meredith, in Virginia Woolf. It is surely not fanciful to suppose that the English character and the English way of life, in which so much remains

unspoken and yet so much is to be caught in that spider web of sensibility, have developed in our English novelists a special sort of perception for the blind, instinctive workings of the human mind, and for those obscure modes of thought and feeling that are often quite imperceptible to a character himself. And here it is perhaps worth remembering that the greatest of American novelists came to the conclusion, after some trial and error, that the proper field of observation for his peculiar purposes was England. It was in England (and more specifically among the English upper class) that Henry James found the greatest challenge to his unique perception; for here he was among a people reticent to the point of being inarticulate, steeped in traditions and prejudices and inhibitions, living a sort of subterranean emotional life which broke only in faint ripples on the surface.

For some hundred years or so Englishmen thought differently about the value of form and style: the age of Pope and Johnson talked and wrote continually about the Rules, commended order and restraint, built shapely houses, and wrote poetry in shapely couplets. But here, as in other ways, the eighteenth century was not in the direct line of the English tradition, which is far more truly represented by the exuberance of the Elizabethans and the robust individualism of the Victorians. And even in the eighteenth century, when an aristocratic correctness and restraint became the mode, Swift was writing the *Tale of a Tub,* Defoe was throwing oflf a series of picaresque narratives, Pope was indulging in the reckless obscenities of the *Dunciad,* Edward Young was pouring forth the amorphous rhapsodies of his *Night Thoughts,* and Sterne in *Tristram Shandy* was evolving a sort of form out of formlessness. Fielding took the novel seriously enough and made certain pronouncements about the sort of fiction he Was writing; it was, he claimed, a 'comic epic in prose'. But this claim (which was made in the interests of what advertising people call 'prestige') has been taken much too seriously by the critics, and Coleridge's assertion that *Tom Jones* had one of the three best plots in the world (the other two being the *Oedipus* and *The Alchemist)* is surely a critical flam. Perhaps the most characteristic literary expression of the eighteenth century is the essay. The nature of a Preface', Dryden wrote, no doubt to forestall criticism of his own, 'is rambling, never wholly out of the way, nor in it.' The words might be applied equally well to the essay, which Johnson defined as 'an irregular undigested piece' and 'a loose sally of the thoughts'.

In the essay we see the eighteenth-century author taking a well-earned holiday from the Rules, though even here he is still sufficiently of his century to retain a sort of easy formality.

But it is the drama that shows most clearly the true nature of the English writer. The ancient classical drama shows a remarkable economy of means to ends. A steadiness of direction, an accurate definition and limitation of character, a constant relevance and significance, a disciplined subordination of the parts to the whole, give to Greek tragedy and Latin comedy their peculiar excellence; and the dramatists of Italy, Spain, and France, without losing their individuality, have profited greatly from the classical example. Where so much has to be done in so little room the virtues of economy and a disciplined plan become all-important. But the English, once more, have gone their own way. Quite early the English audience decided what sort of a play was amusing, and the dramatists had to provide it. The distinction between tragedy and comedy, so firmly maintained in the classical drama, never made much appeal to an English audience, who saw no reason why they should not have both in the same play. If the Elizabethans went to the playhouse, they expected the laughter of comedy to be blended with poetry and romance; if they paid their money for a tragedy they counted on having some clowning thrown in for good measure. A better audience than the Elizabethan it would have been hard to find so long as you were willing to vary your note, but you soon bored them if you played too long on one string:

> For though the beste harpour upon lyve
> Wolde on the beste souned joly harpe
> That ever was, with alle his fingres fyve,
> Touche ay o streng, or ay o werbul harpe,
> Were his nayles poynted never so sharpe,
> It shulde maken every wight to dulle,
> To here his glee, and of his strokes fulle.

If it is childish so to love variety, then the Englishman is content to be thought a child in these matters. *Quel barbare!* the purest will say; but there is nothing particularly crude about such a taste. Here again the English demand is inclusive, it is for the whole of life. Life is neither tragic nor comic all the time; it is much more like the English weather, alternating continually between cloud and sunshine. There is something almost artificial about unbroken tragedy or unmixed comedy; the note is too long

sustained, the attitude becomes frozen. Cheerfulness keeps breaking through in Shakespeare's tragedies, not because he is a barbarian and doesn't know any better, but because he cannot bring himself to narrow his range. Behind the great tragic characters in their most tragic moments is the ordinary world of little men; banished from the stage of Racine, they are never far from the thoughts of Shakespeare. So we get such characteristic moments as that in *Romeo and Juliet* where the musicians sent for to play at the wedding of Paris and Juliet suddenly find themselves without a job. Juliet is dead, and Capulet exclaims in his grief:

All things that we ordained festival,
Turn from their office to black funeral;
Our instruments to melancholy bells,
Our wedding cheer to a sad burial feast,
Our solemn hymns to sullen dirges change,
Our bridal flowers serve for a buried corse,
And all things change them to the contrary.

Tragedy, stark, unrelieved tragedy; but now the little man, the 'First Musician', has his moment. 'Faith,' he says to his comrades, 'we may put up our pipes, and be gone.' Life comes flowing back again, and in another minute the stage is echoing to the noisy chatter of the musicians and Peter the servant.

IV

When Dryden took to writing plays he found that the robust taste of the Elizabethans still survived in the theatre: an English audience could only be pleased with Variety of accidents, an underplot, and many actors'. A full and varied action, and a full stage, these were still the popular demand; and if the tension was often relaxed in consequence, the English dramatist held the interest of his audience by a lively and continuous movement, and, still more, by the variety and animation of his characters. Nothing will redeem a play in the eyes of the English playgoer if the characters are moribund and uninteresting. He does not necessarily ask that they should be true to life; they can be fantastic like Lord Foppington or Captain Shotover, but they must be lively, and (as Schlegel said of Caliban) they must make him believe that if there should be such beings they would so conduct themselves. Yet a character on the English stage may easily be what other nations would think fantastic without ceasing to be entirely English; and here we come upon one of the reasons for

the remarkable variety of characters in the English drama and novel. The English as a nation have always been kind to eccentrics; every man has been allowed to have his humour. Foreign travellers in England have constantly been impressed by the freedom of our manners, the outspokenness of the natives, the sturdy determination of the individual in every class of society to be himself. Congreve, who believed that 'humour* (in the Jonsonian sense of the word) was almost entirely of English growth, accounted for it by 'the greater freedom, privilege, and liberty which the common people of England enjoy. Any man that has a humour is under no restraint or fear of giving it vent.' How far the English are from having lost this characteristic may be seen by anyone who will take the trouble to read the police-court reports in any London evening paper. 'Willesden woman* and 'Hoxton husband' still take the court into their confidence with the same frankness and the same absence of self-consciousness as their eighteenth-century counterparts who appeared at Bow Street before Henry Fielding, or those thinly disguised Elizabethans, Pompey and Froth, who came up before Escalus in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure.* It would be misleading to say that the English tolerate the eccentric: they actually encourage him, they provide him with an intellectual environment in which it is natural for him to flourish. 'Good-nature', according to one of our seventeenth-century critics, 'is a qualification peculiar to the English, so peculiar that, as a noble writer observes, there is no word for it in any other language.' However that may be (and if we are good-natured it is in a characteristically grumbling sort of fashion), it is certain the English genius has never—the eighteenth century once more excepted—been particularly apt for satire; and the French philosopher's contention that laughter acts as a corrective, that it is society's gesture to restrain and reprove the eccentric individual, is not likely to impress the Englishman, who asks nothing better of the eccentric or the 'natural' than that he should be abundantly and delightfully himself. Launce and his dog, Bottom the weaver, Dogberry, Sir Andrew Aguecheek, each of them is engagingly and touchingly absurd, but Shakespeare contemplates their self-absorbed folly not with a grim or caustic disapproval but with the wise passiveness of Wordsworth as he watches the green linnet or listens to the cuckoo.

This national love of the 'character', however well it may have served the English novel, has sometimes come near to disintegrat-

ing the drama. It is a commonplace of criticism that Shakespeare's characters are often on the point of running away with the play; they keep on growing and developing beyond the needs of the action. Brought into the play for some specific purpose, they insist on being themselves and end by interrupting the action which they were intended to further. It is as if one called in a plumber to mend a burst pipe, and he started to explain that his wife had left him, and that what he had always wanted to do was to play the trombone in an orchestra. When, as will sometimes happen, we do produce a dramatist in England who is prepared to subordinate his characters to the play itself and to keep both character and action in harmony with some preconceived design, we are only too apt to be unappreciative of the pains he has taken for our enjoyment. The English attitude here is well illustrated by the way in which Ben Jonson has been treated by his fellow countrymen. Hazlitt, who once made the typically English observation that 'we never do anything well till we cease to think about the manner of doing it', was a good deal less than just to Jonson. He took exception to Jonson's characters; they were 'like machines, governed ... by the convenience of the poet, whose property they are'. As for his plots, they are 'improbable by an excess of consistency; for he goes thorough-stitch with whatever he takes in hand, makes one contrivance answer all purposes, and every obstacle give way to a predetermined theory'. And yet if Jonson is a classicist he is a very English one, always in danger of overflowing the limits he has so carefully set himself, and in a play like *Bartholomew Fair* washing them away altogether.

The English tendency to 'match hornpipes with funerals', to aim at the kaleidoscopic effect rather than to fix and hold experience in a steady light, is apparently deeply embedded in the national character. In the great writers of other nations we can usually perceive a settled attitude to life: when we read Sophocles or Virgil or Dante or Montaigne or Cervantes or Voltaire or Dostoievsky we are in contact with an undivided mind that casts an unbroken beam of light on the human scene. Of this sort we have in English literature such diverse writers as Marlowe, Spenser, Milton, Bunyan, Shelley, whose attitude varies little from one work to another, and in whose mind (as Coleridge said of Milton) all forms and things and modes of action 'shape themselves anew', and take on the impress of the writer's mode of thinking.

It's a very odd thing—
As odd as can be—
That whatever Miss T. eats
Turns into Miss T.

It is always so with Spenser: all knowledge, all experience are transmuted in Spenser's mind, and emerge again as something unmistakably Spenserian. Yet English as those five writers are in their various ways, are they quite so English as Chaucer or Shakespeare or Dickens, with their characteristic mixture of realism and idealism, coarseness and delicacy, tears and laughter, melancholy and high spirits, earth and heaven, poetry and prose? The Chaucer who wrote the *Miller's Tale* as well as the *Clerk's Tale*, and who in the same poem could mingle the pure joy and grief of Troilus and the shrewd worldliness of Pandarus advising his niece when she writes her letter to Troilus to 'beblotte it with thy teres eke a lyte', was not a split personality, but he had the Englishman's almost unique capacity for reconciling opposites without destroying the integrity of either. It is almost as if the mind of the Englishman were a little democracy, in which the rights of minorities are jealously guarded, and the most contrary emotions and ideas can live together in mutual tolerance. When we meet in an Englishman with moral or intellectual intolerance, or dogmatism, or an utter rejection of compromise, it may be hallowed by the grandeur that envelopes Milton or by the unearthly radiance that kindles in the eager face of Shelley, but it is alien to the English temperament. The doctrinaire, the prophet, and the saint are never quite at home in England; the two first, as often as not, are imported from Scotland or Wales, and the last finds a more congenial environment in Ireland. Even Bunyan, for all his earnestness and his unwavering concentration upon the life to come, can mingle the earthly with the heavenly, the temporal with the eternal, and allow a grim joke from time to time to lighten the burden of his seriousness.

V

We can at least say, then, that some writers are more characteristically English than others. But if our inquiring foreigner were to ask which writers and which books he ought to read if he is to understand the English mind and character, we should find it hard to answer him shortly. English literature will give him a clue to the Englishman provided he reads enough of it. If he

reads deeply in Chaucer, Shakespeare, Dryden, Defoe, Fielding, Johnson, Wordsworth, Dickens, Trollope, Hardy, he will have made a fair start, and may be said to be walking along the main road. Yet if he takes any one or all of those great writers as being typical of the whole race he will be over-simplifying his problem. Dr. Johnson, with his conservatism, his prejudices, his common sense, his dislike of cant, his downright independence of mind, his outspokenness, and much else, is the typical Englishman—until we remember Charles Lamb or Keats or Thackeray or a hundred other typical Englishmen to whom he bears hardly any resemblance whatever. Defoe is the typical Englishman if we are a nation of shopkeepers, and Robinson Crusoe is no ill representative of a race that is never greater than when it stands alone.[1] Fielding and Trollope will represent us adequately if we leave out much of the heroism and most of the poetry in the race. A stronger case could be made out for Chaucer as the true-born representative Englishman; but in the end we shall be driven back inevitably to Shakespeare. Yet we should flatter ourselves if we were to assume that Shakespeare was representative of anything more than the Englishman at his best. Shakespeare has, in the words of Professor Macneile Dixon, 'more of his mother in him than any of her sons', but (as he is careful to add) he is 'the poetic version of his country's mind, her best moments set to music'.

The Englishman, then, may be known and judged by his literature, but the evidence is very extensive, and often, it would seem, contradictory. Will our foreigner find, as some critics claim, a continuity in our literature? The most, surely, that he can hope to discover is some sort of continuity in Englishmen, in the way they have behaved when the same circumstances recurred rather than in the way they have written. He can amuse himself, of course, by tracing resemblances between, say, Dekkerand Dickens, or between the Wife of Bath and Juliet's Nurse. More profoundly he may be able to trace a persistent strain of romanticism in English literature, at times dominant, at times almost driven underground, but never wholly absent. Yet he will find it hard

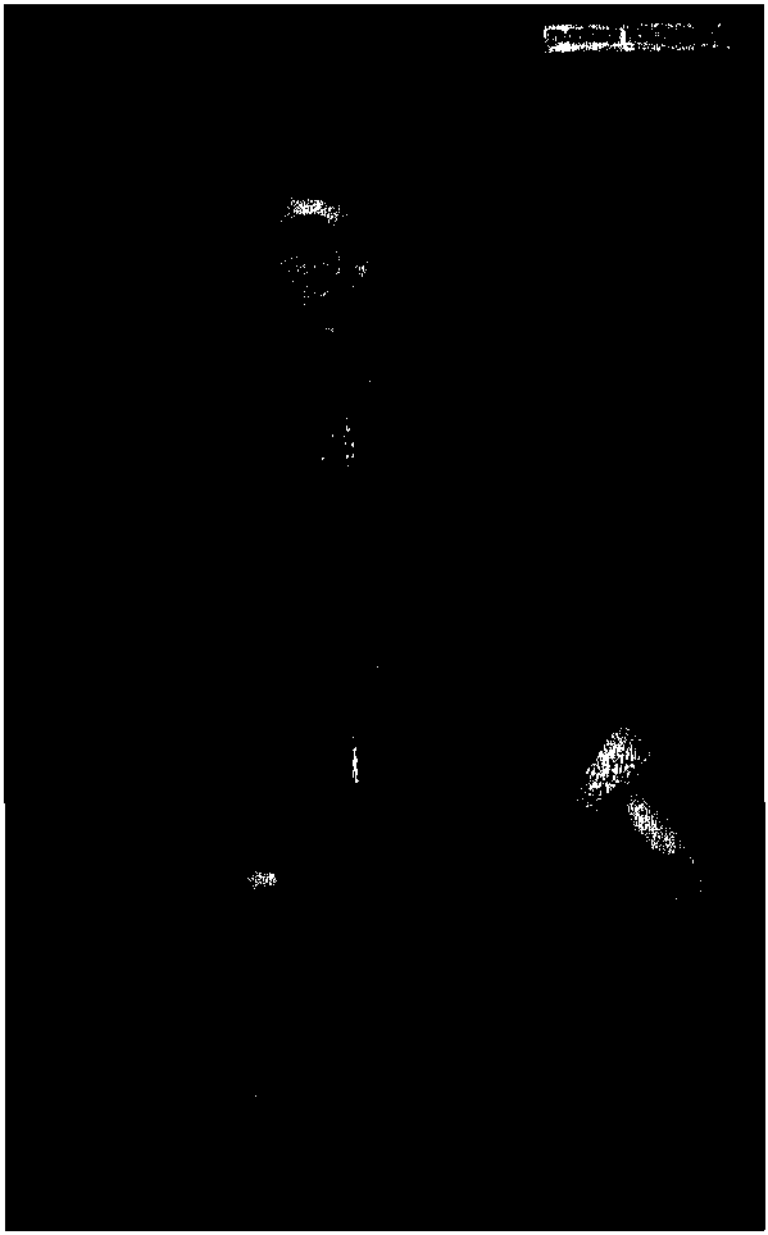
[1] 'He told me [a "grave and sensible Spaniard" whom Crusoe had met] it was remarkable that Englishmen had a greater presence of mind, in their distress, than **any** people that ever he met with. . . . "Seignior," says the Spaniard, "had we poor Spaniards been in your case, we should never have got half those things **out** of the ship, as you did: nay,*' says he, "we should never have found means to have **got** a raft to carry them, or to have got the raft on shore without boat or sail; and **how** much less should we have done if any of us had been alone I ' "

to show that the Elizabethan dramatist at the Mermaid Tavern was very like the Augustan poet at Button's or the Victorian novelist in his club. No doubt there is a permanent residuum which has always distinguished the Englishman from the German or the Frenchman, and it is part of the business of this book to say what that is; but the Englishman has not remained static through the centuries—or, if he has not changed essentially, then, at least, certain qualities have been dominant at one period to the almost complete exclusion of others.

It is hard to say what qualities are dominant at the present day. The mid-twentieth century seems in some important respects to be passing through a phase that recalls the vigour and variety and intellectual confusion of the mid-seventeenth century in England. In literature England speaks to-day with many voices, and some of the writers seem to be speaking only to themselves. This is particularly true of the poets who are often unintelligible either because they are conveying experience that has not risen above the level of the subconscious or has not run clear in their minds, or because they are using private symbols to express themselves, or (in less reputable cases) because they are amorous of the obscure. No great English poet at present sees life steadily and sees it whole; the Lady of Shalott's mirror has splintered into hundreds of jagged fragments, in each of which glimmers a tiny part of the national consciousness. This disintegration of vision may indeed reflect the confused and troubled mind of the age. What we badly need to-day is a Matthew Arnold—or, for preference, half a dozen Arnolds—to teach the age to know itself, to help its poets to give form and precision to their inchoate thoughts and feelings. There was never perhaps a time when so much poetry was running to waste in England for want of an intellectual discipline and technique to control it. An abrupt break with tradition has indeed freed poetry from many cliches, but has left our poets with everything to do for themselves. In an age, too, which has been driven from almost all the old intellectual positions, and in which the problems now facing mankind are often the outcome of vast and recent changes in our human condition, the difficulty of 'easing the burthen of the mystery' becomes more and more acute. Many of our poets must now find themselves sharing with Keats the experience he once described of 'falling continually ten thousand fathoms and being blown up again, without wings, and all the horror of a bare-shouldered creature\

It is significant that some of the finest English fiction being written to-day is close to poetry. If several of our young poets have been turning to the novel it is because they have found that they can express in the form of prose fiction what they want to say. Equally significant is a renaissance of poetic drama, but a drama very far removed from the moribund blank-verse plays of the nineteenth century. Poetry in England will creep where it cannot go; if it cannot, temporarily, fill the old river-bed it will emerge in fiction or drama or in even less likely places.

The difficulties with which the modern writer is faced—of form and expression, of contact with his audience, of belief and doctrine, of adjustment to what is new and still no more than imperfectly realized—should gradually yield to 'the general and gregarious advance of intellect' and to the emergence of a new social and political order. The possibilities for the future are enormous, but unless the Englishman changes out of all knowledge, unless, in fact, he ceases to be English, he will not break entirely with the past. Yet the past can rarely have been receding more rapidly than it is to-day, and if there is to be no absolute break in the continuity of English literature and thought our writers must be content not to walk on too far ahead of their readers. At present our poets, and to some extent our novelists, have moved off into the unexplored darkness ahead, lighting their own path with their flash-lamps, but often leaving their readers stumbling in some uncertainty behind them. Do they always recognize the immense responsibility that their unusual perception and their powers of expression have placed upon them, at a time when the need to order and illuminate human experience is so pressing, and when science has outstripped both wisdom and humanity? If the world's great age is indeed to begin anew, no one class can contribute more to a spiritual regeneration and to the restoration of some sort of intellectual and emotional equilibrium than those 'unacknowledged legislators of the world', the poets and the creative writers of all kinds.



RICHARD LOVELACE *(seepage* 304) IN THE ACADEMICAL DRESS OF AN OXFORD MASTER OF ARTS

Probably painted by JOHN *DE.* CRITZ



TITLE-PAGE OF HOBBES'S 'LEVIATHAN' 1651

XIV

THOUGHT

By BASIL WILLEY

'I SOMETIMES feel', wrote Henry Sidgwick in 1872, 'that the funetion of the English mind, with its uncompromising matter-of-factness, will be to put the final question to the Universe with a solid, passionate determination to be answered which *must* come to something/ It will surprise nobody to hear the English mind spoken of as 'matter-of-fact', but the 'passionate' or imaginative quality of English thought is sometimes forgotten. And indeed it may be admitted that English *thought,* as such, has tended on the whole to be practical in its aim and prosaic in its tone. It is in poetry that the English race has unlocked its heart most fully, and given sublime expression to the passion, the melancholy, and the profundity which lie beneath the conventional surfaces of the national temper. There is, as Sir Philip Sidney remarked, 'an ancient quarrel between poetry and philosophy', and when we consider such thinkers as Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Bentham, and Mill, we may well feel that England has settled the dispute by excluding poetry from its reasonings altogether. Yet just as in poetry the national genius has shown itself typically not in the creation of dream-worlds but in the imaginative penetration of the actual world ('the line balance of truth in observing, with the imaginative faculty in modifying the objects observed', as Coleridge said of Wordsworth), so in its thinking the English mind, despite its limitations, has shown a sense of fact, a feeling for history, an instinct for the possible or expedient, which spring from the heart as well as from the head, and are indeed akin to the 'insight' of the poets.

In what follows I propose to adopt a simple chronological plan, speaking of the several writers in relation to their own times rather than classifying them according to their subject-matter. I speak in rather more detail of the earlier writers, by whom the traditions were laid down, and pass more rapidly over the later phases. We may fitly begin with:

1. *Richard Hooker (1554 1600),* the outstanding philosophic d ivine of the sixteenth century. In his *Lazvs of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594--?16oo) the English genius for compromise, for finding the prac-

ticable middle path, is shown in its most impressive form. Here, too, the continuity of English thought is strikingly revealed, for in its philosophical and ethical content the book is rooted in medieval scholasticism. Indeed, it is only as it were by accident a piece of Protestant literature at all. Hooker's task is to enlist in defence of the Elizabethan Church Settlement the fundamental principles of Catholic Christianity. At this time, the Catholic order, and the Anglican Church, in so far as it had remained part of that order, were challenged by the rival system of Genevan Presbyterianism, which claimed to be founded on Scripture, and consequently to be the only lawful form of Church government. In rebutting this claim Hooker draws upon the funded wisdom of the ancients and the schoolmen, and lifts the controversy on to the highest level of meditation. With a grandiose sweep of vision, and in prose of solemn intricacy, he depicts the universe as a hierarchy of being, moved by divine law, and oriented towards God. From worm to seraph, all creatures seek perfection according to their kind: the lowest unconsciously, and the highest by conscious love of God. In between these extremes man has the light of reason to guide him; 'the laws of well doing are the dictates of Right Reason'. But man is a fallen creature, and though by natural light he can discern that *Dens est ultima hominis beatitudo,* that for him 'natural* perfection must be sought in 'Super-nature', yet his infected will is unable to attain this. Not by natural law, then, not by the four stars of pagan morality, but by the law supernatural, the three stars of grace, can man be guided to salvation. In Scripture God has revealed this supernatural way, and our first duty is Faith in the redemptive scheme therein conveyed. But here Hooker distinguishes: Scripture contains what is needful for salvation, but does not lay down authoritative rules for the ordering of polity in Church and State. 'When supernatural duties are necessarily exacted, natural are not rejected as needless.' Nature has need of grace *(gratia perficit naturam),* 'whereunto I hope we are not opposite by holding that grace hath use of nature'. Church government is a matter falling within the sphere of nature or polity, and it is a misuse of Scripture to seek in it what was never intended to be there. Constant always to the middle path, Hooker can use the sufficiency of Scripture as a weapon against Rome, and the validity of Reason as a weapon against Geneva. Never forgetting the supreme need of supernatural grace, Hooker yet sees that there is a wide sphere of historical change and growth within which

man must mould his institutions by natural insight and the rules of human expediency. His balanced wisdom, had it been taken to heart, might have saved Protestantism from those disfiguring extravagances of bibliolatry and 'private interpretation' which he foresaw and denounced in vain.

2. *Francis Bacon (1560/1-1626)*

No English writer except Shakespeare has enjoyed such universal fame and homage as Bacon (and even 'Shakespeare' is held by some to be only a pseudonym of his). Though he was born only six years after Hooker, and though he retained more medieval habits of mind than is often supposed, it is as the 'trumpeter of the New Age\ the herald of the scientific movement, that he has been revered and remembered. The tone of Thomson's apostrophe to him in *The Seasons* is sufficiently representative:

> The great deliverer he, who from the gloom
> Of cloister'd monks and jargon-teaching schools
> Led forth the true philosophy . . .

but the chorus of approval rises throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from writers of diverse kinds and different countries (witness Hobbes, Locke, Boyle, Addison, the French Encyclopaedists), and grows even deeper in the nineteenth. Only recently have certain voices been heard echoing Blake's cry that 'Bacon's philosophy has ruined England', and urging that in exalting the active over the contemplative life, and turning men's thoughts from God to Mammon, Bacon effected a sort of second Fall of Man, and sowed the dragon's teeth whose harvest we are reaping to-day. However this may be, Bacon, with his pica for fruitful experiment instead of barren speculation, and his announcement of a technique for uniting the mind with the nature of things, will ever remain a symbol both of true scientific advance in general and of the practical English mind in particular. Bacon wanted just what Dr. Faustus wanted: that knowledge of nature which means power, and it is for this reason that our Faustian civilization for the past three hundred years has acknowledged him as its great magician. 'The aim of this our foundation', he wrote in the *New Atlantis,* 'is to extend more largely the limits of the power and empire of man, to the effecting of all things possible.' The philosophy of the ancients and the schoolmen 'was rather talkative than generative, as being fruitful in controversies but barren of effects'. To gain power over nature

we must first obey her, humbly submitting the mind to things. The subtlety of nature eludes our logical formulas, and if we would learn her secrets (which are also God's secrets), we must collect honey from the flowers like bees, and not spin cobwebs from our own entrails like spiders. The habit of despising Aristotle and the schoolmen, which became ingrained in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, began with Bacon, and a note on this topic may be appropriate here. The philosophy of any age reflects its deepest interests, and the interests of the schoolmen had lain, not in extending the power of man over nature, but in relating all things to an authoritative theological scheme, a given system of ends. The existing hierarchical structure, culminating on earth in pope and emperor, together with the traditional social relationships and the morality associated with them —all this was divinely ordained, and to upset its balance was the last thing the schoolman desired. On the other hand, when the new age arrived, the age of competitive nationalism and commercialism, with its exuberant expansiveness and belief in 'progress', a new kind of philosophy was called for. Roger Bacon, who preached much the same doctrines as Francis, but about three centuries too soon, spent much of his life in prison for sorcery. Francis, more fortunate in his nativity, proclaimed just the message his age most wanted to hear. If the thing you desire most is to gain control over nature in order to extend the power of man and of the nation-state, then Bacon's is the method which you must adopt, and which has been adopted for the past 300 years in Europe, Contempt for scholasticism is permissible from this point of view only; the scholastic method was incapable of exploring and controlling natural laws, and often led to false conclusions. But medieval philosophy, in its own proper spheres of metaphysics, theology, and ethics, remains a highly impressive achievement, and may still be considered to be as far superior to the Baconian in moral grandeur as it is inferior in scientific fruitfulness. Given the ends assumed in the modern world to be all-important: material advancement, enrichment, progress, competitive success, and the like, Bacon's was the only wise advice; hence his extraordinary prestige. So helpless in face of natural processes was all the older thought, and so essential did the new knowledge appear, that Bacon's exposure of scholastic logic could not but seem absolutely final.

It is undeniable **that** Bacon has about him **a** suggestion of the

magnificent charlatan, and that his Great Instauration, like Spenser's House of Pride, is all fa?ade with little behind it. He is full of large utterance, but performs little; his own experimenting was without value, and he ignored or undervalued some of the best work of his contemporaries. Yet his importance as a propagandist for the scientific movement remains very great. With an insight which links him with the poets, he discerned how the mind of man could be 'wedded to this glorious universe', and prophesied, with incomparable literary power, of the creation they could 'with blended might accomplish'. Like many great men, he was wiser than his disciples, and his philosophy would not have 'ruined England' if they had attended to the whole of his message. Bacon was sincerely reverent, and intended the advancement of learning to be directed to 'the glory of God' as well as 'the relief of man's estate'. He saw, moreover, what has been missed by some later reconcilers of science and religion, that the true foundation of faith lies in man's experienced need for grace, and not in the so-called 'proofs' of scientific deism.

3. *Thomas Hobbes (i588-i6yg)*

Hobbes, the founder and main exponent of mechanical materialism in England, was born in the year of the Spanish Armada and died within ten years of the 'Glorious Revolution'. His long life therefore spans some of the greatest events in English history, and covers the whole period of transition from medieval to 'modern' ways of thought. His *Leviathan* (1651), which belongs equally to the history of philosophy and of political science, is of peculiar importance to our discussion, because it reveals the immediate results of a whole-hearted adoption of the new positivist principles, and their application within the spheres of ethics and politics. Hobbes's views have always been distasteful to the English mind in general; indeed, to his contemporaries, and for long afterwards, he figured as a new Machiavelli, an embodiment of brutal cynicism and dangerous evil, whose refutation must be the first task of any would-be writer on religious, political, or moral topics. But if the tendency of his thought is outside the main tradition, yet the manner of his writing is thoroughly English in its tough good sense, and its tone of downright plain-speaking.

The *Leviathan,* product of the Civil War period, is remarkable as an attempt to build the State, not on any abstract or ideal theory of sovereignty, either divine or popular, but on 'scientific'

principles. Hobbes begins with (i) a sturdy *materialism:* 'reality', for him, means various configurations of material particles moving in space and time according to the inexorable laws of mechanical causation. "The whole mass of things that are is corporeal', he writes; 'every part of the Universe is body, and that which is not body is no part of the Universe, and because the Universe is all, that which is no part of it is nothing, and consequently nowhere.' Hobbes far exceeds Bacon in the rudeness of his contempt for the 'essences', 'surds', and 'quiddities' of scholasticism; his stomach had been turned by the academic feast of sow-thistles and brambles served up to him at Oxford. Next and inevitably follows (ii) a rigid *determinism,* to which the human will is as much subject as any other part of nature. 'Mind', 'soul', 'thought', are bogus entities; the 'mind' and 'heart' are merely additional material fields within which causes work to inevitable ends. 'Free Will' is as meaningless as 'a square circle'; 'will' is the 'last appetite', or last aversion, set up in us by the stimuli of external motions acting upon our organs of sense. Hobbes now passes to his account of man and society, and postulates (iii) *egoism* as the main determinant of human behaviour. He makes it appear that this follows logically from (i) and (ii). All men are identical, mass-produced by nature, and so all are impelled to seek what arouses appetite (the 'good') and avoid what causes aversion ('evil'). Hence the 'State of Nature' is a state of war of all against all. To substantiate this view, Hobbes has to ascribe to the natural man as much depravity as any orthodox theologian ever did: man is not merely passively egoistic, he is rapacious, aggressive, and vainglorious. 'I put for a general inclination of all mankind a perpetual and restless desire of power after power, that ceaseth only in death.' It will not escape notice that these conclusions are not necessary consequences of materialism and determinism, since men might have happened to be sociable and political by nature, as the bees and ants are by Hobbes's admission. But 'the agreement between these creatures is natural', he writes; 'that of men is by covenant only, which is artificial'. And so we come to (iv) the social contract and the generation of 'that great Leviathan', whereby men seek to escape the 'ill condition in which they are placed by nature', by surrendering their natural rights to 'a common power to keep them in awe'. Man is naturally vile, and is only forced into decency by deliberate contrivance.

Hobbes fled to absolutism as a refuge from the chaos of civil

war; he was prepared to risk the evils of dictatorship as the price of peace. Space forbids any adequate discussion of his inconsistencies, but we must observe that nearly all the influential minds of the next era, at any rate from Locke to Godwin, thought otherwise of man. They believed that primitive or 'natural' man—man fresh from the hands of God or Nature, was good, rational, just, and sociable, and that all our woes were due, not to human nature, but to those 'artificial' institutions which had somehow been foisted upon us. Remove these institutions, return to Nature, and all would be well. Which view is nearer to the truth? Perhaps man has never been wholly either Houyhnhnm or Yahoo, purely rational or purely brutal, but rather (as Pope said), 'plac'd on this isthmus of a middle state', somewhere between the two. Hobbes's work, we may perhaps say, is an impressive statement of half the truth; perhaps we may think, reflecting on the world's present state, of more than half. For if Hobbes's State of Nature never existed within a single community of men, it certainly exists to-day as between the 'sovereign' nation-states, and the need for an international social contract and Leviathan is more acute than ever.

Hobbes's work profoundly shocked his contemporaries, for it seemed to imply a denial of all the certainties traditionally affirmed by philosophy and religion: God becomes a spectral first cause, the Soul becomes material, Freedom is exploded, religion and morality become mere subservience to earthly authority. We may now usefully glance at the work of that group of men who first set themselves to confute Hobbes:

4. *The Cambridge Platonists*, confining our attention to Benjamin Whichcote (1609-83), John Smith (1618-52), and Ralph Cudworth (1617-85). Though less well known to the general reader, this group of philosophic divines is far too significant (and, we may add, too typically English) to be passed over in this chapter. Like all religious modernists, they hoped to protect religion from the assaults of the *Zeitgeist* by incorporating with it the best available secular thought (for them embodied in the Platonic tradition), thus enlisting 'philosophy' on the side of the angels instead of allowing it to pass over to the Devil's party. Resuming the position of Hooker, they make Reason their watchword; 'I oppose not rational and spiritual', said Whichcote, 'for spiritual is most rational.' But their battle was not Hooker's: they were

fighting on three main fronts—against Calvinism, against the spirit of sectarian controversy, and against Hobbism. Calvinism, with its divine Leviathan and its fallen and predestinated Man, seemed to them but Hobbism writ theologically. For them, God is to be apprehended as Light, Life, and Love rather than as Will and Power, and man is not so fallen that he cannot even now have some participation of the divine nature. In their characteristic role of 'Middle' or'Latitude-men', they hoped to heal sectarian divisions by calling men off from barren speculations, and reminding them that the aim of religion is to produce men of God-like temper rather than subtle theologians. 'Divinity is divine life, rather than divine science', says Smith; conduct matters more than creed; purity of heart, not orthodoxy, is what Our Saviour demands of those who would see God. A Baconian as well as a Platonic strain appears in these writers here; 'give me', says Whichcote, 'a religion that doth produce real effects'. The Platonic tradition served them mainly as a means of transcending the hackneyed themes of religious debate; to Platonize was to imply that the Values were not parochial, but had been taught and acknowledged by the wise in all times and all places.

Against Hobbes they produce the arguments which Platonists, Christians, and all believers in spiritual reality have ever urged against their antagonists, and state them with unusual charm and persuasiveness. Hobbes's materialism cannot account for consciousness: 'as if, exclaims John Smith, 'these sorry Bodies by their impetuous justling together could awaken one another out of their drowsy lethargy, and make each other hear their mutual impetuous knocks!' Hobbes would not admit a perceiving soul, because (as Cudworth puts it) he knew that 'if there were any other action besides local motion admitted, there must needs be some other substance acknowledged, besides body\ The mind not only exists, but is active (not passive) even in sensation. Anticipating Kant and Coleridge, Cudworth affirms that things are known not by mere 'passion' of sense, but 'by intelligible ideas exerted from the mind itself, nothing being more true than this of Boëthius, that *Omne, quod scitur, non ex sua, sed ex comprehendentium natura, vi et facidtate cognoscitur*.* The soul is autonomous also in the act of willing, 'there being plainly here something in our own power, by means whereof we become a principle of actions, accordingly deserving commendation or blame'. Man finds his true freedom in the voluntary submission of his will to

the will of God. So far from being secondary or derivative, Mind is 'senior to the world, and the architect thereof. Morality is eternal and immutable, not dependent upon our impulses, or the edicts of an earthly sovereign.

The Cambridge Platonists were mostly Puritan in origin, and though they were in revolt against 'the dry and systematical way of those times' (as Burnet says), their work brought to light the tendency towards rationalism which was latent in the Puritan outlook from the start, though long obscured by doctrinal controversies. The Puritan rejection of image, picture and symbol, and the Puritan self-dependence, appear in the Platonists as a steady endeavour to replace old pictorial modes of thought with rational concepts and spiritual intuitions, and as a conviction that God must be sought within the spirit of man, which is the Candle of the Lord. In them can be seen how Puritanism was capable of fusing with one of the most august philosophic traditions of antiquity to produce a form of spirituality both rational and mystical. With the Satan-haunted popular Puritanism of a Bunyan they have little in common, but with the 'inner light' of George Fox and the Quakers their 'Reason' is essentially in accord, and they are close in spirit to men like Milton and Baxter. It is clear, too, that they have taken the first steps along the road to the Natural Religion of the eighteenth century. Though they were themselves too deeply Platonic and Christian to be mere Deists, yet with them the distinctions between Nature and Super-nature, Reason and Revelation, wear unmistakably thin, 'Reason' virtually becoming what Locke called it—'Natural Revelation.' Their 'Reason' was not the 'good sense' or rational 'enlightenment' of the next century, but, cut off from religious experience and discipline, that is what it would become. It would need the insight of a Coleridge to restore its deeper meaning.

5. *John Locke (1632-1 j04)*

Locke's influence, as Mr. Cobban says, 'pervades the eighteenth century with an almost scriptural authority. . . . For a hundred years Europe contrived to live on his "ideas" '. He certainly represented 'philosophy' for that century, just as Newton represented physics, and Milton poetry; moreover, he represented the English mind at a time when Europe (and especially France) looked up to this country as the land of Uberty and enlightenment. Just because he typified the age of prose and reason he became a main

object of attack in the romantic generation, when the truths undreamed of in his philosophy were coming to light.

If 'matter-of-factness', love of compromise and freedom, modest reasonableness and tolerance, are characters of the English mind, then no philosopher was ever more 'English' than Locke. His advice is that of Milton's Raphael to Adam:

> That not to know at large of things remote
> From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
> That which before us lies in daily life
> Is the prime wisdom

—in a word, that the proper study of mankind is man. This is the keynote of the *Essay concerning the Human Understanding* (1690), where Locke, writing philosophy in the style of well-bred discussion, deliberately eschews speculation, and proposes merely to 'examine our own powers, and see to what things they are adapted'. He gives us the mind as a sheet of white paper, passively registering sensations and building up its world by reflection upon them —a view which later encouraged the 'perfectibilists', since if all the white sheets are originally identical, then any inscriptions may be written on all of them, and 'nurture' will matter more than 'nature'. No adequate summary of his teaching is possible here, but mention must be made of his celebrated distinction between the 'primary' and 'secondary' qualities of things, which was the outcome of his peculiar blend of materialism and idealism. 'Matter', for him, indubitably existed, but its only objective attributes were the mathematical ones of extension and figure; these then, subsisting independently of the mind, were 'really in' the objects, and called 'primary'. All others, such as colour, temperature, taste, &c, were 'merely in' the perceiving mind, and were 'secondary'. This distinction, which satisfied his contemporaries as final, was later exposed by Berkeley, who showed that 'extension' and 'figure' were dependent upon the perceiving mind as much as colours and tastes.

In his *Treatises of Civil Government*, written largely to vindicate the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, Locke founded the liberal tradition which dominated political thought in the eighteenth century, and inspired both the American and the French Revolutions. It seems odd that this apostle of moderation should cut such a figure, but in defending that most English and conservative of revolutions he had appealed to principles which were capable, in the hands of Rousseau especially, of being touched to explosive

issues. He had appealed, in short, to Nature, the true Deity of the century. His State of Nature, unlike Hobbes's, was something very like Eden before the Fall; it was a state in which the Laws of Nature were generally observed, and civil society could be justified only in so far as it enabled men to enjoy their natural rights more securely than before. If it failed in this function, if slavery rather than enhanced freedom were its outcome, then men must resume their 'original' liberties and 'inalienable' rights. Locke's authority was behind the characteristic belief of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that things if left to themselves, with the minimum of governmental interference, would work together for good. He cannot be blamed for not foreseeing the ways in which *laissez-faire* economics would ultimately restrict the 'original liberties' of the greatest number. He should rather be revered for his firm advocacy of those principles which in our time have had to struggle for survival against deadly reaction. It is as the exponent of liberty, human dignity, and freedom of thought, that Locke remains a worthy representative of the best national tradition.

6. *The eighteenth century*

Though it ended in revolution, the eighteenth century opened placidly with the 'Peace of the Augustans'. It seemed as if, after a century of strife and 'enthusiasm', an age of true enlightenment had dawned at last, in which Nature and Reason might really prove to be sufficient guides in the affairs of human (and therefore by definition 'reasonable') beings. I have suggested that 'Nature' was the real divinity of the century; it was certainly the key-word and the ruling concept in religion, philosophy, politics, economics, ethics, as well as in aesthetic criticism.

> Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night:
> God said, Let Newton be! and all was light!
> (Pope's *Epitaph on Newton).*

Newton had supplied a clue to the mighty maze of things, and shown the universe to be not mysterious, but gloriously rational and comprehensible, moving majestically 'according to the ordainer of order and mystical mathematicks of the city of God'. As Locke had said: 'the works of Nature everywhere sufficiently evidence a deity', and the need for a 'supernatural' revelation in the old sense seemed reduced to vanishing-point. In the deistical writers of the time (such as Collins, Toland, Tindal, or Shaftesbury)

religion is represented as 'natural', resting upon the evidence of God's wisdom in the creation, and upon the natural moral sense of man, which inclines him to love the highest when he sees it. In the social and ethical spheres, too, what has been called 'moral Newtonianism' became the vogue; gravitation preserved the stars from wrong, and in human affairs 'self-love and social', which were ultimately the same, maintained a natural equilibrium. Metaphysical or divine sanctions in morality were at a discount, and Hume (1711-76), typically avoiding all traffic with the transcendental, finds the basis of our moral judgements in the natural consensus of men about what is useful or agreeable. 'Utilitarianism', and even the sacred phrase 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number', were products of the eighteenth century. Even Bishop Butler (1672-1752), the most respectable eighteenth-century defender of Christian orthodoxy, labours to show that 'conscience', a principle above mere impulse, is yet a part of human nature, and derives its authority from its 'naturally' commanding position amongst the component faculties of man. It is well known how in the *Analogy of Religion* (1736) he defended revelation on the ground that Nature, acknowledged by all to be divine, was no freer from obscurities and 'defects' than the written Word. In pure speculation, Hume, the most daring and consistent thinker of the century, reduced 'nature' and 'nature's laws' to a habit of the human mind, whereby separate 'impressions' are felt to be linked in bundles by the 'law of association'. This latter principle, indeed (the law of association), ranks with 'self-love and social' as a fundamental tenet of moral Newtonianism; it is by virtue of this that our minds, passive in sensation, are furnished with orderly patterns, and our character and will mechanically built up for us in our passage through life. We may sum up these rapid generalities by saying that in the eighteenth century the predominant strains are Deism in religion, Utilitarianism in ethics, Associationism in psychology, Natural Right in politics, *laissez-faire* in economics; in all these spheres, as in poetics, Nature is (in Pope's phrase) 'at once the source, and end, and test of art'.

I say the 'predominant' themes, for it is evident that there are others; in religion, particularly, we are confronted, in Methodism and the Evangelical revival, with a movement which runs counter to the main current, and leads directly towards the romantic reaction. In his well-known aphorism—'Socinianism, moonlight; Methodism, a stove'—Coleridge suggests an obvious contrast

between the 'light-without-heat* which supplied the century with most of its common day, and the 'heat-without-light* which was generated to melt the freezing reason's colder part. Not that Methodism was without light, but its light came from 'worlds not quickened by the sun*; Nature and Reason were certainly not its gods. Contrast the conceptions of 'Nature' and 'Light* in the above-quoted epitaph of Pope, and in the following extract from a hymn by Charles Wesley:

Long my imprisoned Spirit lay
Fast bound in sin and nature's night;
Thine eye diffused the quickening ray,
I woke, the dungeon flamed with light;
My chains fell off, my heart was free,
I rose, went forth, and followed Thee.

In Methodism the eighteenth century may be seen evolving its own historical antithesis: its Christianity had been largely nominal: Methodism strove to make it real; its thought had been abstract and sceptical: Methodism was emotional and dramatic; it had ignored 'the vulgar': Methodism appealed to the common man; it had deified Nature and Reason: Methodism was convinced of sin, and demanded inward assurance to be won by Grace alone. In his revolt against the brittle intellectualism of the age, John Wesley (1703-91) comes near to Rousseau, but the energies he aroused were directed towards salvation, not revolution, and the English eighteenth century, unlike the French, was—partly by this means—guided without a revolutionary break into the nineteenth.

7. *The 'Romantic' Age and the early nineteenth century*

Methodism was a typically English expression of the new forces which, as the eighteenth century drew to its close, were everywhere challenging the *ancien régime,* and forcing its static order into flux and transformation. But just as Methodism told against political or social upheaval, so the most characteristic representatives of the English tradition in the revolutionary age are Burke and the later Wordsworth and Coleridge rather than Tom Paine, Godwin, or Shelley. If it is true that the English mind always prefers to use what is old and adapt it to new conditions, rather than destroy it and begin afresh, then it is not surprising that, in face of an effort to abolish the past, English writers should have been awakened to a livelier sense of its meaning. It is not necessary to be a conservative to appreciate the achievement and the wisdom

of Burke (1729-97). His great distinction was that he grasped the complexity of historical processes, understood that their development is akin to organic growth rather than to deliberate contrivance, and saw that 'politics should be adapted, not to human reason, but to human nature, of which reason is but a part, and that not the greatest part'. At the very moment when the old European order was sinking beneath 'the pickaxes of all the levellers of France', and, we may add, beneath the more insidious advance of industrialism in England, Burke proclaimed the sanctities of chivalry, heraldry, rank, and prescription. This was not mere common-place reaction or snobbery in him; it came from an historical insight denied to the shallow *raison* of the eighteenth-century *philosophes*. He saw that the old order, whatever its defects, had at least been oriented towards an ideal or spiritual end, whereas the new, despite its high watchwords, aimed at little but a free rein for bourgeois acquisitiveness: 'the age of chivalry is gone; that of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded'.

All these and other elements in Burke's philosophy—a feeling for the past in the present, an understanding of the Middle Ages, a preference for that which has grown over that which is made, for instinct over reason, for the concrete over the abstract, and a recognition of the preponderance of the unconscious over the conscious in human motive—link him with that most English of the Romantics, Wordsworth, who wrote that 'our meddling intellect mis-shapes the beauteous forms of things'.

But it is Coleridge (1772-1834) who, for our present purpose, may most fitly be considered as the representative of this age. J. S. Mill says that 'the Germano-Coleridgean doctrine expresses the revolt of the human mind against the philosophy of the eighteenth century'. Where the eighteenth century (Mill continues) was innovative, prosaic, and infidel, the nineteenth was conservative, poetical, and religious. Coleridge was felt by his contemporaries and successors to be the leading English representative of this reaction, and perhaps not least in this, that he himself (like Wordsworth and others of that generation) had evolved from the eighteenth-century to the nineteenth-century standpoint, and thus epitomized the whole process. Beginning as a materialist and necessitarian in the Hartley-Godwin tradition, as a Unitarian of the Priestley school, and a libertarian of the 1789 vintage, he was driven steadily away along an opposite path, until he came to rest in a philosophy made up largely of Platonic, Germanic, and

Christian ingredients. His conflict with the eighteenth-century world-view (the 'philosophy of death', as he calls it) reproduces in a new setting that of the Cambridge Platonists with Hobbes. It was his mission (as in a wider sense it was also the historical mission of the nineteenth century) to show that there really were more things in heaven and earth than were dreamt of in the preceding century, and so to deepen and enrich beyond measure the prevalent notions on religion, ethics, politics, and poetics. For the dead 'corpuscular' universe of mechanico-materialism he substituted an active organism which lives, moves, and has its being in God; for the passive Mind of Locke and Hartleyan associationism he substitutes an active power, shaping experience according to its own inward law; for the shackled Will of the necessitarians he substitutes an autonomous faculty; for the *raison* of the *philosopher* the *Vernunft* of Kant or the *Nous* of Plato; for the elegant Fancy of eighteenth-century poetry, the creative Imagination of Shakespeare and Wordsworth; for the abstract Rights of Jacobinism, a Burkean insight into the historical process. The mechanical philosophy, he felt, had untenanted creation of its God, reduced Mind to the position of 'a lazy looker-on on an external world', degraded Belief to intellectual assent, excluded' Imagination from poetry, substituted the 'wealth of nations' for the 'well-being of nations and of men', the 'guess-work of consequences' (i.e. Utilitarianism) for true morality, and 'natural rights' for 'the true historical feeling, generation linked to generation by faith, freedom, heraldry, and ancestral fame'. Whether as theologian, moralist, metaphysician, politician, or critic, Coleridge is always fighting for Life against dead mechanism, for organic unity against atomic disconnection, for Imagination (which shapes into one) against Fancy (which plays with fixities and definites): all these, to his capacious mind, were aspects of the central struggle between Faith and Unbelief. His defence of the Faith is based upon a distinction between 'Reason' and 'Understanding'; the Understanding is the faculty which analyses and classifies sense-data, and which rightly governs our practical routine-living, but above this is Reason, the faculty by which spiritual realities are spiritually discerned. The grand vice of the eighteenth century had been to allow Understanding (the 'mere reflective faculty') to encroach upon the sphere of Reason, cutting and squaring all mysteries to its own limited measure. Those truths—God, Freedom, Immortality—which are demanded by the Conscience ('practical

Reason') as necessary preconditions of the good life, may not legitimately be questioned by the mere Understanding; in these matters the most pious conclusion is also the truest and the most reasonable. Mathematical truths may not be denied; religious truths may indeed be denied, but by a *good* man they *will* not be denied. It is right that such truths should not be intellectually self-evident: were they so, the 'life of faith' would be sacrificed to a mechanical, because compulsory, assent. Coleridge rejuvenated religion by showing that its true basis lay in religious experience, that the Evidences of Christianity were to be found not so much in world or sun (the evidence of design in Nature), nor in miracle, prophecy, or the inspired text of the bibliolaters, but in its proved capacity to meet the needs of sinful man. In this way he forearmed the Faith for its coming struggles with the nineteenth-century *Zeitgeist* \ it is with such weapons as he provided that religion has survived more damaging assaults than were ever mounted by the *francs-tireurs* of the eighteenth century.

8. *The Victorian Age*

According to J. S. Mill, Coleridge was one of the two 'seminar minds who most signally influenced the nineteenth century—the other being Bentham (1748-1832). It may be thought that Bentham was the more typical Englishman, and indeed Benthamism, with its 'uncompromising matter-of-factness' and its single determination to bring all things to the test of utility, has been contrasted, as characteristically 'English', with the Jacobin philosophy of 'abstract rights'. But Bentham, who said that 'all poetry is misrepresentation', and that, judged (as he would have them) by the amounts of pleasure they caused, 'poetry and push-pin' were all one, can never be wholly representative of the race 'who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spake, the faith and morals hold which Milton held'. In Bentham and the Utilitarians, James and John Stuart Mill, the spirit of the eighteenth century lived on into the nineteenth, but influential as they were, these men stand for one only of the traditions which moulded the thought of the age. In J. S. Mill (1806-73) himself, indeed, we have the interesting spectacle of a man nurtured on the pure milk of the Benthamite gospel, but awakening later, through the influence of Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Carlyle, to the need for a more soul-satisfying diet, and even striving (in his late *Essays on Religion)* to re-establish by the mere Understanding what Reason alone

could attain: a genuine Faith to govern the heart as well as satisfy the head. Like Feuerbach, Comte, and George Eliot, he could only find this in the so-called Religion of Humanity.

Meanwhile, the seeds sown by Romanticism, by German idealism, and by Coleridge, were bearing fruit in Newman and the Tractarians, in Carlyle, in F. D. Maurice and the other Christian Socialists, in T. H. Green, and in Thomas and Matthew Arnold. All these men and movements, so various and in many ways so discordant amongst themselves, were united in a common opposition to the 'philosophy of death', or what Carlyle called the 'spiritual paralysis' arising from materialism, *laissez-faire* and progress-worship, in a common affirmation of religious values, and a common belief in society as a spiritual partnership and not a joint-stock company. The Tractarians, in utter reaction against the disintegrating forces of 'liberalism', hoped to restore the balance by reviving the Middle Ages, and returning to all that for three centuries had been abhorred as popery and superstition. Carlyle (1795-1881), rejecting all 'spectral Puseyisms' as chimerical, yet affirms with prophetic ardour that 'the old Eternal Powers do live for ever', and sees in history the working out of divine justice, and in 'heroes' the visible embodiment of the unseen verities. F. D. Maurice (1805-72), openly acknowledging Coleridge as his master, rejects the Tractarian programme as a lost cause and an impossible loyalty, and in company with Charles Kingsley (1819-75), Thomas Hughes (1822-96), and others, presses forward into the new world, hoping to make 'Thy Kingdom Come' something more than a pious ejaculation. Green (1836-82), again developing Germanic thoughts as Coleridge had done, asserts that reality is a spiritual organism and not a mechanical aggregate, and that 'the state' should be (not 'is') the embodiment of a moral ideal. Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), partly inspired by Coleridge's *Constitution of Church and State,* viewed Church and State as two aspects of one Christian order, the Church as the consecration of the secular; and his son Matthew (1822-88) (not unlike T. H. Green in this respect) saw the State as the expression of our collective 'best selves', and the Church as a 'national society for the promotion of goodness', and as the guardian of all the traditional poetry of Christianity and the beauty of holiness.

Space will not permit any account of the 'Religion and Science' conflict of the century, associated with the biological sciences and

especially with the name of Darwin and the doctrine of evolution. It must suffice to mention that evolution was no new doctrine, and that it was not so much science, as the wholesale application of the spirit of historical criticism to the study of the Bible and of religious dogma, that produced that climate of opinion known as 'Agnosticism', which was prominent in the latter part of the century. The Agnostics—Huxley, Spencer, Leslie Stephen, with whom may be classed writers like George Eliot, Henry Sidgwick, and, in a sense, Matthew Arnold—were for the most part devout sceptics or 'saintly rationalists'; they clung tenaciously to the Christian values and the Christian ethic while rejecting Christian dogma. This severance of the religious consciousness from religion, seen already in Carlyle, was indeed a phenomenon most characteristic of the English mind in the nineteenth century; it was the result of two predominant traits in the national mind and temperament: intellectual honesty, and a deep sense of moral obligation. Most people know George Eliot's exclamation about God, Immortality, Duty: 'how inconceivable the first, how unbelievable the second, and yet how peremptory and absolute the third!' How should morality survive religion? The answer to that question was sought with sad earnestness, and a heavy sense of responsibility, by most of the writers I have just mentioned; the strain of that quest can be seen at a glance in the familiar portraits of Sidgwick and Leslie Stephen—faces worn by thought and unlit by hope.

Earlier in the present century the Victorians were derided for their high seriousness, but things are altered now. Science has become more humble, and the catastrophes of our age have revealed that the true antagonist of religion is not science, but Evil. It may now be intellectually more practicable to be religious than it was in the last century, but we need the Victorian seriousness more than ever, to counteract the present-day dissolution of moral standards. Not only there, however, but in the English tradition of thought taken as a whole, may be found an impressive 'stream of tendency making for righteousness', a volume of testimony on the side of those values for which our scarce-concluded struggle has been fought, and without which the soul of humanity must perish.

Our divines, philosophers and moralists may lack the daring, the scope and the grandeur to be found elsewhere; we have produced no Calvin, no Leibniz, no Kant, no Hegel. Our peaks are

lower than the Alps; the sublimities of Westmorland and Cumberland (to use Mr. Aldous Huxley's phrase) are 'cosy'. Nevertheless, in glancing back at the succession of English writers who fall within the scope of this chapter, we may feel that although they seldom mount up on wings as eagles, they are often, in their homely wisdom—like Wordsworth's skylark—'true to the kindred points of heaven and home\

XV

HUMOUR

By **H. W. GARROD**

I

'IF we may believe our logicians', says Addison, 'Man is distinguished from all other creatures by the faculty of laughter.[5] If we may believe Hazlitt, 'Man is the only animal that either laughs or weeps.' But Hazlitt has forgotten, in the matter of weeping, Xanthus and Balius, the horses of Achilles, who wept for the dead Patroclus:

δάκουα δέ σφι
θερμὰ κατὰ βλεφάρων χαμάδις ῥέε μυρομένοισι.

(Only Homer, perhaps, could have made these tears of horses credible, and not absurd.) If we may believe Dr. Johnson, Man has only one kind of laughter. 'Men have been wise', he writes, 'in many modes; but they have always laughed in the same way.' Laughter (he means), this age-long foolishness, is our nearest approach to nature; in this sincerity of nature we are all kin; distinctions of race and time count for nothing. It is a pleasant and reconciling thesis. But it conducts Johnson to an unconvincing conclusion. So it is, he concludes, that we can still enjoy the *Anacreontiques* of Cowley. From Anacreon I might infer that we all laugh in the same way in our cups. Φέρ' ὕδωρ, φέρ' οἶνον, ὦ παῖ. But it does not put me in love with the cup-and-saucer primness of Cowley's *Anacreontiques.*

'There is only one mode of being wise. Because all peoples share it, it is called common sense. But no two nations laugh alike; and some—the Scots very notably—have not a laugh among them.' You will not find that among the Johnsoniana. But if you did, you would not, perhaps, quarrel with it. From the history of laughter it would be possible to wrest support for it.

The history of laughter begins, I must think, unhappily. It begins with Abraham. Abraham was a hundred, and his wife was ninety. When it was suggested to him that they might have children, 'Abraham fell upon his face, and laughed'. Sarah shewed greater restraint. She 'laughed within herself; and even so, was a little ashamed of it afterwards, 'saying, I laughed not'. Both of them laughed for the same reason—for no better reason than that

they knew the facts of sex. Sex and wine—these two things always set the world laughing. But what is notable about Abraham and Sarah is that they should be not only the first persons in the Bible to laugh, but the last. The God who gave so many gifts to his chosen people withheld the gift of laughter. 'There is a time to weep and a time to laugh', Solomon says. But he is, in truth, all against laughing. 'I said of laughter, It is mad; and of mirth, What doth it', * Sorrow is better than laughter'. Now and again in the Bible *God* laughs (Ps. ii. 4; xxxvii. 13; lix. 8). But it is the laugh of derision. Similarly, if *men* in the Bible are spoken of as laughing, it is not real laughter, but laughter derisive and scornful. For the Jews laughter is always a disagreeable and unsocial behaviour. No comedy ever came out of the East. There *was*, indeed, a merry Israel; a little like merry England, it may be. The word *merry* occurs again and again in the Bible. But more often than not as a synonym for drunken.

The oldest laughter in Europe comes to us from Homer—from the gods of the first book of the *Iliad*. It is that 'Homeric laughter' which has passed into a proverb. But the proverb has misconceived it. We call 'Homeric' the laughter that is loud, open, manly. The laughter of Homer's gods was, in truth, not loud and open, but a titter. Not manly, nor even gentlemanly; for it was directed against misfortune and deformity. Homer's gods—and, alas! his goddesses too—laughed at Hephaestus hobbling round with the wine, Hephaestus was lame and ugly; and they laughed at that. 'Unquenchable laughter' Homer calls it. What he means is that it was an irrepressible snigger. Indeed, only to the unseemly snigger does Homer anywhere apply this expression 'unquenchable laughter'. In the *Odyssey*, the gods snigger irrepressibly at the indecent predicament of Ares and Aphrodite; the suitors of Penelope snigger irrepressibly at the notion of her choosing a husband for herself.

The Greek proverbs say nothing about Homeric laughter. They know of Ionian laughter, and Chian laughter; both were a proverb for lasciviousness. The laughter of the Megarians, again, passed into a proverb. The Megarians always laughed at the wrong moment; a very human failing—schoolboys have it, and it afflicts grown men at funerals. But the Megarians seem to have specialized in it. They dispute with the Athenians the credit of having originated European comedy.

The Latins took their comedy from the Greeks, and gave it to

the rest of the world. But they had a laughter of their own, which they called Satire; a more friendly and human business than satire as we understand it. Recent scholarship has essayed to find the origins of it in Greece. But Quintilian's claim 'our satire is all our own' may be allowed to stand. It is not important, perhaps, in any case, to distinguish the Greek and the Latin laughter. What matters more is that laughter is of the Mediterranean. Where the sun shines, the lips laugh; the sunburnt faces are the happy ones.

Here, as so often, history is humiliating. We northern nations, with our deep spiritual gift, our genius for Protestantism, Puritanism, and the tragic forms generally, when it comes to the talent of laughter exercise it mostly with lips a little alien, never quite free from ethical prepossession, perfectly happy, perhaps, only in romantic comedy.

A contemporary of Chaucer—a friend of Chaucer, as is believed—spoke of the English as taking their pleasures sadly. In our literature, laughter in fact begins with Chaucer. Whatsoever things are 'Old English' are laughterless. We may wonder, indeed, whether there was ever a literature of gloom so unmitigated as the Anglo-Saxon. We may wonder, again, whether the best laughter—the most purely engaging—in our literature is not the first—the Chaucerian. And we ask, idly, why the two centuries between Chaucer and Shakespeare fall blank and laughterless—or with no better laughter than Skelton, or the German-taught laughter of Barclay. Some better laughter those two centuries do indeed offer, near at hand but not relevant, for it is *(mirabile dictu)* Scots laughter—the art of Henryson and Dunbar. So little precedent is there for Chaucer, and after him so little like him, so unexpected falls this first laughter, that we ask ourselves, Ts so great a gift native?' Much of his laughing-matter Chaucer took, of course, from the French *fabliaux.* There is no property in improper stories; and he took the first that came to hand. The Italians drew from the same source. Yet this earliest English laughter is like that neither of France nor of Italy. Nor of any other people. The first Englishman to laugh, Chaucer refutes sufficiently and at once the thesis that men 'have always laughed in the same way\ To Froissart he might well have seemed to take his laughter, as Englishmen took all their pleasures, a little sadly. Not for him the 'Homeric' laughter, the Rabelaisian, rattling, uproarious, ear-splitting, side-shaking. The best of his mirth

comes 'mixed and streaked with seriousness and tenderness'. The portraits of Chaucer—sufficiently like one another to be like the original—show him, as the Host of the *Canterbury Tales* saw him, a down-looking, unsmïling man:

> For ever upon the ground I see thee stare.
> Approche near, and loke up murily . . .
> He seemeth elvyssh by his countenance.

These downcast looks and the merry upward look are one man, in whom melancholy and mischief have met and kissed, nor will you easily distinguish in him the mysterious and the sly. I suppose we may predicate of Chaucer irony—but of the appeasing Socratic kind. Women and marriage—whence came sin into the world, and all our woe—women and priests—priests because they were cheats, thieves, liars, hypocrites—these he may be said to satirize. Yet not as an adept in satire. For wit, in truth, Chaucer has not. He is, as he calls himself, 'elvyssh'; and his darts are such as the elves shoot. Sometimes he indulges mere farce; and only here, perhaps, is he able to be tiresome. But he is truest, and most great, most like himself, least like the other laughers of literature, in what may be called the loving-kindness of comedy. To the comedy of loving-kindness, be it added, he is not insensible; he never commits the grand fault of some of our best comedy—he never falls upon sentimentality. For this serious, tender, perceptive quality of the Chaucerian comedy, Europe had no name. We have had to invent one for ourselves, we English. Voltaire notwithstanding, neither the French nor any other nation have the word *humour,* in the sense in which we use it. The word is all our own; and we sometimes talk (foreigners complain) as though the thing itself were our national property. At least the *thing* begins with Chaucer. The name was not current much before the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was not, in fact, until 1754 that it was used (by a good humorist, Tom Warton) to specialize the grand quality of Chaucer.

11

Between Chaucer and the Elizabethans, England, I have said, fell laughterless again. In 1598 Shakespeare was one of the 'principall Comoedians' in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour.* He was not of the cast which performed, in the year following, *Every Man out of his Humour.* If he had been, and if the part of

Asper had fallen to him, he would have had to make himself responsible for the following account of Humour:

'Humour (as 'tis an *ens)* we thus define it—to be a quality of air or water, and in itself holds these two properties, Moisture and Fluxure; as—for demonstration—Pour water on this floor, 'twill wet and run; likewise the air, forced through a horn or trumpet, flows instantly away, and leaves behind a kind of dew. And hence we do conclude that whatso e'er hath fluxure and humidity, as wanting power to contain itself, is Humour. So in every human body the choler, melancholy, phlegm and blood, by reason that they flow continually in some one part, and are not continent, receive the name of Humours. Now thus far it may, by metaphor, apply itself unto the general disposition: as when some one peculiar quality doth so possess a man that it doth draw all his affects, his spirits and his powers, in their confluxions, all to run one way: this may be truly said to be a Humour. But that a rook, in wearing a pied feather, the cable hat-band, or the three-piled ruff, a yard of shoe-tie, or the Switzer's knot on his French garters, should affect a Humour—O, 'tis more than most ridiculous.'

I give Jonson's verse as prose, because the theory of humours is not poetry, but medieval science. The comedy of humours is not medieval. For 'rooks', 'apes', vices, clowns, fools, Jonson has small use. The comedy of humours studies character. But too industriously, and the industry of it wanting loving-kindness. The comedy of Jonson is without charity and without charm. Life it does not lack, nor reality, nor variety. Nor can it be called anything but English. Yet it is a chapter rather in English satire than in English humour. Indeed, it is not of England, but of London: satire, of its nature, is metropolitan. Jonson, in any case, was driven upon London not from accident or disposition, but from theory. Contemporary comedy dissatisfied him for many reasons. He did not like fools that were *dramatispersonae* without having characters. He did not like mixing comedy with tragedy —the crowd liked it, Shakespeare did it, Aristophanes *(apud Platonem)* had said that the best tragedians were comedians to boot, but Jonson could not bear it. But especially did he dislike romantic comedy. The better Shakespeare's comedies were, the more Jonson hated them. He jibes openly at the *Winter's Tale* and the *Tempest.* He would not have borne to be told that Shakespeare touched the top of art in *Twelfth Night* or *As You Like It.* He wanted, above all, to call comedy back from Italy or Arden to London, London with its living Plautine 'humours'. The London stage has been negligent of him. Yet, except in Dickens,

the life of the London streets has never been painted with so lavish a mastery as appears in *Bartholomew Fair.* Only Dickens's *humanity* is not there. Dickens himself had a particular fondness for *Every Man in his Humour* \ in 1845 his company of amateurs acted it with immense success in London and the provinces; Dickens himself played Bobadill, one of Jonson's best creations.

Bobadill, a *miles gloriosus* who, like so many of Jonson's types, looks back to Plautus, stands, in the history of English humour, inconveniently placed. He belongs to the year 1598, coming close upon the heels of Falstaff. With the merry men of Eastcheap all about him, the 'Paul's man' has no chance. He has to contend against a power in English life and criticism stronger than truth; superstition. It is forbidden to speak against Falstaff. As though we wished to be judged, for humour, by our fat men (and boys), it is forbidden to speak against either Falstaff or Pickwick. Hazlitt had the courage to prefer the humour both of Cervantes and of Rabelais to that of Shakespeare. For 'serious comedy' he thought the best of Shakespeare inferior to the best of Molière. If he does not go the length of Dryden, who thought that Heaven had been equally prodigal to Shakespeare and his 'dear friend, Mr. Congreve', he preferred—and said so frankly—*The Way of the World* to the *Comedy of Errors* and *Love's Labour's Lost,* But Falstaff he 'could not get over', the humour of Falstaff was unchallengeable. Dr. Johnson did not want courage, either as a man or as a critic. But over Falstaff even he hesitated. 'Unimitated, inimitable *Falstaff,* how shall I describe thee?', he asks; and finds in him 'the most pleasing of all qualities, perpetual gaiety'. 'His licentiousness', he adds, rather gloomily, 'is not so offensive but that it may be borne for his mirth.' 'The moral to be drawn', he concludes, oddly, from *Henry IV,* is 'that neither wit nor honesty ought to think themselves safe . . . when they see *Henry* seduced by *Falstaff*'. Robert Bridges could not bear Falstaff, and let it be known. Falstaff is for the groundlings; Shakespeare tempered for them so the solemnity of history,.even as he tempered tragedy itself with the impertinent comment of the fool or the grave-digger. But it is no good crying in the wilderness. Falstaff still laughs effectively in our streets, our studies; and Behold, we say, English humour.

Here, and in Pickwick. It is a jump of two and a half centuries. Between Falstaff and Pickwick lie the Restoration comedy—not uninfluenced by the Jonsonian comedy of humours—and

Thackeray's twelve eighteenth-century humorists. Through all this period we did not 'all laugh in the same way', nor at the same kind of things. But the same people, the same kind of people, laugh, and in the same kind of way, at FalstafF and Pickwick. Nothing, you might think, has happened to them in between; unless that they have become more 'proper' and more sentimental. Chaucer, Jonson, and Shakespeare were not interested in the proprieties; indeed, all sorts of improprieties interested them quite a lot. But they were never sentimental—to this kindly fault the kindness of Chaucer and Shakespeare never fell, nor had Jonson the required kindness. For pure creative faculty, for the power to people literature with living persons challenging life itself, and sometimes the more living and likely for being not possible, Dickens is with Shakespeare. Up against the real world there is a world of Shakespeare, a world of Dickens, perhaps a third world (but less convincing), the world of Scott. It takes all sorts to make a world: and there is a place for Falstaff and for Pickwick. But is it properly, for humour, the first place? Let Falstaff and Pickwick be ever so fat and funny, I think them not to that degree good, nor enough English. Just for humour, they are less good, and less *English,* than they should be for a reason which should be more obvious than it is: they are deficient in seriousness. I do not ask that they should be didactic. In *Henry VI>* Jack Cade is didactic—conveying not the humour of Shakespeare but his political opinions. Pickwick himself, before Dickens has finished with him, is didactic—even so early Dickens was ready to put off the creator and put on the social reformer. The most serious of the peoples of Europe, we cannot afford to take our comedy quite as sadly as that. But we begin our literature with Chaucer—with a humour 'mixed and streaked with tenderness and seriousness'; and wherever either of those two qualities fails us, our humour ceases to be the best in the world, English and individual. Of this tender and serious humour the peril is obvious, and only perhaps in Chaucer and Shakespeare do we escape it—sentimentality. This lovely, and not too deadly, hazard, Shakespeare avoids by electing finally, after some vacillation, for romantic comedy.

III

The Puritans are credited with having killed English humour. Yet the most humourless of them wrote L'*Allegro,* and, like other

Puritans, practised in his prose the broad strokes of humour. In L'*Allegro* he praises the 'learned' comedy of Jonson, and the romantic comedy of Shakespeare—the wild native woodnotes heard from out of Arden. About Eastcheap no word; yet it may be doubted whether any Puritan felt himself morally injured by the 'licentiousness* of Falstaff. English humour was killed, not by the Puritans when they closed the theatres, but by Charles II when he opened them again. Alone of the kings (and queens) of England Charles II had a sense of humour. He did not, of course, see jokes against himself. When Rochester wrote of him that he never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one, he was not amused. But he shewed humour, dying; when he apologized for being such an unconscionable long time about it. The best of the French wits never bettered that. He was called 'the merry monarch'; and the comedy of the Restoration may be called merry. Both were merry in the same order of merriment, a merriment having no responsibilities towards life. The Restoration comedy, in truth, hardly has a relation to life at all. Just in that Lamb found its excuse—or his own for liking it inordinately. But, then, Lamb hated realities. He did not want to go to the theatre to see the pain of life twice over. In Restoration comedy he found a 'happy breathing-place from the burthen of perpetual moral questioning'. To his contemporaries (in 1821) Restoration comedy was ever so wicked. To Macaulay, nearly a quarter of a century later, it was still ever so wicked—'a disgrace to our language and our national character', says Macaulay (in 1841). Lamb will have it that it is all make-believe; and for what do we go to literature if not for make-believe? At least, it is a more ingenious defence than the modern—which thinks to see in Restoration comedy an instrument of moral reform. And perhaps it helps us to an important distinction. Perhaps we may distinguish wit from humour by saying that it does not, as humour does, come home to our business and bosoms.

Restoration comedy was not killed by Collier; for he would have killed, as gladly, the comedy that succeeded it, sentimental comedy. It was killed, not because it was immoral—or, as Lamb would have it, non-moral—but because it was inhumane; because it was deficient in seriousness and tenderness. It is still reasonable, perhaps, to call the eighteenth century the Age of Reason. More poetry has been found in it by recent criticism than once seemed likely. But the Age of Reason wanted neither seriousness nor

tenderness; and with the decline of comedy it discovered, in the essay and the novel, new literary forms for the expression of these qualities. Of the eighteenth-century humorists the proper praise has been spoken by Thackeray, in a book which has many of Thackeray's defects (sentimentality among them), but of which we may still say with Saintsbury that 'such another live piece of English criticism of English literature' is nowhere else to be found. Tf humour only meant laughter', it would be neither particularly interesting nor particularly English. But 'the humorous writer', says Thackeray, 'professes to awaken and direct your love, your pity, your kindness—your scorn for untruth, pretension, imposture—your tenderness for the weak, the poor, the oppressed, the unhappy'. Some of the effects emphasized fall, perhaps, outside the period with which Thackeray is immediately concerned. They are not felt in the degree alleged until we come to Dickens and Thackeray himself. Not all Thackeray's *English Humourists* $_y$ again, are English. His list includes two Irishmen and one Scot. To Ireland we are in debt—and deeply—for Goldsmith and Steele. That Goldsmith and Steele owe something to us is equally true. When Thackeray says of them that either is 'an Irishman and always an Irishman', he says too much. Of both it may be allowed that their best humour is not to be found in their plays. Goldsmith's humour is made perfect, not in *She Stoops to Conquer,* but in the *Vicar of Wakefield.*

Irishmen, of course, still continue to influence our humour. Wilde we may be content to class with the wits (and sentimentalists). Shaw, Mr. Churchill has classed with the Harlequins. But Harlequin must have his mask. No mask disguises in Shaw the fanatical reformer. He wants to make men better—or at any rate, richer—, not happier. For introducing Smollett, a Scot, Thackeray makes no apology. Yet the Scots are commonly accounted parsimonious of humour. The grand quality of Scottish humour I take to be feminine tenderness—supremely illustrated in the most manly of men, Sir Walter. I find it also in the poetry of Burns; though his *Letters* have a curious lack of it. In Smollett I do not detect, unless it be in *Humphry Clinker,* essentially Scotch quality. Some French quality there obviously is; his manner of narration is studied upon *Gil Blas.* Smollett translated both *Gil Blas* and *Don Quixote.* Of the influence of Cervantes upon our eighteenth-century humour Thackeray says nothing. Yet it was felt, and acknowledged, not by Smollett only, but by Fielding

and Sterne—the very title-page of Fielding's earliest novel advertises it as written 'in imitation of the manner of Cervantes'. Yet of all our novelists, the author of *Tom Jones* must surely appear the most English. Not Dr. Johnson himself, who liked to disparage Fielding, was more English. Sterne is more obviously European. That famous sensibility of his he fetches, surely, from the French. It is not the honest English sentimentality which we like ashamedly in lesser men, and unashamedly in Dickens. Thackeray, indeed, will not bring himself to allow to Sterne the name of humorist. He has brought him in with the others, in order to put him out. Sterne is not decent company. Nor, for that matter, is Fielding, nor Smollett. But Sterne cannot be indecent in a decent English fashion. Nor in fair French fashion. He had read Rabelais, like the others. But to no purpose; for he never gets beyond 'sniggering indecency'.

Accordingly, 'I think of these past writers', Thackeray writes, 'and of one who lives among us now, and am grateful for the innocent laughter and the sweet and unsullied page which the author of *David Copper field* gives to my children'. Who could have said it but Thackeray, so innocently, so sweetly—and all of it, to a degenerate posterity, foolishness? It is as old-fashioned as Dickens, and older yet; the antiquity of its fashion as remote, in truth, and as near, as Chaucer:

> And yet I praye to all this companye,
> If that I speake after my fantasye,
> As taketh not a grief of that I saye;
> For myn entente nis but for to pleye.

In Dickens conclude supremely all the grand mixed effects of English humour to which Chaucer furnishes, for a race and time sad in its pleasures, the ingratiating shy prelude. Ever so mixed these grand effects certainly are. I like it in Thackeray that he spoke, not of Pickwick, but of Copperfield. So many of us begin with Pickwick—and end there. So it is that we think of Dickens as a comic writer, as funny. With Shakespeare things are not quite so bad. Shakespeare *can* be funny; Falstaff *is* funny. But nobody supposes things to end there. With Pickwick we suppose ourselves to see beginning and end; resenting somewhat thereafter, as if it were a breach of contract, seriousness, sadness, purpose, the infirmity of tears, the tragic essay, the fall to the melodramatic; as though this confused freedom, this licence of range, this mingling and jangling of lofty and low, true and false,

art and nature, were not Humour itself, and Dickens, and England. Not even Shakespeare gave us a picture of England like this of Dickens. It is a poor return, and humourless, that we should see ourselves so, and cry out against sentimentality and melodrama.

That the English are, except for their humorists, particularly distinguished for humour, an Englishman (but no foreigner) may be permitted to doubt. The surest way, of course, to affront any Englishman is to suggest to him that he has no sense of humour. He would as soon have it said that he did not like dogs. For the detestable crime of not liking dogs a man may, in truth, excuse himself in more ways than one. But to want humour has no forgiveness. It is felt as a defect 'even in the most oracular souP, says Emerson, an oracular American. In ordinary men —which is what some of us are, and most of us affect to be— it comes near, a man might suppose, to having no soul at all. Whether this means that we esteem humour very highly, or somewhat below its worth, may be reckoned uncertain. The average Englishman, if told that he is defective in poetry, is not particularly affronted. He is content to leave poetry to the poets; and if he reads the very greatest poets, it does not occur to him— leaving aside perhaps Shakespeare—that they are especially English. And indeed, are Spenser, Milton, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats—are the specially inspired poets of our poetry—notably English, or inspired in a particularly English fashion? Is even Shakespeare always English? If you met the *Sonnets* running wild in the desert of Sahara, would you instinctively cry * Great Britain!'? And may there not, here, be some analogy with our humour? Is our best humour more like ourselves than our best poetry? Both are a splendid British possession. But are they necessarily like ourselves because they have happened among us? Alone of the nations of Europe we claim to have humour—the name and the thing. That we are a race born for gaiety, naturally quick and happy in perception, or especially in love with the ludicrous, neither our climate, perhaps, nor our countenances, nor our history make especially probable. The best of our literary humour falls, compared with that of other nations, serious and tender. Our organized popular amusements, our games, our fairs, lack their just levity. Our cricket is a persecuting creed. If a man really wants to know what Froissart meant about our taking our pleasures sadly, let him go, of a

summer evening, to the fun fair at Blackpool. Yet of this race come, mysteriously, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Dickens.

IV

Something may perhaps be added on the place of women in the history of English humour. In comedy we have Aphra Behn and Susannah Centlivre. Mrs. Behn is unique as being (so far as I know) our only bawdy woman writer. It is her odd distinction that she was buried in Westminster Abbey, and may be read in a modern edition. Mrs. Centlivre a man may read, if at all, only by going to the British Museum. In fiction, we are happier. If Miss Burney, with her gentle gaiety, has gone out of fashion, Miss Austen is not a fashion, but a religion. To speak against her is like speaking against the Prayer Book. Nothing ever moved Miss Austen very deeply, and her humour is dispassionate. Since she read very little, it is especially English. Whether women have in general a greater sense of humour than men, or less, their books, in the nature of things, do not help us to determine. They are at a disadvantage. They may not laugh in the same way as men; nor, always, at the same things. If they laugh, it has to be quiet and ladylike. Self-possession is obligatory; and there can be no melodrama.

XVI

THE PRESS

WITH A NOTE ON THE BRITISH RADIO

By **R.** C. K. ENSOR

I

THE conduct and development of newspapers in Great Britain is governed by two permanent influences, which it is desirable to bear clearly in mind before descending into details about this or that. Neither affects in the same degree the Press of any other great nation.

The first is legal. Owners, editors, writers, printers, and publishers alike work within the framework of an extremely severe law of libel. Most journalists regard its severity as excessive; and it would be easy to quote a string of 'hard cases', in which newspapers or those serving them have suffered heavy and obvious injustice. But such cases, though too numerous, are not typical, and when looked into will be found nearly always to result, not from the law of libel, but from much wider defects in English legal administration—the exorbitant costs of litigation, the frequent impossibility of recovering them from a defeated plaintiff, and also the far too frequent impossibility of reaching any certainty beforehand as to what the decision of the English courts on a point of law will be. But behind these cases of hardship the general operation of the law may be thought most beneficial. It renders it impracticable for any British newspaper to live on blackmail, as countless newspapers on the Continent have in varying degrees done; and it secures public life against that miasma of personal defamation which has poisoned the working of so many other democracies and deterred their best men from engaging in politics. To comply with the law, scurrility, the easiest road to popularity, is to a great extent barred; allegations must be accurate, comment fair, invective never unguarded. Herein may be found, not indeed the main pillar of Great Britain's characteristic political moderation, but an outstanding, indeed almost an indispensable, support to it. If occasionally the result is to make criticism too mealy-mouthed, this may seem on the whole a small price to pay for such enormous advantages.

The second permanent influence is geographical. About 42 million people in England and Wales live on a smaller square mileage than does any other white community of comparable size in the world. The area is not only small (only a little larger than the State of Illinois, which has less than 8 million people), but it is served by a dense network of railways. Consequently a daily morning newspaper printed at two centres only—London and Manchester—can be delivered to nearly every breakfast-table in the country. Cornwall, parts of Devon, and parts of south Wales are the only areas not so reached. Scotland, of course, is a different proposition; but by adding a third printing-office at Glasgow nearly all Scotland can be covered also. Note that the centre of gravity is in the south; the most populous, as well as the richest, area is that worked from Fleet Street. The population reached from Manchester is also large; but the Scottish is by comparison a small one.

The results of this geographical concentration are three. First, the largest English newspaper circulations are the largest in the world. They dwarf the American altogether; and before the recent war the only continental ones in the same class were some in France, where the population that can be covered from Paris compares with that covered from Manchester. And, broadly speaking, of course, the larger the circulation of each journal, the fewer the journals needed to supply the national demand.

Secondly, in England the morning newspaper is established as the dominant type. It alone can use the night-hours for its distribution, and so cover the country; whereas an evening paper can never circulate much beyond an hour's railway travel from its printing-office. This does not mean that there are no English evening papers; on the contrary, there are a great many; and there are some elements of the working population (though far fewer than forty years ago) which read evening papers only. In London there are three evening papers whose sales all bear some relation to the million mark, and one has been above that mark in Manchester. Yet, generally speaking, it is the morning papers, with their metropolitan prestige, nation-wide circulation, and far larger revenue from all non-local types of advertising, that lead the way in every important English newspaper development, their only rivals in that respect being now the Sunday papers, which enjoy the same advantages of circulation as they.

Thirdly, these nation-wide morning papers, considered as

commercial undertakings, have to conduct their operations on a huge scale, whether one measures it by the amount of capital which they require, the number of hands and the cost of the machinery which they employ, or the enormous advertisement revenues which they need in order to exist. Their owners must, and do, command giant resources, and no aspirant who lacked them could dream of getting his foot in. A company which planned to set up a new daily morning newspaper in London would have to be prepared to lose at least a round million (and possibly much more) before it turned the corner. The field is not open to small men. Only in rare circumstances will it in future be open at all.

So, to recapitulate the three points briefly, the geographical conditions in England and Wales (i) enable English morning newspapers to attain the world's largest circulations; (2) assure to them in this way the primacy in the English newspaper world; (3) have gradually but surely brought about a state of things in which the scale upon which a morning paper's business is conducted prohibits any but very great capitalist concerns from running one. The effect of the three taken together is that a few concerns of this type largely set the pace and direction for the whole English Press.

Il

Because of the primacy of the morning newspapers the best general idea of English journalistic development can be obtained by tracing the development of newspapers of this type. They originated in the eighteenth century, but it is hardly necessary for our present purpose to go so far back. Even the first half of the nineteenth century has but little bearing; though in it *The Times* already illustrated the possibility of attaining in England a circulation larger than those prevailing abroad. The extension of railways and the gradual reduction and eventual repeal of the three so-called 'taxes on knowledge* (a stamp charged on every copy sold, a tax on every advertisement, and a duty on paper itself) first added an impetus to *The Times,* and then (in and after 1855) gave birth to the characteristic organ of Victorian England, the 'penny daily paper'. These penny dailies were by no means all London concerns; a multitude flourished in provincial cities, often evolved out of pre-existing weekly, bi-weekly, or tri-weekly journals. Wherever printed, they conformed to certain patterns, of which it is important to form a fair picture, because their

tradition still accounts for a good deal of what is best in English journalism.

To begin with, their objects were not preponderantly commercial. Most of them were family properties, and the owners, while concerned that they should not fall below an expected yield of income, were at least equally anxious that they should sustain the moral credit of the family. They regarded them rather as public trusts, which it was an honour to discharge, but which had to be discharged honourably. Circulations were small, judged by subsequent standards. Fair intelligence might still be presumed in readers from the fact that they could read; and a clear line was drawn between news and opinion—the news being scarcely edited at all, while opinions were given in leading articles. Little appeal was made to women. The reading matter was solid, responsible, unsensational, rather dull, and very much concentrated on politics. Editors wrote their most important leading articles themselves, and they and the other leader-writers were usually men of university education. Reporters and sub-editors were few and ill-paid. A large proportion of the advertisements were still local or personal; though national advertising had begun, and display of different kinds was developing.

The revolution which destroyed this phase of English journalism was not launched till 1896, but it then proceeded at a pace so rapid as not merely to defeat but to discredit its victims. The newcomers were full of scorn for the 'dullness* and 'stuffiness' of the 'bad old Press'. Though there was some truth there, it was not the whole truth. A writer of much knowledge, two decades later, put the other side. 'It is impossible', he wrote, 'to deny that the recent commercialization of journalism is an irredeemable loss to this country. We have probably in the last twenty years parted silently with an asset of supreme value.'[1]

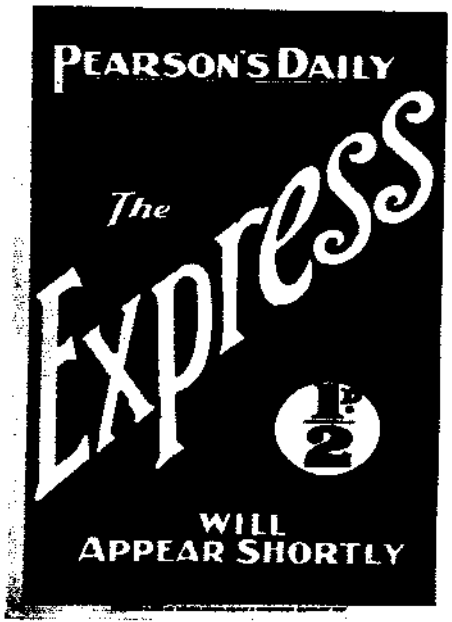
The leaders in the change were the brothers Alfred and Harold Harmsworth, afterwards Lord Northcliffe and the first Lord Rothermere. Starting from nothing, they had as quite young men built up very large fortunes in a few years by running popular weeklies for the million. These weeklies were not newspapers, but little magazines—cheap, chatty, gossipy, written down to the intelligence of office-boys and nursemaids, spiced with a good deal of 'clean' sex, and baited with competitions which in effect were gambles. The Harmsworths did not invent them; they got

[1] G. Binney Dibblee.

the idea from George Newnes's *Tit-Bits* (1880); but they so multiplied them, that in six years they had amassed enough capital to embark on journalism proper. Their first venture, the London *Evening News* (1894), was edited for them by Kennedy Jones, a journalist who had studied in America the methods of the 'yellow* Press. It was an enormous success, and in 1896 they capped it with a morning paper, the *Daily Mail.* In three years the *Daily Mail* reached a circulation of 543,000—more than double the next highest. A few years following saw a host of London and provincial 'penny dailies' either shut down or converted to the new methods; and in 1908 Lord Northcliffe acquired *The Times* itself.

The *Daily Mail* was sold for a halfpenny; but that alone did not explain its triumph. It succeeded because, a generation after the Education Act of 1870, there had come into being a new and very large class of readers, for whom the penny dailies were too difficult reading. These people knew too little about politics to be daily interested in it. They wanted bright, short news-stories, told in short words and very short paragraphs, with plenty of headlines. To reduce the news to this formula it had to be elaborately cooked and rewritten. The old distinction between news and opinion tended to disappear in the process, the more so as leading articles were cut to the bone. The new public, whose patronage was secured by these methods, was so large, and consequently so valuable to advertisers, that the claims of the old public and the old method nearly everywhere gave way to them. The *Daily Mail's* victory was emphasized in such events as the foundation of the *Daily Express* by Pearson (1900); the foundation (1904) of the *Daily Mirror* by Alfred Harmsworth and its development as the first popular daily picture-paper; the conversion (also in 1904) of both the two London organs of the Liberal party, the *Daily News* and *Daily Chronicle,* into papers on the new pattern sold at the new prices; and the purchase, conversion, and immediate ruin of the *Standard* by Pearson (also in 1904). Similar events took place in the provinces. There was a continuous growth of commercialization, as the ownership of one journal after another passed from a private to a public company, and newspaper shares figured increasingly on the Stock Exchange as a new and popular channel of investment.

Between 1908 and the first Great War there was some recovery



A New London Morning Paper

Will appear shortly. It will be owned by Mr. C. Arthur Pearson, and will be called

The Daily Express.

Its price will be a **Ha'penny.** It will differ in many respects from all other daily papers, and will possess an absolutely unrivalled organisation for the collecting of news.

Special Correspondents have been appointed in every part of the world. No event can occur in even the most remote corner of the earth without

The Daily Express

being placed in immediate possession of its fullest details.

Particularly will this be the case as regards all parts of the British Empire.

The Daily Express

Has its Own Correspondent in every town over which the Union Jack waves, and one of its great aims will be to bring the far-distant parts of our mighty Possessions into closer touch with the Mother Country.

* * *

The Daily Express

Has despatched Seven Special Correspondents to South Africa. They will follow closely and report fully every detail of the War.

* * *

It would be unwise to speak in advance of the Special Features of

The Daily Express.

They have been planned with the utmost care, and will prove themselves to be varied, and of unique interest.

* * *

The demand for

The Daily Express

promises to be immense. *Will you let me reserve you a copy?* If so, please fill in and return the form overleaf.

FIRST PROSPECTUSES OF THE 'DAILY EXPRESS' IN 1900



THE FIRST FULL FRONT-PAGE DRAPERY ADVERTISEMENT IN THE 'DAILY MAIL' ON 26 JANUARY 1906

of quality. The defeated penny dailies exemplified 'Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit'. For instance, when the two London Liberal papers adopted the Harmsworth model, they could not safely discard all their character as serious party organs. They retained educated leader-writers, important leaders, and a serious leader-page with signed articles of distinction; and the *Daily Mail* redeveloped those features. Again, in the provinces, while a large proportion of the old dailies either disappeared or sold out to the newcomers, the abler editors, following the lead of the famous C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian,* saved their papers. They modernized them along lines of compromise; seeking to introduce lightness without forfeiting weight; and ultimately, during the partial eclipse of *The Times* under Northcliffe, coming to speak with a wider authority than ever before. In these ways the great pre-commercial tradition was not all lost, but survived to exert, as it still does, an influence in many quarters.

There followed the 1914-18 war, which in the main may be regarded as an interregnum in English Press development. To save shipping tonnage the white paper, on which newspapers are printed and which is the biggest element in their cost of production, had to be rationed and cut down. The newspapers had to sell a smaller and more cheaply produced article to a public which nevertheless bought greedily at the same, and eventually at higher, prices. These conditions enabled many newspaper companies to pay duty on excess profits; but they did not conduce to progressive enterprise. A curious by-product of them was the survival of certain papers, since notable, which would else have perished. For instance, the *Daily Express* at the outbreak of that war was virtually bankrupt. All its assets were mortgaged to a paper-maker against unpaid bills, and it was only because the assets would not cover the debt that it was allowed to continue. The war restored it to solvency and enabled its proprietor to go ahead, with results very important in the sequel. Again, in 1915 the *Sunday Times,* which had then scarcely any circulation or value, was bought for a small sum by two young journalists, the brothers William and Gomer Berry, now Lord Camrose and Lord Kemsley. They had little capital, but put into it much skill and unremitting industry; yet they might have failed but for the war conditions. As it was, the paper was enabled to become, not merely the great property that it now is, but the foundation of the vast interests of the Berry brothers, which, prior to their

trisection in the late thirties between Lord Camrose, Lord Kemsley, and Lord Iliffe, formed much the biggest newspaper combination yet known in this country.

When the first Great War was over and supplies of white paper came off the ration, a new era in the history of English morning newspapers began. Lord Northcliffe was attacked by disease; he gradually became less and less sane; and already some time before he died (1922) the lead was passing away from his *Daily Mail* to Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express.* In fact if we call 1896-1914 the *Daily Mail* epoch, we may perhaps call 1919-39 the *Daily Express* epoch. It does not mean that the *Express* had throughout the largest circulation; it had less than the *Daily Chronicle* till 1927, and less than the *Daily Mail* till rather later. But while each of the three had its strong points down to 1930 (when the *Daily Chronicle* perished in the financial collapse of its proprietary), the other two increasingly copied the *Daily Express.* Let us briefly then examine some features of the period.

The first is a great growth in advertisements. From 1920 to 1929 the amount of money spent annually on newspaper advertising rose rapidly and almost uninterruptedly. The reasons lay mainly outside the newspapers. But there the advertising was—an enormous cake, out of which it became the prime object of each newspaper to appropriate the largest possible slice every year. To do that they must satisfy the advertisers as to circulation and 'pull'. Secondly, the bulk of the new advertising expenditure (e.g. that by the then rapidly expanding London stores) was for goods purchased by women; and from an early stage it came to be realized, as it never had been before 1914, that for advertising purposes women readers were incomparably more valuable than men. This discovery was so true and so Copernican, that one may ask why it had not been made earlier. Part of the answer perhaps is that in the 'penny daily' period men readers had been ranked higher on political grounds, since they alone had votes. The Act of 1918 which enfranchised women removed what was left of that argument.

The advertiser who wishes to sell goods to women readers can gauge with great accuracy the 'pull' of different papers in that respect. It is done by 'keyed' advertisements, a device introduced about this time. But many of the largest classes of advertisement cannot be 'keyed', and there the only index of a paper's value to advertisers is its figure of net sales. So every paper had to pursue

two aims—more women readers and more readers. Editor and news-editor and advertisement manager watched in detail day by day the play of causes and effects, i.e. of the varying *pabulum* that they offered to the public and the varying response in size and quality of circulation. Such observation sustained over sufficient periods enabled them to discover with certainty what features and subjects do or do not attract readers, and particularly women readers; and the morning paper of the *Daily Express* period was the answer.

In the furious fight for circulation during the twenties, every conceivable device was used—armies of canvassers, showers of free copies, prize competitions of many kinds. The most successful multiplier of all was free insurance for readers. First seriously introduced in 1922, it raised all the big circulations to quite a new level. But it was costly, and advertisers did not find that 'pull* rose correspondingly. On the human side a curious by-product of the circulation race was the cult of Youth. Experience showed that once people have grown up and settled down to take in a particular newspaper, it is hard to shift them to another. So the special effort of the circulation-getter must be directed to young people; and hence the extraordinary wave of youth-worship and youth-flattery which swept over Britain between 1920 and 1930. Nothing quite like it occurred on the Continent. There the youth-cults were directed to befriending young people, and also to enrolling and indoctrinating them. But they did not proclaim that the follies of youth are wisdom, and its pet vices virtues, and that, so far from listening to others, its right and duty is to make others listen to it. These latter views, which swept England and America (though after the 1929-33 economic crisis they were softened down), started in a conscious journalistic stunt. Later, or almost simultaneously, the same motives extended them to films and to popular novels.

Morning papers between the two Great Wars aimed, then, specially to attract as readers, (1) women, (2) young people. The central norm of tests came to be what attracts the young unmarried women earning money, since they are the largest consumers of advertised goods. By what sort of reading are they attracted? We used to be told vaguely, that women when they made their influence felt anywhere would elevate taste. Individuals no doubt will; but the effect of feminine demand in bulk is something different and more precise. Journalists,

obliged to be realistic, established as working certainties a number of definite propositions. Women (in the mass, that is) have no day-by-day interest in politics. They will not patronize a paper that obtrudes much serious politics upon them. They have very little interest in doctrines, arguments, or serious speculations of any kind. Thus the religious discussions and social theorizings, which were so prominent throughout the popular Press in the years 1904-14, filled little space there in 1919-39. Women's concern is not with ideas or principles, but with persons and things. Their prime interest, journalistically speaking, has proved to be sex and those episodes of mutual attraction which the popular newspapers term 'romances'. Another very marked interest is that in performers. Thus film-stars came to be for the popular Press nearly the most important persons living; and a 'romance' between two of these idolized beings was an event which few could outclass in attraction—except, of course, a Royal 'romance'. A subtler feature in women's psychology is a desire for the vertiginous—for being whirled off one's feet; and this, together with the cult of performers, seems to explain the remarkable interest displayed by them (and so by the papers) at this time in the feats of speed-kings. More obvious feminine interests are dress and cosmetics; but they, since (like the corresponding male interest, which is sport) they are relegated to special pages of a newspaper, do not affect it as a whole in the way in which the features just enumerated do.

Of those the negative side was quite as important as the positive. An often-quoted maxim of Northcliffe says that, while it is bad to miss giving your readers what they want, it is far worse to give them what they do not want. Women do not want serious daily politics, and if you give it, the effect is not that they will not read those columns, but that they will not read your paper. That is why the *Daily Herald*, with large net sales and some claims to be regarded as the best of the popular newspapers, has never got from the advertisers the cream of the women's advertisements.

The 1939-45 war repeated the experiences of 1914-18. White paper was rationed; advertisements partly dried up; and the newspapers did fairly well by selling a few pages at the prices fixed for many. In newspaper development there has again been a halt, but a longer one, because the war was longer and because the various shortages have continued much longer after it.

III

Such has been the main line of evolution of the English morning newspaper: not entirely a happy one, especially since 1919. But there have been others. From the moment that the Harmsworths succeeded in riveting the sway of a popular Press too crude to content educated readers, a sharp differentiation developed, as never before, between papers for the unthinking many and papers for the thoughtful few. This was perhaps an eventually unavoidable result of the 1870 Education Act, and had already been preceded by a similar differentiation in the case of novels.

But the way of the educated papers in Northcliffe's time proved hard. We have seen how the great Conservative paper, the *Standard,* disappeared, and *The Times* succumbed to the Harmsworths. The attempt in 1906 to establish the *Tribune*—designed to be a sort of Liberal *Standard*—failed disastrously. The great monthly reviews, which throughout the period of the penny dailies had wielded an enormous influence over the British governing class in both political and cultural affairs, took fright and began shortening and lightening their articles. In the result they merely lost their influence without greatly extending their circulation. Weekly reviews were multiplied; but, except the *Spectator,* they did not pay, and represented only the willingness of rich individuals to lose money. The newspaper with most influence in the councils of any party was the Liberal 'class' evening paper, the *Westminster Gazette.* It never came near paying; but as its circulation was only 9,000-10,000 it cost little to produce, and its deficits were met by a few rich members of its party. On the eve of the 1914-18 war opinion among the intelligentsia of journalism was divided between those who hoped to see intellect finding its voice through small-circulation papers of this type and those who looked rather to a gradual but steady recovery of standards within the popular Press. The latter was then still a men's Press, and as already mentioned was undergoing a phase of recovery.

The issue remained in suspense during that war, but after 1918 the downward evolution of the popular newspaper in the wake of the *Daily Express* settled the question in the other sense. Thinking people were driven back on non-popular papers, and the latter began to improve their position. Certain epochs stand out. One was the emancipation of *The Times* from the Harmsworths and its purchase by a millionaire who was willing to give

its staff a charter of reasonable independence. Another was the transfer (i January 1928) of the moribund *Daily Telegraph* from the tired hands of the third Lord Burnham to the Berry brothers, and its conversion by Lord Camrose into an organ at once more intelligent and more popular. Another was the steering of the *Spectator,* after perilous and involved crises of proprietorship, into fairly safe water under an able editor as a high-level organ of Left Centre opinion. Another has been the fusion of a number of weeklies on the Left, each non-paying and heavily subsidized, into one organ, the present *New Statesman and Nation,* which prospers on its own feet. But the most hopeful feature of all has been the solid monetary success of the two high-class Sunday papers, the *Sunday Times* and the *Observer,* representing the best standards of English journalism in far higher circulation than anywhere else.

If there is a shadow on the prospects of intelligent journalism in Britain, it concerns those great provincial morning dailies—the *Manchester Guardian, Glasgow Herald, Liverpool Daily Post, Scotsman,* and others—which in the darkest years carried on the torch. These morning papers seldom now pay, but they are owned and published by companies which each also own and publish a lucrative local evening paper; and upon an open or concealed subsidy from the abounding profits of the latter the morning paper depends. That can continue so long as the proprietors can put public spirit before profit. But if at any time circumstances press them, they must be under strong temptation to close the morning paper down, and draw the profits of the evening one without deduction.

A word as to prices. The inflation of money due to the 1914-18 war roughly doubled them all round. The halfpenny papers went to a penny, and most of the penny papers to 2*d.*; thus the old 'penny dailies' are now usually twopennies (the *Daily Telegraph* compromised on 1½*d.). The Times,* which from 1861 to 1912 stood on a lonely pedestal at 3d., was by stages brought down by Northcliffe to a penny; but the 1914-18 war altered that, and after several changes it settled at 2*d.* (the post-war equivalent of Northcliffe's penny), till the 1939 war raised it to 3*d.* Generally speaking, however, the second Great War did not raise newspaper prices; though in view of the further inflation it will be doubtful if papers can at their present prices return to pre-war sizes, even when paper is derationed.

IV

We have thus far mainly confined our survey to the morning newspapers. They are not the whole of the English Press, whose categories are indeed legion. Four of them call for special mention here. They are Sunday papers, evening papers, local weeklies, and trade papers.

Sunday papers may be briefly dismissed, because in their present twentieth-century form they fall very closely into line with the morning papers, having the same range and channels of distribution, varying their appeals to readers and advertisers within the same limits, and (with but one notable exception) being owned by the same owners. Evening papers are another story. As stated above, they cannot be distributed very far from their printing-office, and only in the largest centres of population can they have large sales. Only in those cases have they a considerable editorial side. Elsewhere it is unnecessary; they are bought mainly for racing results, local news and gossip, and local advertisements. On that basis quite small centres can have each an evening paper; which (since all its costs, including white paper, will run very low) is apt to be 'a little gold mine'. Such an evening paper will commonly have linked with it a local weekly, making (apart from the racing results) exactly the same appeal.

The evening papers in the larger centres are usually owned either by one or other of the big proprietaries which publish national morning and Sunday papers, or else by a local proprietary, publishing (as noted above) a provincial 'prestige* morning paper. In the smaller centres ownership is more varied. Sometimes it is purely local; sometimes it is one of the national combines; while sometimes a number of little local enterprises will be combined into a chain covering a county or a region, where by pooling certain services it can effect very profitable improvements. This last is a line along which a new man starting from little may still go far; though no one has yet successfully used it to invade the main field of London journalism.

Another possible line of approach would be through trade papers. Of these great numbers exist, mostly yielding a fair return on modest capital. Their owners are even more varied than those of evening papers. Not a few belong directly or indirectly to the big proprietaries; while some are grouped in the hands of particular firms specializing in this class of property.

But when all is said and done, the feature of the English Press,

fixed on it by the logic of geography and the vast morning circulations, is the concentration of ownership in the hands of a few enormous proprietaries, each headed by an individual name. The dangers of the system are obvious, but it also has definite advantages. If the process went much farther, if the eight leading proprietaries were absorbed into one or, which is less unlikely, reached arrangements to extinguish real competition between them, there would possibly be a political revolt, though with what objectives it is difficult to foresee; since it is much easier to criticize here than to find a desirable alternative. Meantime there is at present no sign that the circle will be further narrowed; the tendencies since Northcliffe's death have been rather the other way. Competition remains keen, and only awaits the derationing of white paper in order to reassert itself. On the side of technical efficiency the great proprietaries have provided the country with a Press second to none in the world; and whether you take popular papers or what are sometimes called 'high-brow' papers, you will find that each compare favourably *with papers of similar type* elsewhere. Some types happily are not found here. When, for instance, not long before the war a London daily was made to copy the yellower type of American 'tabloid', and to radiate sex-excitement from every column, the experiment only lasted a short time before the paper quietly dropped it.

Free from blackmail and financially far too strong and independent to be influenced by 'rackets', the English Press can compare favourably with that of any comparable country for decency and honesty of the more elementary kinds. Based in the main on the idea of giving its readers what they want, and not what somebody dictates for them, its level cannot be much higher than theirs is. But at least it is a bulwark against totalitarianism. And in proportion as education raises the demand from its readers, its expert and competitive attention to demand should ensure its keeping pace with them.

A Note on the British Radio

THE policy adopted in Great Britain for the radio presents an interesting contrast to that for the Press. The Press is left to free enterprise, which is still fiercely competitive (despite a diminished number of competitors) and which relies for its finance on advertisements. The radio, on the other hand, is

entrusted to a Government monopoly; no advertisements are permitted; and the revenue is obtained from a poll-tax on radio sets.

The story goes back to a British Broadcasting Company, which was founded on 18 October 1922, and worked under an operating licence from the Government till 31 December 1926. Its capital was ;£ 100,000, of which the six main firms manufacturing radio sets contributed £10,000 each. Each of the six had a member on the Board; and profits on the small capital were limited to 7^ per cent., the idea being that the companies would make their main profit by selling sets. Revenue was obtained from (1) direct payments by owner-users of sets, (2) the radio trade by way of taxes on sets and parts sold. Of these (2) was soon dropped, and after two years (1) was left as the sole important source of revenue. Mr. John (now Lord) Reith was General Manager and later Managing Director, and down to his retirement in 1938 played a major part in shaping the service.

In August 1923 the Sykes Committee reported in favour of several steps forward, including day-time programmes, which till then had been banned as liable to interfere with other wireless services. By the end of that year 595,311 sets were paying licence fees—a number nearly doubled in the following twelve months. In July 1925 the high-power station at Daventry was opened—a long step towards providing a nation-wide service. In 1926 the Crawford Committee reported in favour of winding up the company and substituting a public authority; and on 1 January 1927 the change was made. The British Broadcasting Corporation then came into being under a charter for ten years. The company's managing director became Director-General under the Corporation, and the company's board was replaced by a Board of Governors appointed by the Government for five years.

This constitution substantially still lasts. In 1936 the Ullswater Committee (of which Mr. Attlee was a member) reported in favour of the charter's being extended for a second ten-year period; and this was done. Broadcasting has throughout been carried on as a public utility service, ultimately subject through the Government to Parliament but exercising large autonomy from day to day. In practice it has a close responsibility to listeners, since it must study how to attract and keep them. Moreover, it is authorized to conduct journals of its own; which implies a public letter-bag. The Postmaster-General has

discretion to take over the plant on any emergency, and the Corporation may be required to broadcast Government matter free at all times; but the public would not tolerate the services being used in ordinary circumstances as propaganda for the party in power. Matters of party or other controversy are broadcast on a 'hear both sides' system. With the advent of the second Great War an extensive chain of foreign services was developed, which supplies news and states the British point of view in a great many languages. It proved a most powerful weapon in the war, and most of it still continues.

The problem of television was referred in 1934 to a Committee under Lord Selsdon, which in 1935 reported in favour of entrusting it to the B.B.C. In 1936 a television station was opened at the Alexandra Palace in north London, and between then and August 1939 considerable progress was made. The war put a stop to it for six years, but as peace conditions redevelop, television seems likely to become a very important side of the B.B.C.'s work.

The B.B.C.'s second ten-year charter expired on 31 December 1946, and was renewed for another five years. No inquiry was held, but the Government promised Parliament that one should be held well in advance of the next expiry-date. Meanwhile certain reflections on the system may be permitted. The exclusion of advertisements from the air is surely a signal boon to the public, and it creates no real hardship for the advertisers, who have no lack of other advertising mediums. The concentration of all programmes under one control renders possible (though it does not always achieve) the avoidance of overlapping and a well-proportioned allocation of time between the different forms of entertainment and instruction. The absence of profit-seeking of the narrow kind enables the educational sides to be better planned; the B.B.C.'s broadcasts for schools stand out as being the best things of their kind in the world. On the technical side great difficulties were created by the war and the expansion of the foreign services; and these cannot be quickly removed. In proportion as they are, the work of the B.B.C. will be seen more clearly as a distinct national achievement.

XVII

THE VISUAL ARTS

By **A. E. RICHARDSON, R.A.**

I

ENGLISH art was destined to develop from simple beginnings and to become the parent tree of many growths. It was susceptible to change, yet it could retain its inherent vitality; it was capable of continuous advance, and yet proved tractable to the beneficial process of grafting.

There was native art in Britain before the Romans formed the great roads and left the figure of Britannia on the coinage. In the Dark Ages its spirit retired to Ireland, to Wales, and to Scotland, emerging later in the form of Celtic embellishments. Under the Heptarchy the Anglo-Saxons perfected timber construction for houses and ships. The veneration for natural forms persisted and fostered the love of ornament: the urge to carve and embellish structural features, for gratification and amusement, in time evolved natural and grotesque forms of Gothic detail.

From the tenth to the thirteenth century English builders, craftsmen, and monkish artists came under Norman-French influences. Many theories were absorbed, especially those of scale in building. Having profited by these lessons the English sought to excel for themselves. From the thirteenth to the opening of the sixteenth century English Gothic developed on parallel lines to that of France, but imposed its own features. In a spirit of insular detachment the Englishman built castles, cathedrals, and parish churches; he submitted to the discipline of arms, and he became proud of his shops and trade. In a subconscious way he was aware of his worth and the value of independence. The directness of the crafts, and the importance of things made to last, took firm hold in consequence on the minds of all men. The justness of the social grading admitted the yeoman to bear arms, and this engendered a spirit of tolerance which gave additional status to the crafts.

Living in seclusion on an island, the Englishman became introspective. He was accustomed to decide things for himself; to invent anew became natural. Thus, with confidence begot of experience, native builders could change the curvilinear features of

churches to suit structural conditions, and paradoxically enough they terminated the tall interiors of their churches by devising flattened vaults. The earlier triumphs in carpentry, attained under the Heptarchy, were elaborated still further when the Tudors reigned. Being independent and thoughtful, the English builders were prepared to cultivate the full teachings of the French School, then influencing the Continent from Seville in southern Spain to Liibeck in north Germany.

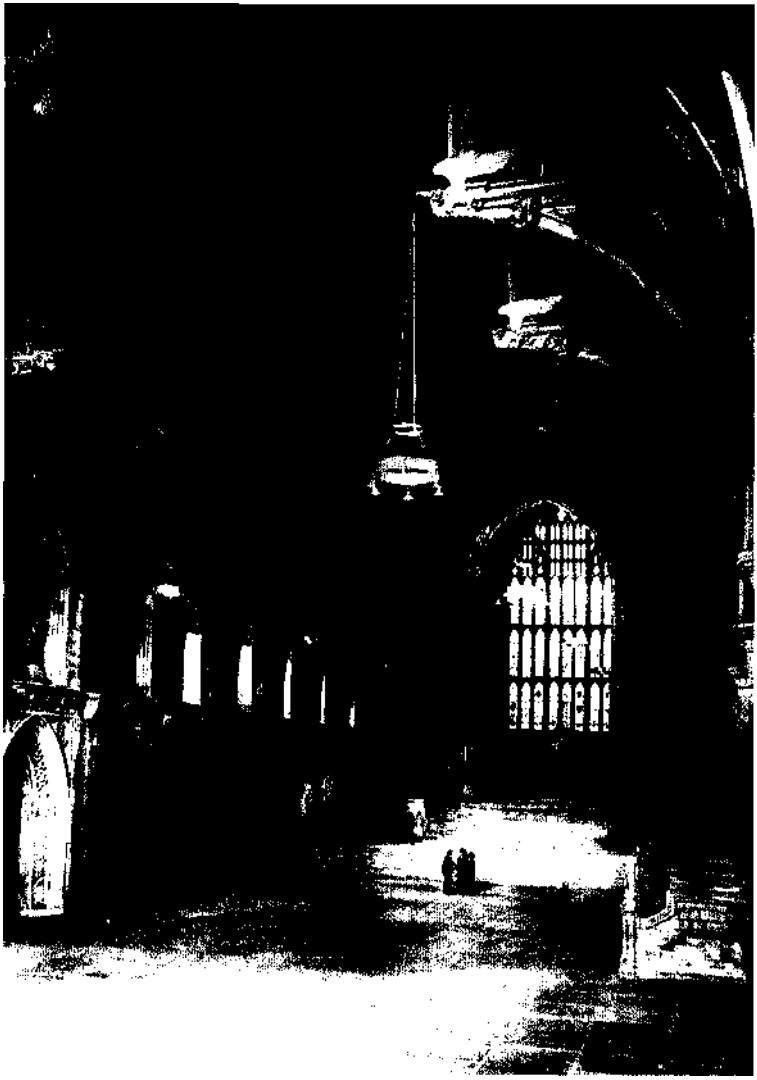
The adventurous reign of Queen Elizabeth, with the outpourings of books from foreign presses, encouraged the growing taste for Renaissance art. It was, in fact, the novelty of the illustrations and quasi-classical conceits shown in the more important books, that appealed to the admiring eyes of patrons and executants. As yet the English builder was not prepared to change the basic principles of native art and craft, but he was willing to profit by any decorative trifles that he could select and adapt to specific purposes. He was, in fact, tolerant of all that was offered, but he dealt with the novel ideas in his own way. At this period also was developed the spirit of inquiry which led to foreign travel and the investigation of ancient and contemporary art in other countries.

Thus the matured English Renaissance came into being under a Scotch King, with Inigo Jones as stage mechanist and some of the nobles forming a circle of enthusiastic patrons. English architecture in all its branches, however, retained its idiosyncrasies, especially in its methods of construction and its whimsical detail.

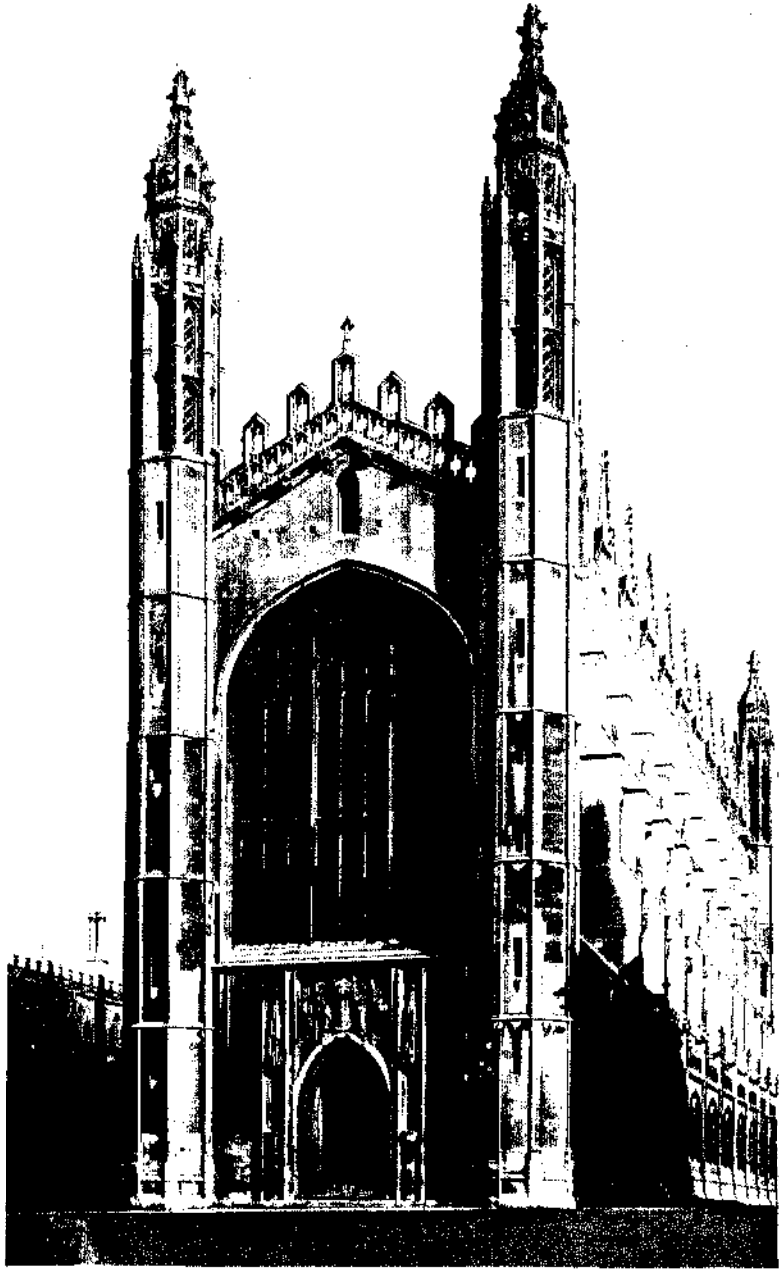
In the early seventeenth century the various elements of time and politics conjointly played a part in affecting the destiny of the national art. Survivals of the taste of successive periods and influences were thus closely interwoven in the form of things material. Contemplative and forbearing by nature, the Englishman was never less than tolerant of all that was offered him. Then, when he began to travel and to make comparisons at first hand, he was in a position to advance more rapidly than ever before.

It was largely by an innate system of rule of thumb that the average Englishman developed a taste for things beautiful. This power of selection, the very basis of taste, is to be seen in the proportion and elegance of houses large and small, no less than in the preference shown for portraits and landscapes in the realm of painting. The driving impulse, however, was the spirit of inquiry which sought for new ideas.

This is not to assert that the new forms of art derived from



THE INTERIOR OF WESTMINSTER HALL, LONDON
A masterpiece of medieval timber construction



THE CHAPEL OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

Copyright 'Country Life'

abroad were taken to heart at once; they often caused considerable annoyance; but deep down there was a vein of sympathy for novelty.

With the restoration of the Monarchy, and under the later Stuarts, the English emulated the grandeur of the French court; Sir Christopher Wren spent a few months in Paris, returning with illustrations and prints of French buildings. Faced with reconstructing the City of London after the Great Fire of 1666, the citizens threw themselves into the task with energy. With little preparation, relying solely on native craftsmanship, aided by French and Dutch books on design, the leaders raised architecture to the status of a Fine Art.

The disaster which destroyed medieval London is therefore seen to have been a blessing in disguise. Men's eyes were opened to the vigour and enterprise of the outside world. England, once again in her long history, became architecturally minded. Her architects, already skilled in masonry and carpentry, were now to engage in the construction of braced and trussed timber girders: in matters of design they were to become serious rivals to the French. At this juncture, when the nation was undertaking a life and death struggle with Louis XIV, a new version of the classical Renaissance came into being in all the regions of England. The peculiar genius of the nation now found fresh scope for its force. This regard for national experience, which runs through all the social grades, manifests itself almost invariably in times of emergency.

Having evolved a new manner of building, partly by adversity and partly by jealousy of foreign achievement, the English began to institute a system of pattern-book rulings which ensured the quality of all works of architecture and furniture which belong to the eighteenth century. It was now generally recognized that things visual should be elegant as well as useful. It was conceded that architecture provided many models, and that most things, even candlesticks and the legs of chairs and tables, should accord with a common ideal. The standards of achievement, therefore, took on a classical bias. In fact, devotion to the grandeur that was Rome, and later to the refinement that was Greece, became an obsession with the upper and the 'middling sort' of people.

It was due to the self-training of country builders, aided by authentic pattern-books, that a semi-efficient apprenticeship system kept the standard of craftsmanship relatively high. All this

was translated into terms of village and country-town architecture, providing exemplars which to-day it is the objective of various societies to preserve. The standards of taste which then held sway among the middle classes were emulative rather than accidental. During the years of struggle against Napoleon, the humble crafts were never so widespread, or followed with such meticulous pains. Decline, however, was approaching; almost imperceptibly the conceits of the Regency were merged into the coarsened products of early Victorianism. The age-old traditions of craftsmanship were soon to decline. By the time of the Great Exhibition it was assumed that novelty of form alone mattered, and that art could be applied at will as an embellishment to buildings and objects of utility.

When the Exhibition had closed, and when the iron and glass palace had been removed from Hyde Park to south London, English architecture was again disturbed from several directions. At home, achievement wavered between a revival of medieval architecture and a competition with the surface splendour of Paris, which the Second Empire had fanned into flame. Added to this there were wild imaginings concerning the future of iron and glass as building components. The benefits of machine-made articles, and the importance of cheapness, now dictated national economics. What little inspiration still flourished in limited circles was quickly translated, by the commercially minded, into terms of showy grandeur and harsh silhouette.

For a time it seemed as if the instinct which hitherto had adjusted the national balance of taste had failed to assert itself. This was the period of abject contentment and lower-middle-class illusion: an age when architectural history was falsified by harmful restorations of ancient buildings; an age, moreover, when the humbler crafts were despised. From the Saxon, the Norman, and the Frenchman of Paris, our forebears had learnt much. They added to their knowledge under the Tudors, the Stuarts, and the Hanoverians. The Victorians could direct steam power, they had placed an electric girdle round the earth, they were absorbed with new speculations of scientific thought; the pity was that they essayed to pervert the historical styles, as fresh evidences were brought to fuller light by art critics and historians.

No answer was forthcoming to the momentous question, 'What is Art?' In vain did Carlyle thunder and Ruskin moralize. In frenzy did the rival schools of architects demonstrate their skill in huge perspective drawings. William Morris, artist, poet, social

reformer, and practical craftsman, knew what was needed; but his warnings were disregarded at home and were not accorded the fairness of a trial. The truth was that the whole nation had become participants in the mad scramble for artistic expression. Art in its simpler and more honest moods still flourished in out-of-the-way places, waiting to be rediscovered. As for the herculean labours of William Morris, they were noticed by Sweden and gave rise to modern Swedish art.

Over-ripeness, neglect, and a facade of make believe, such was the art legacy of the last years of the nineteenth century. Yet this is not quite true. Through the 'eighties, and the 'nineties, English architecture and the kindred arts achieved little, but the flame of continuity was kept alive. The triumphs of the earlier periods were seen in their brightest significance. Respect for English achievement in the eighteenth century now became general in Europe and America. Gradually there was an awakening in England to the fact that the architects, painters, and artisans of the Georgian period belonged to a distinct school. Certain famous architects of the early nineteenth century were also admitted somewhat tardily to belong to the hierarchy of the giants. It was realized at long last that some of England's greatest attainments in art were produced in the days of the four Georges.

The twentieth century began well with good resolutions for advancing the arts, but progress was hindered by indecision, as well as by the lure of easy attainment offered by following the example of contemporary achievement in France and America. This was a period of research and of criticism, rather than one of art unity. Not only were the old illusions cherished, but men were blind to the vast forces called into being by the machine. Then came the first World War, with demands which had to be met at short notice by impromptu methods. And then, after years of sacrifice, came victory, followed in turn by twenty years of restless truce. Men began to realize that the old world could not be reorganized at will; that neither ideology nor military might could bring about that concord of nations which all desired. Finally, after vain attempts to avert disaster, the second World War broke in all its fury.

Now that the protracted conflict is over an opportunity occurs to raise human aspirations. The old world is there, turned full circle, with all its experience and all its implications. Future cultural freedom lies with those nations which have the most

sincere belief in art. For art is but an expression of the innermost soul of man. It is the sum total of his character, the loyal spirit of endeavour, the outcome of trial and error, which constitutes the secret salt.

il

Architecture, the first and most important of the plastic arts, provides a sure index to the character of a nation. Since its form and substance embody many associative ideas, the latent spirit, which accompanies this branch of human expression, often escapes recognition. The reason why the buildings of different nations bear the indelible stamp of the country of their origin also calls for the closest study and analysis on the part of the student and the historian: for investigation alone can explain variations of theme and composition. There is, in fact, in all outstanding architecture something more profound than pattern.

This is the quality best described as character, which should not be confused with individual buildings but related to the whole sequence of the architecture of a particular nation. How this quality first came into being, and how it has continued undiminished through the centuries in English architecture, we must now attempt to describe.

Character in art, deriving as it does from the corporate actions of a nation at a given time, provides the resistance which is essential to check excesses. Here then, exists a universal law from which there is no retreat, and one which does not admit of subterfuge. Character in art begins with nature, and all things visual combine to aid its powers. It has magnetic force and cannot be discarded. Thus it has come about that continuity in art depends on subconscious observance of a fundamental law which encourages incessant growth.

Nations are endowed with character from their beginnings. The first outlines will ultimately become great tapestries; but they cannot be formed at will. As architecture is another form of history, it is permissible to describe the causes which have here contributed to specific results. In this connexion the physical agents which have endowed native art with peculiar and distinctive attributes should be noted. These can be classed under the headings of climate, soil, and natural surroundings. These three factors are interdependent; they influence the association of ideas in the human mind; and they must therefore be considered to be

primary agents in encouraging both habit and attitude of thought. Climate represents the average succession of atmospheric changes for a long period of time. From the earliest period climate has influenced the form of houses and other buildings, particularly the pitch of roofs and the means of carrying off rain-water and snow. It has been the chief factor in determining the nature of husbandry and tilth. It has, moreover, influenced most profoundly the minds of artists. In former times dense forest and undergrowth affected the climate of England. The contrasts of weather encouraged a reflective attitude of mind; brilliant days were succeeded by periods of mist and gloom, long spells of outdoor activity were followed by periods spent by blazing log fires. Thoughtful beings were not slow to understand these contrasts, neither did they fail to note the significance of the seasons. Those who were skilled in art or craft recorded the ordinary pursuits of everyday life in the embellishment of manuscripts, and by crude carvings.

In the earliest times the search for beauty was vague and querulous, but nothing ugly was created. The Anglo-Saxons, the Jutes, the Danes, and the Normans came from seafaring and fighting stock. Each succeeding race could turn from war to the arts of peace. They were skilled in organization; they could call upon groups of artificers and craftsmen accustomed to hew and shape timbers for houses or ships: they could rely on masons to build churches.

During the reign of King Alfred art became established in England, and contacts were made with the court of Charlemagne. The earliest of the craft guilds was founded in London. At the close of the tenth century trade with the Continent was considerable; London had become a great seaport, and York was a trading centre. Wool formed the chief commodity for export, and was received back from abroad in the form of clothing. Jewellery was in demand for personal adornment by men and women alike. This was the period when the manorial system was in embryo, a time when men were busy with the handicrafts and women were employed in spinning. Art is the fruit of the crafts of which handiwork is the germinating factor. When it is said that art is regional, or national, it is implied that it is the outcome of certain conditions, is in fact rooted in local craftsmanship. Thus the character of English art springs from the soil to which it belongs; its subsequent growth, aided by fertilization and grafting, is another story.

The genesis of character in the visual arts of England begins in Saxon times. Strong impulses were then imparted to the crafts by prevalent conditions. A long lineage of craftsmen, artists, and architects would in due course follow. To this period can be attributed the beginning of precision of workmanship in timber craft, the early love of trees and gardens, as well as incipient taste for portraits and painting, which later became so pronounced. England, richly endowed by nature, evoked art impulses exactly suited to her people at a time when influences from the Continent were limited. Environment invariably shapes the channel for art impulses until a distinctive style evolves: then comes a period of maturity, followed later by decline. After this the whole process begins once more, often in a form modified by the memory of what has already been achieved.

English domestic architecture of the Middle Ages derived both its character and its scale from the timber buildings of Saxon times. The 'cruck', or fork system for roofs, eventually became the open timbered roof of the Tudor hall; the vertical timbers were likewise developed into the half-timber patternings for framed houses, and with the innovation of cantilevering one floor over another the use of short timbers became possible. In the case of stone buildings, it was not until after the Norman conquest that great cathedrals and churches, equalling those of Normandy, were erected in England. Towards the close of the twelfth century the distinctive style known as Early English began to take shape. Groups of native artificers of different trades were now accustomed to work together on vast buildings under the direction of a master of the works. It was realized that buildings could be made proportionate to a general scale, and that constructive skill depended on a knowledge of geometry. When we reflect that architecture records the character of a nation at a given time, it is essential to recall the antecedents upon which it is founded. The observance of tradition was strong; the receptive attitude which welcomed new ideas was also prevalent. Both of these forces, therefore, had a direct bearing on the future of the art, and both of them tended to strengthen the hands of those who were responsible for new works.

The distinction of English Gothic during the period of its growth was its plasticity in the hands of masters who understood both the style and the material they were employing. Continual invention was essential; for the fulfilment of the works in hand demanded vital construction. The progress towards perfection

was stopped, however, by the Black Death, a pestilence which swept the country after 1349, carrying off nearly half of the population and changing the economic life of the country. Building work was disorganized, labour was very scarce, and the purchasing power of money was diminished.

After 1360 the school of artificers who controlled the king's works for Westminster, the Tower of London, and Windsor, came into greater prominence. The importance of London as an administrative centre must always be borne in mind; nor should the fact be forgotten that the most proficient craftsmen who had served their apprenticeship in the capital were invited to all parts of the country. These men, working in the provinces with local groups of craftsmen, regularized methods of building and spread new ideas over a wide field. This in part explains why the innovations in architecture which were made during the second half of the fourteenth century in London were followed by similar improvements in other districts. The early fifteenth century witnessed the erection of new colleges at Oxford and Cambridge which depart from precedent both in plan and elevational treatment, an outstanding example being Queens' College, Cambridge (1448-9).

The distinctive English phase of Gothic known as Perpendicular was now in being; King's College Chapel at Cambridge was rising above the ground; and in every region where churches and other important buildings were required skilled builders were at hand to work by contract. Evidence of progressive activity is to be found in later contemporary fifteenth-century buildings, despite the disastrous Wars of the Roses and the decline of the monasteries. The character of Tudor domestic architecture in town and country, with its simple statement of construction, regional observance in the use of materials, and above everything else its remarkable study of proportion, affords proof of the emergence of a manner of building peculiarly insular. But deep seated as the building traditions were at the close of the fifteenth century, they could not entirely withstand the momentum of events in art which were beginning to sweep across Europe from Italy.

From the Norman conquest to the end of the fifteenth century the development of medieval architecture was continuous and consistent, and its phases had become merged through successive periods of transition. Thus in its slow and sturdy growth, no less than in its wide distribution through the various regions of England, contemporary architecture can be compared to the English

oak-tree. The metaphor can be carried even farther; for the perennial quality owed much to the woody stem, the branches and the foliage differing only in the degree of their umbrageous luxuriance. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, largely owing to influences from Italy, the fertility of the parent trunk was quickened by grafting on to the stock the budding sprigs of Renaissance art. The process was inevitable, but in its early stages it could not be more than tentative in its results.

Nearly a century was to elapse before the full meaning of classical art was apprehended; and yet another century was to pass before the classical idiom became part of the insular tradition. The change at first was towards the conscious embellishment of parts of buildings rather than the achievement of new types. The great era of church building was over, but new chapels and halls were needed for colleges; designs for screens, pews, pulpits, and tombs still gave scope for craftsmanship. A fuller conception of unity in design did not arise, however, until the later years of the Elizabethan era.

In this regard both Elizabethan and Jacobean architecture represent collective rather than individual effort. The English aptitude for throwing up the right kind of intellect, at the moment required to meet any special contingency, is proverbial. Such was the case of Inigo Jones, whose travels in Italy, and whose study of the works of Palladio, founded the matured phase of Renaissance architecture in England. This native genius belonged to the category of painter-architects, to whom all the arts were as one. He brought to England the very essence of Italian accomplishment, and with deft strokes he diverted the aspirations of his less gifted contemporaries. His masterpiece, the Banqueting House in Whitehall, has never been surpassed for boldness of conception and beauty of detail.

Further evidence of the changes then taking place is offered by the illustrated books on architecture which came from abroad in ever-increasing numbers. Suspicion, tempered by antagonism to Royal patronage, led to the partial suppression of every branch of art during the Civil War and the Commonwealth that followed.

A fresh approach to architecture and art was made after the restoration of the monarchy. The nation was now conscious of its heritage as it was of its shortcomings; men were in a mood to seek for something more than practical preoccupation. The impress of tradition was strong; from the earliest times English

buildings recorded the logic and the energy of a people who could adapt themselves to meet contingencies. The impassioned desire for excellence, the intuition for the asymmetrical, the introspective philosophy, the austerity which demanded contrasts of plain and ornamental, above all the ingenuity and reality of imaginative construction, had prepared the English builders to deal with the new architectural idioms imported from France. Under Sir Christopher Wren and those who formed his school, England found her proper sphere of action in architecture.

The Great Fire of London, which destroyed a large portion of the medieval city, gave new opportunities for extending the classical Renaissance as a mode of expression for every type of building. Henceforth the horizon would be widened; tradition would assume a new aspect; invention would be encouraged and disciplined. The employment of the late seventeenth century was to provide the foundations for subsequent achievement in design. Thus the architecture of the eighteenth century became assured, with corresponding qualities of scholarship, elegance, and charm. Two forces accompanied its inception—one English, deep rooted in tradition, concerned with the handling of material; the other, classical and European. These two forces, conjointly, were to direct the development of the arts for more than a century.

Throughout the eighteenth century architecture was organized both in theory and practice. A system of rules, methods, and maxims was established, the observance of which controlled taste but did not weaken the power of the individual. The ideals that animated the architects of this brilliant period may be stated to have been precision of composition and classical elegance. Subconsciously the exponents knew they were the inheritors of the Italian Renaissance; but they desired to go deeper into the secrets of old Rome, and at a later date they came under the spell of Greece.

Certain of the leaders, among whom were the renowned Adam brothers, had in mind the complete organization of the art, which would include furniture and domestic appointments.

Such is a brief account of the progress of architecture in the eighteenth century. It was a phase based on an age-old system of construction relying on handiwork; but in its larger aspects it embraced the whole range of classical precedent.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when elegance in aristocratic circles had reached its zenith, the prolonged struggle

with France foreshadowed fresh changes. The art traditions of the previous two centuries were not entirely ignored; they were, however, in process of being coarsened to suit the mechanized inventions which had proved so necessary. Not only was there a reaction in the minds of the architects to a broader knowledge of Greek art; there was also a renewed desire to emulate the triumphs of the Middle Ages. This demand for novelty in architecture led thought in retrospect to those days, before the Reformation, when Gothic was universal in Europe.

Beginning as a whim, 'romanticism' had gained popular esteem for its novelty. Soon it was to rise to the heights of antiquarian and architectural interest; the consequence being that in a few years it usurped the classic field. The issue for architects was further complicated by the introduction of iron, and later steel, for construction. Notwithstanding the spirit of eclecticism which disrupted the continuity of the classic tradition, certain nineteenth-century buildings bear the stamp of originality which defies time and fashion. The new attitude to architecture is evidenced in the masterly external composition of the Houses of Parliament at Westminster, where the problem was complicated by the proximity of the Abbey. On the classical side the selection of the motif of the Italian palace to serve as the external casing for London clubs was apposite. The neo-classical school could also point with pride to St. George's Hall at Liverpool as a triumph of civic architecture.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, when the contest between the rival stylistic groups had died down, the eclectic spirit engendered yet another mood which presaged a return to the principles of the later English Renaissance.

The wars of the past thirty years have been most unfortunate for English architecture. Difficult as the contest between opposite schools of thought proved to be during the nineteenth century, controversy at least kept the critical spirit alive.

Some reference should be made to the speculative housing developments which have no claim to be considered as architecture. This spate of misdirected effort is so unrepresentative of the true character of the art that the question arises, how could it have been sanctioned? On the other hand, the splendid housing schemes controlled by the London County Council and other corporate bodies leave nothing to be desired, either pictorially or from the standpoint of comfort.

In this brief account of English architecture through the ages the aim has been to define the abiding quality which is the ultimate determinant of the insular style. To complete the narrative even in synoptical form, recourse to historical facts is unavoidable. It may be argued that buildings in themselves represent many facets of history, in which events, modes, and fashions have become crystallized, creating a number of historical motifs, each and all impregnated with ideas. But a mere description of historical sequence, however illuminating, has limited value if it avoids reference to primary causation. Investigation of the character of architecture must begin at the root.

As in the case of other countries the geographical position of England, as well as its geological formation and natural endowment of flora and fauna, had the largest share in its cultural future. The earliest of its peoples built up a system of living suited to their environment. Everything that came after was but an enlargement of genetic thought. Character in art, although abstract, is always consistent and cannot be contravened. It is above principles, which are cumulative, and invariably transcends them. Character is in itself an inspiring force, but the observance of character does not restrict artists from selecting ideas, or from beginning again with primary elements. Character, once implanted, accompanies every system of art, whether in transition, maturity, or decline.

This identity of character pervades all the contrasts of English architecture, irrespective of time or period. It is a constant, and as such it demands loyalty from executants. The whole spirit of art is therefore subordinate to a rule which takes precedence of all others.

Architecture cannot do more than represent national aspirations in a relative manner. But what it does reveal is sufficiently plain for all to see. Search may be made for secrets which at first are not apparent, but which study inevitably suggests to the mind. The many qualities of English architecture are fascinating to the student, yet how few have been adequately described. A fine building stands for something more than mere utility. Rightly considered it becomes a symbol, the impression it makes is lasting, and above fleeting taste.

Viewed in this way the masterpieces of English architecture, be they Gothic, Renaissance, Classic, or contemporary, appear as emanations of national genius. It is possible to recognize broad

characteristics of handling deriving from the national identity, the masculine attributes and monumental scale appealing to the imagination simultaneously. And if this is true of those works which rank among the first order, what remains to be said of the contribution of domestic architecture? Here the sequence of character is also permanent, combining charm with the deepest thoughts of home life, and raising men's aspirations to emulate qualities that appeal to the understanding.

ill

If the extent of pictorial art in England appears to be limited in comparison with that of architecture, its character is equally distinctive and no less important. This is all the more remarkable considering the influences introduced by foreign artists. How the character of pictorial art forms part of social history must now be discussed. The success of the nation as an entity was assured when the British Isles became the focal point for the Norman adventurers who systematized the Saxon and Danish elements, already merged with Celtic and Romano-British stock. England, however, was already largely organized, her soil cultivated, and her system of government in being, when the Normans finally took control.

Norman England in many respects reflected the Continent in miniature, the principal exception being that she was protected on all sides by the sea. Henceforth the original institutions would be developed in comparative safety; a spirit of independence would grow up, and quiet conditions of living would create a basis for the handicrafts. Thus two essentials to the purpose of English art, namely continuous evolution and malleability, appear to have been co-existent from early days. Veneration for tradition was already implanted strongly in the insular mind; it was a form of conservatism which could be made to respond to almost any contingency. In this sense English art began well; its exponents were ready to accept ideas from other countries, and to adapt them as they thought fit. The expression 'Done into English' which belongs to the seventeenth century aptly describes the process which was initiated under Norman rule.

To the advantages of a remote situation were added climatic conditions which had softening effects on the face of nature. This in turn encouraged a whole range of moods in the human breast. Art in its plasticity was not slow to reflect such emotions: it was perhaps the attitude of instinctive contemplation, implanted far

back, which accounts for the undemonstrative qualities of the pictorial arts in England at all times. There was also a willingness to accept compromise when opinions were at variance. Respect for tradition, therefore, became widespread: and on the whole this attitude was reasonable. For the artist, the past, existing in the present, was crystallized into an infinitude of facets. The particular faculty which distinguished the art lover from his fellow beings had a common root in the kindly yet tenacious temper of the nation. The story of English painting begins with the introduction of Christianity by St. Augustine. It was extended by Carolingian influence, as, for example, in the Adoration of the Kings Benedictional of St. /Ethelwold (A.D. 975-80). Thence to the early Gothic period, with the wall-paintings at Winchester, is but a stage. So far the tendency in pictorial art was towards the precise rendering of natural forms. A deep love of nature is apparent even in themes inspired by the Gospels. And so matters progressed until in the thirteenth century English art was as important as that of France. The drawings attributed to Matthew Paris, inspired by nature, are exquisite in line and convention. In the fourteenth century the illuminated manuscript developed minuteness of detail, naturalism (such as drawings of birds and animals) being pursued side by side with various conventions of the human figure. At this period ornament imitated ancient architectural decoration. Later Gothic painting includes the Wilton Diptych and the portrait of Richard II now in Westminster Abbey.

In the fifteenth century there ensued a decline, for both French and Flemish art were in the ascendant; and patronage, too, lapsed, for the nobles were preoccupied with the Wars of the Roses. Under the Tudors the chief demand was for portraits. Here foreigners were employed, for native artists were practically non-existent, and Henry VIII patronized Holbein; but later Queen Elizabeth recognized the genius of the miniature painter, Nicholas Hilliard, a native of Devon, who continued the tradition of English miniature painting.

Then followed the native and foreign artists who painted the portraits of the early Stuarts. The preponderating influence of Van Dyck and Rubens, which for a time overshadowed the group of English miniaturists, enriched the reign of Charles I. On the other hand, the new tendencies of Continental painting did not pass unnoticed in native art; but nearly a century was to elapse

before the purely English tradition was to expand into its academic phase. Thus the taste for small portraits and miniatures was fostered by Hoskins and Cooper; while the skill of Marc Gheeraerts, Daniel Mytens, and Cornelius Johnson fostered preference for exquisite portraiture.

It was, however, Van Dyck's understanding of character, and more especially the discrimination of Charles I, that gave new impetus to taste in portraiture. Even during the uncertain times of the Protectorate, when the arts for the most part were put aside, the Van Dyck manner persisted. This is evidenced in the portraits of William Dobson and Robert Walker. Sir Peter Lely's rise to fame came with the Restoration. Not only did he find subjects among the bevy of court beauties, but he set on canvas the features of famous admirals and men of letters. He was succeeded by Sir Godfrey Kneller, who extended the tradition of the former period to the opening years of the eighteenth century. His portrait of Sir Christopher Wren ranks among his chief works.

So far it had been the function of the artist, whether of native or foreign origin, to interpret the English desire to perpetuate portraits of persons of outstanding fame and beauty. The Van Dyck tradition was still strong; topographical draughtsmanship, now coming into favour, had not advanced beyond the skill of Wenceslaus Hollar and David Loggan; the decoration of walls and ceilings, initiated by Rubens in the baroque manner, had been continued in a perfunctory way by Streater, Verrio, and Laguerre. Thornhill eventually undertook the gigantic schemes of painted decoration at St. Paul's, where he was guided by Sir Christopher Wren. The eighteenth-century school was now foreshadowed.

Passing over such minor artists as Kent and Jervas we come to the free-lance, Jonathan Richardson. This artist became famous for his writings on the Theory of Painting; and his influence on his contemporaries was pronounced. The next painter, William Hogarth, is rightly accorded a premier position as the founder of the eighteenth-century school. The period of his rise was propitious; for England was now peaceful and prosperous. It was a time when family groups, or conversation pieces, were in demand. The stage, too, provided material for a skilled and untiring brush. Hogarth realized that portrait painting, popular as it had become, was not everything. He saw that the depicting of narrative scenes would be well received, and this explains why he turned to the seventeenth-century Dutch painters for inspiration.

The pictures of narrative type, now in the Soane Museum, together with the 'March to Finchley\ epitomize the temper of the age in which Hogarth flourished. It was, however, through his popular engravings that he made the most direct appeal to the public taste. Here the exact detail and the excitement of crowded human activity provided an index to contemporary events which all could appreciate. The biting satire, the eye for caricature inspired by nature, the composition set off in light and shade, displayed life as a species of charade which everybody could read. All the pictures are those of men and women memorized by the artist in the streets of London; while the buildings, too, are accurately delineated. For these and other reasons Hogarth became popular, but his ultimate success was due to the subject-matter of his work. It was not until a century after his death that his brilliance as a portrait painter was understood. The 'Shrimp Girl', for example, anticipates and excels the efforts of modern painters.

In so far as the painting of 'conversation' pieces went, Hogarth was succeeded by John Zoffany, a man of prolific energy possessing unlimited skill of characterization. But English taste in art demanded something more than either family groups or individual likenesses. The sporting instincts of the wealthy, their pride of estate and love of sport, gave scope to a phase of art which is peculiarly English. What has been termed the 'Newmarket School' came into being, John Wooton, Seymour, and George Stubbs gaining fame as the foremost painters of animals. The first of this coterie combined the landscape effects of Claude and Poussin with groups of horses and riders deriving from Jan Wyck; Stubbs, on the other hand, as in the picture of Lord and Lady Melbourne, evolved a method of display in which horses and carriages are dominant elements in the composition. Stubbs, like Wooton and Seymour, undertook an exact study of the anatomy of horses, but he did not overlook human character; his delineation of trees approaches the freedom employed by Gainsborough. But from this time onwards the Academic School began to take charge.

In the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough, portrait painting is seen at its zenith. Not only do the masterpieces of these artists record the refinement of the age in which they lived, but they also show how far the art had advanced in popular estimation. It would be impertinent to compare the works of the two artists, or to attempt to explain Gainsborough's mastery

of landscape, by contrast with the sublime gifts which Reynolds possessed for portraiture.

Reynolds, however, was. the greater scholar, and his influence extended over a wider field than that of any of his contemporaries. Gainsborough was more of a creative artist whose genius is seen at its best in spiritual and ethereal traits. Among other prominent artists must be included Allan Ramsey, Francis Cotes, Tilly Kettle, John Opie, and John Hoppner, all of whom were influenced by Reynolds. George Romney stands alone, renowned for the decorative quality of his portraits. Raeburn on the other hand derives from Velasquez, but he too profited much by following the methods of Reynolds.

At the time of the Regency and during the reign of George IV, Sir Thomas Lawrence maintained the traditions of the School founded by the Royal Academy. If the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had encouraged a series of individual artists, the second half of the eighteenth century brought the academic or group system into being. The art of portraiture became exclusive and aristocratic. In that it is significant of the period, for patronage of the arts no longer came solely from the Crown but also from the wealthy ranks of society. Neither should the work of the landscape school be overlooked, for this represented a branch of art that appealed directly to the native appreciation of scenery. In this especially is to be seen the maturing of a tradition which had its roots in the early history of insular art.

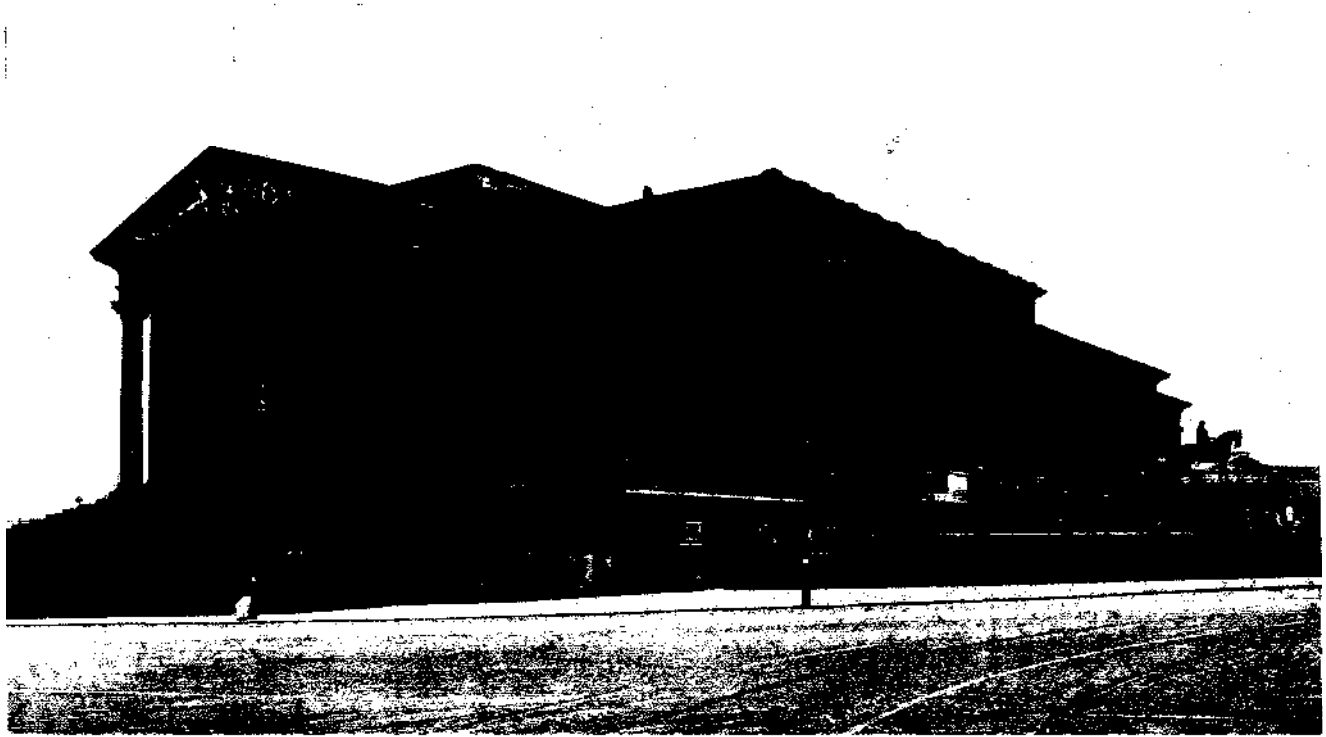
Mention must be made of the traces of a taste for depicting nature which are to be found in the works of the medieval illuminators. Later on, in Tudor and Stuart times, landscapes began to appear as backgrounds to portraits. Thus it is possible to trace, through the slight sketches of Inigo Jones and David Loggan, a sequence of pictorial renderings destined to be of moment at a later date. Neither should the English love of the sea be forgotten, as for example in the work of Peter Monamy and Samuel Scott, who painted views of London and the Thames. It was, however, given to Richard Wilson to translate into terms of exquisite selection the dramatic massing of light and shadow which foreign masters practised so successfully.

In Wilson's landscapes the great principle is unity of design and colour. By contrast Gainsborough's landscapes are as individual as Wilson's are academic. They combine rustic interest with an intensity of dramatization which reveals the inventive artist as



THE PORTICO OF FIGURE COURT AT THE ROYAL HOSPITAL, CHELSEA

Designed by SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN



ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LIVERPOOL
Designed by HARVEY LONSDALE ELMES

distinct from the mere compiler of topographical facts. It is in depth of feeling, no less than in a profound sense of colour, that Gainsborough surpassed even the most able of his contemporaries.

The second half of the eighteenth century fostered a branch of art more exactly suited to public taste. This was the development of a transparent medium for recording topographical and landscape subjects on a small scale. For the next century water-colour painting became the passion of an increasing number of artists, besides encouraging amateurs to exercise their talent.

Paul Sandby is regarded as the pioneer of the English water-colourists. His early work resembles the style of Gainsborough, while his figures recall the tentative sketches of Hogarth. The list of those who immediately followed Sandby is instructive; Thomas Hearne, Thomas Malton junior, William Pars, and Francis Towne. Then follow Thomas Dayes, John Robert Cozens, Warwick Smith, and William Payne, the inventor of Payne's grey. Finally there are two of the greatest water-colourists of the English school, Girtin and Turner; but it was the genius of Thomas Rowlandson, a caricaturist and limner of rustic and town scenes, that proved still more acceptable to a wide circle of the public.

The perfect simplicity of Rowlandson's methods of composition and technique, no less than his knowledge of anatomy, enabled him to dash off subjects with almost demoniacal fury. His figures recall the vivacity of Hogarth's work; but his sense of composition is tempered with the precision of the style of Debucourt. Thomas Gilray enjoyed almost equal fame as a caricaturist, but his drawings are cold by comparison with those of his sprightly rival, who could at times be as delicate a draughtsman as Gainsborough or on occasion as dashing as Hogarth.

Thomas Girtin belongs to the landscape school, deriving from the compositions of both Wilson and Canaletto. His short but crowded life was productive of an individual manner which stressed the romantic grandeur of English scenery. His was the quest of the sublime; he was the first to note the value of definition of silhouette in the simplest of his compositions. Then there is Turner, who, working direct from nature in water-colour, endowed this delicate branch of art with a new and subtle technique. John Constable also painted in water colours, but his natural medium was painting in oils.

Two factors shaped the destinies of English art at the beginning

of the nineteenth century. The first was the individualism of the artists, and the second was the closing of the Continent to patrons and artists alike. In one sense the latter factor was beneficial, for it encouraged the power and originality of the English landscape artists, who later were to exercise such an influence on French art. With the return of peace, after 1815, continental subjects formed an attraction to a group of young English artists. Among them was Bonington, who captivated French taste by the brilliancy of his seascapes and topographical scenes.

It was, however, the destiny of John Constable to become the creator of a method of landscape painting in oil which took the Continent by storm. Turner, on the other hand, while creative in his slighter water colours, paid tribute to the quality of light which belongs to the works of Claude; he eventually evolved a technique entirely his own. With the death of Turner and Constable, and the passing of the water-colourists of the first half of the nineteenth century, the visual art of painting, which had become so animated and so brilliant in an individual sense, began to show signs of fatigue. Within a few years Ruskin was extolling the pre-Raphaelite movement; the mysticism of Blake's work was ignored; attempts were now made to give art a moral bias. This phase, coinciding with a desire to paint precisely and in great detail, was in accord with the new demand for genre subjects. Genre painting had already become part of the later tradition through the works of Wilkie. Such subjects as 'Village Polities' and 'Blind Man's Buff' appealed to the native conception of realism. A whole group of artists belonged to this school, and they were supported by the painters of marine subjects.

Important as the services of Alfred Stevens proved in the story of mid-nineteenth century art, his work is obscured by the diverse tendencies of the period in which he lived. By virtue of his skill as a draughtsman and his untiring quest for beauty of form, he stands alone; but his derivations are often scantily concealed. He attempted nothing less than recapturing the spirit of the Italian Renaissance, a feat beyond the power of either an individual or a group.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the tendency in painting was to develop an impressionistic manner which favoured vagueness of contour. There was a widespread desire to break away from the academic, and a fever inspired from Paris to encompass effects by suggestion and by harmonies of colour.

In England, however, impressionism did not entirely absorb the attention of artists. In general, regard for tradition remained strong; the majority of painters were content to follow the precepts of Constable, Turner, and Bonington, recognizing how the works of these masters agreed with the soft humidity of the English climate. Nevertheless a new school grew up, including Frederick Watts, D. Y. Cameron, Wilson Steer, William Orpen, and John Lavery. Among this group the name of Wilson Steer is pre-eminent; for he proved to be a real master of English landscape both in oil and water-colour.

In portrait painting the first requirement is that the character of the sitter should be revealed. In this regard Augustus John stands forth as an independent painter, owing allegiance to no particular school, but relying entirely on inner vision and on confidence in a technique that is personal.

It is difficult to generalize on the character of the pictorial arts in England in contemporary times. While groups of painters are far from representative, individuals are far too self-centred for any definite conclusions to be drawn. The mass of painters, both amateur and professional, working under the influence of various tendencies, is too diverse in form to be described in a short essay. Neither is it possible to discern any ideal that governs taste other than that of prevalent fashion. Consequently we have to search more deeply and look for certain tendencies, which, though they may break with tradition, are serious in their ultimate aims. We have to glance, in fact, at the effects which governmental encouragement of art education has produced since the nineteenth century.

There is not the slightest doubt that, with the teaching of art at South Kensington, and in nearly all schools throughout the kingdom, the power of the ordinary individual to draw was both simplified and extended. All through the last quarter of the nineteenth century the tendency towards topographical illustration, calling for explicit statement, is visible in both printed works and individual exposition. This explains the enormous development of etching and engraving. In effect the framework of art to-day has become enlarged; not perhaps in the sphere of portraiture, not in the realm of mural decorations, or of historical compositions, such as those depicting political events and battle scenes, but in the representation of subjects small in scale and delicately selected. Here is something akin to the charm of that quest for elegance

which is associated with the early illuminated manuscripts. Here also is an explanation of the native taste for a succession of small realistic incidents, rather than grandiose representations of imaginary scenes.

The English are an art-loving people, ever appraising lucidity of accomplishment, which they never fail to recognize. But it is also true that years of neglect of a particular genius may sometimes elapse before things are seen in their true order. And if we would know the essential character of English art how are we to look for it? Is it to be found in its reverence for truth? Does its secret abide in its understatement of latent power? Is it to be recognized by concise expression and reticence of form and colour? Is it attractive because it recalls memories of themes far grander and more profound than the commonplaces of everyday living? It has all these qualities; but there is about it also something more indefinable, and that is a matter of the persistent spirit which conducts the sap to the various branches.

XVIII

THE MAKING OF BOOKS

By **SIR FRANCIS MEYNELL**

IN building, the archi-architect is the sun, the rain, the frost, the rise and fall of the land; and one artificer of genius is the local material. In painting, there is suggestion, if not compulsion, from the length of the horizon, the height and colour of sky and cloud, and even the measure of the daylight hours. What compulsions has 'the mechanick art' of printing? Less than any other I can think of, though with all it must share the discipline of use. Since the uses of books are common to nearly all countries, the functional part of style will be common. But the design of the components—the type, paper, and binding—will show local accents if not a different idiom. And the use of the components will show a similar slight variety. Since the difference between good and bad design—both for material and for use—may be a question of millimetres in the thickness of a part of a letter, and of a 'thin lead* in its disposition on the paper, even these slight national accents are of great importance to the bibliophile, despite the fact that there is much more variety in style and execution between the good and the bad in one country than there is between the good and the good of different countries.

Printing is a conservative as well as a preservative art—*ars conservatrix artium omnium.* Because it was an imitation of calligraphy, and the model lies in the unchanging past, printing in successive ages could not do more than modify its own modifications. How static, or, as I should prefer to say, how constant is its ideology, may be judged from the fact that English printers still put the 'new* letters U and J at the end of their alphabets, and have to find in the type-case an odd empty position among the asterisks and signs for the small k—as though Latin were still the prevailing language.

And so it may be said that English printing has as its chief characteristic the fact that it is *more* conservative, *more* traditional, where all must be conservative and traditional. It has always avoided the vagaries, being content with no more than the 'continual slight novelty'.

In the first days of printing the German Gothic types imitated

German calligraphy; Italian Gothic types, though they were designed by German immigrants, imitated Italian calligraphy; French Gothic types imitated French calligraphy. In the same way Caxton's Gothic, though strongly influenced by the Flemish types he had first known, showed some of the characteristics of English handwriting: with plenty of flourishes and with the thick strokes a little attenuated. These points, though, are points for the magnifying glass rather than the reader —and we were not again to be even as much 'national* as this for a very long time. For throughout its first 150 years English printing lagged behind—in style, in skill, and in equipment. A number of our famed printers—such as Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson—were foreigners; many of our books were printed abroad—at first for technical reasons and later to avoid persecution in the name of religion. Pynson introduced (from Paris) our first roman type in 1509—a full third of a century after Jenson's roman. The authorized version of the Bible (1611) was still in Gothic 'black-letter*. Gothic remained the standard type for liturgical works and legal texts until deep in the seventeenth century. Nearly all the roman types and many of the Gothic were importations from abroad, and used by foreigners here; so that in 1523 it was decreed that apprentices must be of English birth, and in 1525 the sale of foreign-made unbound books was forbidden. Elizabeth was both firm and sly in her handling of the trade and its charter; and printing was immersed in political and religious turmoil. But the Elizabethan printer was a free man compared with the printer in the seventeenth century. The Star Chamber decree of 1637 caught up the typefounders as well as the printers—there were to be four only of the former, twenty of the latter. The making of a press had to be reported by its carpenter. The printer thought, not of display, but of his ears. This is curiously shown in the two editions of the London Polyglot Bible. The 'Republican' edition thanks Oliver Cromwell for allowing the paper to be imported free of duty; the 'Loyal* edition suppresses this preface and inserts a dedication to Charles IL

The Restoration worsened matters. But in 1693 one of our greatest freedoms, the freedom of the presses, was established by the annulment of the Press Restriction Act, which had existed in one form or another since Elizabeth chartered the Stationers' Company in 1556.

Literacy was now spreading and with it literature. In 1698 Cambridge made its Syndicate, and bought types, and skill to use them, from Holland. At Oxford first Archbishop Laud and then Dr. Fell promoted the interests of the University Press. Dr. Fell also bought types from Holland, started a paper mill, and procured the building of the Sheldonian Theatre, in the basement of which he established the Press.

The University Presses had a care for scholarly exactitude in proof-reading. This quality does more than go hand-in-hand with sensitive composition and clean press-work—it leads, it induces them. And it was this quality, unifying the processes which go to make a just book, which stamps the English book of the early eighteenth century. There had been as yet no great stylist (hot excepting even John Day, the best of the sixteenth century) in English printing; yet there had come to pass a real style ('style' is an appropriate word, deriving as it does from handwriting, which informed type-design). And even at the hey-day of eighteenth-century printing, and even in our own contemporary renascence, there is much more style than stylist. The man was not the style, the style was the man.

The eighteenth century was the mother of inventions and of processes logical and mechanical. The means of printing were greatly improved; stereotyping was invented, the copper-plate technique of engraving was applied to wood, the principle of the cylinder press was evolved. Fine paper was at last made in England in 1739: its very nature as a printing-surface was modified by Baskerville in 1757. And the passion for classical discipline, for right proportion and purity, the cold and clean emotion of the age, was expressed in its better printing no less than in its better architecture.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century English printing broke loose from continental. We ceased to be insistent copyists, perhaps because we were now established in our own (printer's) furniture. In 1692 Louis XIV had charged the Acad£mie des Sciences with the task of working out the proper design for the book and its components. The recommendation of the Academy which had most effect was that type should be redesigned on more rational principles so as to rid it of certain traditional characteristics which were regarded as Gothic. As a result during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries French types grew progressively more refined, and a somewhat paler page and

generally more aerated style than the English became the normal in France. The French taste dominated the Continent of Europe and virtually put an end to the national traditions of the book in Italy, Germany, Holland, and Spain. Only lately have there been tendencies abroad to regard the somewhat more Gothic atmosphere of the English book as enviable. Though William Caslon cut his letters between 1720 and 1730, he followed the designs popularized by Aldus in the early sixteenth century in their essential features. Caslon's roman type is intrinsically worthy of its hallowed place in our history: that is one of the reasons for its survival in continuous use for 200 years, with an eclipse only in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Because our typical book-types are reproductions from Renaissance originals, they call for a solider, more compact style of setting than the more delicate types used in France, and this affects the fashion of ornament and display. In the title-page, where the book-printer finds most scope for his individual taste, our more conservative presses, e.g. those of the Universities, have kept remarkably close to the Renaissance lay-out, complete with printer's device. Not seldom we still use woodcuts and arabesque flowers. Our contents page has stayed among the preliminary pages, whereas in France it has gone to the end. Most obvious of all, our book has stiff covers, inheriting the characteristics of leather bindings. This matter of the covers is, indeed, more than appears; for the cloth-casing has had a restraining influence on the typography of the pages, and the air of permanence conveyed by the cover discourages ephemeral styles in printing. Since the cover does not lend itself to extravagant display or ornament, as the paper cover does, the text pages too tend to be more sober. (Making the best of both worlds the English publisher has given gaiety and even garishness their turn on the impermanent dust-jacket.)

A noble eulogy of Caslon's work was written in 1922 by the great American typographer D. B. Updike *{Printing Types*, ii. 105): 'He knew how to make types, if ever a man did, that were "friendly to the eye",—or "comfortable", to use Dibdin's happy term. Furthermore, his letters are thoroughly English. Lacking a "national" form of letter, we in America (who are mainly governed by English printing traditions) have nothing better.'

John Baskerville (1706-75), to me the most engaging character in all our printing history, aimed in his typography at the

rationalism and symmetry which corresponded to the Palladian style in architecture. His works made no great stir in the England of his time, but (says Macaulay) they Vent forth to astonish the librarians of Europe', and after his death his type-foundry was bought by Beaumarchais and used for the production of Voltaire's collected works.

Baskerville's types were followed by others, aiming at yet greater accuracy of cut and truth of proportion. After them came the extreme of accurate cut, the so-called Modern Face (the prevailing type of Victorian times), which, again, was much liked on the Continent. Even the French Imprimerie Royale had one cut in London in 1818; so did the leading German type-founders. But the Anglo-American school of book-designers was always uneasy under its dead-hand dominance. As early as 1844 Caslon's types were revived by Charles Whittingham at the Chiswick Press, and since then they have been used increasingly, at first for display in title-pages and headings, later for texts as well. And despite the early nineteenth century innovation of the 'Egyptian' slab-serifed and three-dimensional letters ('carpenters' letters imitated by sign-writers who were then imitated by the foundries), and the vivid 20th-century inventions of Edward Johnston and Eric Gill, it is our revivals rather than our innovations that are the significant features of our printing.

A nostalgia for the nursery age of printing has been characteristic in particular of 'fine' printing: the more expensive the book, the more likely to be produced in period style. When William Morris exclaimed: 'The first printed books were the best ever done—the first and the last of fine printing', he was expressing what has often been the incentive to design in printing: the desire to start at the beginning. But it is essentially the point of view of an amateur, not of a printer who is also a man of business. And, as we shall see, it is to the amateur that we owe our style.

During the eighteenth century the publishers were the patrons of good printing; and it was the publisher William Pickering, even more than his famed printer, Charles Whittingham, who made the first design-revival of the nineteenth century. But publishing aspired to be a profession, and printing became an industry: and it was from the craft-revivalists, the amateurs, that the fresh impetus in book-production came at the end of the century. For one of the odd and fascinating things about

printing is that it has always excited the interest of amateurs. These are the men whom Edward Rowe Mores (himself one of them) had in mind when he described a contemporary (in 1779) as 'a gentleman of a typographic turn*. Our greatest innovator, John Baskerville, approached book-production as an amateur, and spent on letter-founding, printing, and paper-making the fortune he had made in japanning 'Birmingham ware'. William Caslon was a gunsmith when Bowyer the printer, admiring his chasing of barrels and locks, persuaded him to become a man of letters. An amateur mechanical scientist, Lord Stanhope, invented in 1798 an iron press with greatly reinforced impression, which was generally adopted by the trade, and proceeded within a year or two to the discovery of the first satisfactory process for stereotyping. That there was nothing commercial about his motives as inventor may be judged from the rules of the Stereotype Office set up under his supervision:

1. Nothing is to be printed against Religion.
2. Everything is to be avoided, upon the subject of Politics, which is offensive to any Party.
3. The Characters of Individuals are not to be attacked.
4. Every Work which is stereotyped at this Office, is to be composed with beautiful Types.

Above all, it was through the medium of the private press that the amateur influenced book-pit>duction. The first was Horace Walpole's at Strawberry Hill, opened in 1757, the year of Baskerville's first book. His productions were technically good and the taste was that of the period at its best, a delightful, logical elegance, a formal garden of printing. Yet the chief importance to posterity of Walpole's venture lay more in its example than in its performance.

The intention of the Lee Priory Press, founded by Sir Egerton Brydges in 1810, was literary, but the result was typographical, no more. Julian Hibbert, who began printing in his London house in 1827, produced a very good Greek type of his own design and dispensed with accents. Dr. Daniel's press, begun when he was ten years old, in 1845, started using Fell types in 1877 at the suggestion of Robert Bridges who preceded George Moore and Bernard Shaw as authors 'of a typographic turn'.

But the greatest and most 'professional* of the amateurs was William Morris. Though in his doctrine he commended 'books whose only ornament is the necessary and essential beauty which

arises out of the fitness of a piece of craftsmanship for the use for which it is made', in practice he was willing to sacrifice legibility to the visual glory of the page. His example had at first more following than his teaching. It became the habit of the 'private presses' to equip themselves with reproductions of types cut before the greatest masters of letter-cutting had fully adapted manuscript to the convention of typography, and to permit themselves such irritating mannerisms as the use of foliage instead of indentation at the beginning of paragraphs. The books of the Doves Press, in which the philosopher-binder Cobden-Sanderson was joined with Morris's intended partner Emery Walker, were the most perfect expressions of the sound doctrine of Morris's *Aims*. The Ashendene Press books of another and equal amateur, St. John Hornby, are a lovely half-way house between Morris and Cobden-Sanderson.

Gentlemen 'of a typographic turn' have done more than make beautiful books for the bibliophile, more than the furnishing of a library—though the English bound or cased book is indeed delightful, and national, furniture. They made possible the fitful revival in publishers' trade printing in the eighteen nineties, when an architect, Herbert Home, was our best commercial book-designer. They made possible, by their commercial as well as their aesthetic example, the renascence—Mr. Holbrook Jackson calls it the revolution—of English printing in the 1920's.

The first 'industrial revolution' came, for printing, five hundred years ago: even so-called 'hand-printing' was a mechanical mass-production process. But in the early part of this century a second industrial revolution, begun a hundred years earlier with the invention of steam cylinder presses, was fulfilled by the wide use of the Monotype type-setting machine. The types thus made available to every printer were for the most part admirably invented or chosen from old models. This was in part the product and in part the cause of a new typographic enthusiasm, expressed also by and in the publication of specialist magazines and books. A number of printing and publishing 'Presses' exploited the economics of modern methods without a sacrifice of the craft spirit; and their success—aesthetic and commercial—again influenced the 'trade edition' publishers. The revival of interest in wood-engraving produced many finely illustrated books: not albums of pictures with a trifle of text in the French habit but books for reading which delight the eye as much as the mind's

eye. Not even the war, with the austere standards self-imposed by the printers, has halted the movement, though the private Tresses' which set the pace for the publishers are perforce almost wholly inactive. The new problems of small type, narrow margins and thin paper have by no means defeated the conscientious and thoughtful publisher who commands a good typographer.

How comes it that our periodical and occasional printing is in general so much less good than our book printing? I have given the answer already. There is here no great tradition ta observe as there is with books. And the book tradition is not dead but living, and even lively.

BY PERMISSION, FOR A FEW NIGHTS ONLY.

Mr. and Mrs. Leibenrood, who with utmoſt reſpects, begs leave to ſolicit the patronage and protection of the Ladies and Gentlemen (and their friends in particular) of BRIDGNORTH and its Vicinage, and aſſures them that every endeavour has been exerted to render the accommodation as well as the entertainments worthy their approbation, the Scenery and Decorations are intirely new and what we flatter ourſelves will ſtill add greatly to the Evenings amuſements we being favoured with the aſſiſtance of Mr. and Maſter Buttlers as alſo Mrs. and the Miſs Buttlers, theſe popular performers late from the Theatre Royal BATH, and now on their journey to their engagements at the Theatre CHESTER.

At the *OLD HALL* in *BRIDGNORTH*,

On Tuesday Evening April 7th. 1795.

Will be preſented a ſelect part of a Comedy called

The PROVOK'D HUSBAND,

LORD TOWNLY,	Mr. Buttler,
MANLY,	Mr. Leibenrood,
JAMES,	Maſter Buttler,
And JOHN MOODY,	Mr. Buttler Junior,
LADY GRACE,	Miſs Buttler,
TRUSTY	Miſs M. Buttler,
And LADY TOWNLY,	Mrs. Buttler.

Preceeding the Play, the GRECIAN FABULIST, or the impoſſibility of Pleaſing Every-body, will be delivered by Mr. Leibenrood.

After the Play a favourite Comic Interlude called

Doctor Laſt's Examination,

Before the College of Phyſicians.

DEVIL,	Mr. Buttler,
DOCTOR CAMOMILE,	Mr. Leibenrood,
SECRETARY,	Maſter I. Buttler,
And DOCTOR LAST, (Dr. and Shoemaker)	Mr. Buttler Junior.

To which will be added a Farce called

Miss in Her Teens,

(OR, A MEDLEY OF LOVERS.)

FRIBBLE,	Miſs Buttler,
GAPTAIN FLASH,	Mr. Leibenrood,
LOVIT,	Mr. Buttler,
PUFF,	Mr. Buttler Jun.
Mrs. TAG,	Mrs. Buttler,
MISS BIDDY BELAIR,	Miſs M. Buttler.

The whole to conclude with GOD SAVE THE KING, with ſome additional Verſes wrote and ſung with a full Chorus by Mr. and Mrs. Buttler and their Son and Daughters.

Admiſſion, Front ſeats One Shilling and Six-pence, Back ſeats One Shilling.

Doors to be opened at Six, and begin at Seven o'Clock.

N. B. No admittance behind the Scenes.

Thurſday GEORGE BARNWELL, with other entertainments.

PLAYBILL OF 1795, PRINTED BY GITTON OF BRIDGNORTH, showing how greatly the mid-century types and display styles of Baskerville (1706-75) were influencing commercial typefounders by the end of the century



THE THREE CHOIRS FESTIVAL AT GLOUCESTER, 1937

XIX

MUSIC

By j. A. WESTRUP

IN his old age Frederick Delius declared that he had never heard of any English music. The opinion might seem unduly cynical, and hardly to be explained by the fact that its author was of German descent and had spent many years of his life in France. Foreigners, who have no cause to be cynical, have often been equally incredulous. A chance acquaintance in Paris once said, unprompted: 'En Angleterre vous n'avez pas de musique s^rieuse; vous n'avez que Ia musique de fantaisie.' We need not bother to refute these views. Delius's own music is the best answer to his scepticism, and foreigners who err through ignorance are easily ignored. Light music is with us everywhere, not in England alone—as Thomas Morley, virtuously protesting, recognized in 1597. Nor does its presence imply a monopoly of public taste.

Yet there are those who, aware that serious music exists in England, cannot share our estimate of it. To Paul Lang, a Hungarian now resident in America, Elgar's position here is similar to Faurd's in France: he is admired at home and coldly viewed abroad:

'His symphonies and chamber music all suffer from the same mixture of archaic formal pattern, brilliant orchestration, and opulent harmonization that characterizes the pseudo-romanticists in all lands who came on the scene at a time when romanticism was more a memory than a reality.'[1]

Perhaps the clue is to be found in some words of Alfred Einstein, a distinguished German critic who came to know our musical life through the accident of exile:

'Only in England itself can one learn and estimate what Elgar means to England—not to mention Vaughan Williams; while in Germany he is just one musician among many, a British mixture of the lesser progeny of Wagner, Liszt, and Brahms.'[2]

Here is understanding built on knowledge, the lack of which has often led to casual opinions. If he had known English music

[1] *Music in Western Civilization.* [2] *Greatness in Music,*

better Adolf Weissmann could never have written that Elgar was 'another witness to the connexion between the best musicians and folk-music'.[1] This is palpably untrue. Elgar himself confessed his lack of interest in folk-song. Nor indeed is folk-song the criterion of a 'national' composer. The influence of folk-song in the work of Wagner, Verdi, Debussy, or Tchaikovsky is slight; yet none of these could be mistaken for the representative of any other country but his own.

We are left with the question whether there is, as foreign critics would suggest, an 'Englishness' in Elgar. And that leads us naturally to ask whether there is such a thing as 'Englishness' in our music in general, and if so what it is. Vaughan Williams has said:

'I was told the other day that some of the English music which appeals to us at home was considered "smug" by foreign critics. I was delighted to hear it because it suggested to me that our English composers had some secret which is at present for our ears only. That it is not also for others does not distress me.'[2]

An insular reaction, perhaps. But the observation that prompted it is suggestive. Whether we endorse the epithet or not, we recognize a quality in English music that makes us appear different from our neighbours. This is not a recent distinction. Roger North, writing in the early eighteenth century, cites PurcelPs sonatas as evidence for the submission to Italian influence, but adds that they are 'clog'd with somewhat of an English vein—for which they are unworthily despised'.[3] There is no question here of words. The instrumental idiom alone betrays its origin. Hence it is not surprising that vocal music should have its idiosyncrasies. Addison politely observes:

'The *Italian* Artists cannot agree with our *English* Musicians, in admiring *PurcelVs* Compositions, and thinking his Tunes so wonderfully adapted to his Words; because both Nations do not always express the same Passions by the same Sounds.'[4]

And this at a time when English composers were sedulously aping the Italian style.

The English vein, then, is no sentimental fiction; but it is easier to admit than to define. It is certainly something more than the supposed heartiness of 'merrie England'. The modern hack

[1] *The Problems of Modern Music.* [2] *National Music.*
[3] **An Essay of Musical! Ayre (Brit. Mus., Add. 32536, fo. 78^{v}).**
[4] ***Spectator*; No. 29.**

who wishes to counterfeit such heartiness thinks his duty accomplished if he writes a 'fa Ia Ia' refrain, forgetting, if he ever knew, that that refrain was borrowed entire from Italy, the land of its origin. We may go further and question whether heartiness has been at any time a notable characteristic of our art. Guy Miege, writing in 1691, declared: 'Their Musick, like their Temper, inclines to gravity.'[1] Another writer, the author of a *Journey through England* (1714), propounds a more moderate view, but without substantial disagreement: 'The *English* affect more the *Italian* than the *French* Musick; and their own Compositions are between the *Gravity* of the first and the *Levity* of the other/ Are we to conclude that English music is phlegmatic? Examples to the contrary flash across the mind—the passion in Weelkes's madrigals, the poignancy of Purcell's recitative, the surge of Elgar's symphonies. To call such things phlegmatic is nonsensical. But gravity we may concede. We have only to recall that moment in Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* when the chorus pass judgement, without censure, on the queen's entanglement:

Great minds against themselves conspire
And shun the cure they most desire.

Or we may think of the noble theme that runs through Elgar's A flat symphony, or again of the brooding passion in Walton's viola concerto. If music of this quality is smug, we may wonder whether criticism has defined its terms.

The answer may lie in the words 'like their Temper'. If Englishmen are incomprehensible as a race, it would not be surprising to find their music open to a like misunderstanding. There is a possible analogy in English humour. No foreigner can understand our love for Lewis Carroll What we may assert is that English music often seems self-conscious. It has more than once been suggested that the reason why opera never developed here as it did in Italy is to be found in our individual attitude to music in general. For the Italian, it is thought, music is a direct expression of emotion; hence with him drama naturally issues in song. For the Englishman music is something loftier than this, so that he is not so easily inclined to subordinate it to the theatre. There is some truth in this contention. No doubt there were other reasons for the failure of English opera to develop—among them the political upheaval of the Civil War—but they were incidental, since if a thing is wanted enough it

[1] *The New State of England,* voL ii.

comes inevitably. If we are about to witness the rebirth of English opera to-day, as many seem to think, success will depend on the extent to which the desire for it is already there. A parallel to the frustration of opera in the past is the state of English music after Handel. We are often told that the efforts of our native artists were swamped by his genius, as though he alone must bear responsibility. The truth is less palatable. Our composers were not men of his calibre. No one pretends that Schubert was ever swamped by Beethoven. The English view of music in the eighteenth century may be illustrated by some remarks of Burney's. Defending music against the charge that it is as useless as electricity, he points to

'the humane and important purposes to which it has been applied. Its assistance has been called in by the most respectable profession in this kingdom, in order to open the purses of the affluent for the support of the distressed offspring of their deceased brethren.'[1]

There is more to the same effect; and though he recognizes later the immediate blessings that music can confer, the preference given to charity is significant.

The quality of English music in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries does not, on the whole, inspire enthusiasm. We may find exceptions, among them Samuel Wesley's noble motet *In exitu Israel,* but the generalization holds good. It has become a commonplace of modern criticism to speak of Elgar as the greatest English composer since Purcell, implying a desert in between and also according Purcell a superiority that may owe as much to sentiment as to judgement. A desert is a depressing spectacle; but if we are taking the long view we can afford to ignore it and concentrate on landmarks. There are many landmarks in our history—the charm and ingenuity of *Sumer is icutnen in,* the skilled polyphony of Dunstable, the rich legacy of the Elizabethan and Jacobean age, the searching humanity of Purcell, and the new vigour of Parry and Stanford in Victoria's reign. Respect for these achievements need not, however, dim our sense of proportion. *Sumer is icumen in* used to be regarded as a unique monument of the thirteenth century. Recent research assigns it to the early fourteenth century and offers parallels to its technique. If we admire it, as we can hardly help doing, it must be for what it is, not for what historians have wished it to appear. Nor does lip-service to Dunstable count for much without some knowledge

[1] ***The Present State of Music in France and Italy*** **(1771).**

of his works. When we come to the Elizabethans we find that the inclination to prefer rhapsody to criticism has sometimes been too strong. The joy of rediscovery has brought with it a curious reluctance to discriminate. It is not always realized that the exquisite art of the motet and the madrigal is only rightly judged if we have first separated ore from dross. The inequalities in Purcell's work, particularly the acceptance of convention in his anthems, need also to be borne in mind; and the Victorian renascence is significant enough without exaggerating the importance of men in whom integrity was more marked than invention.

II

In appraising the work of our fellow countrymen there is always the danger of an aggressive nationalism. The spirit of competition was very lively in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Morley complained that Englishmen 'will highlie esteeme whatsoever commeth from beyond the seas, and speciallie from Italie, be it never so simple, contemning that which is done at home though it be never so excellent'.[1] Lawes declared that 'our own Nation hath had and yet hath as able Musitians as any in *Europe*'.[2] Playford, conscious of his interests as a publisher, deplored 'the Vanity of some of our *English* Gentry' which led them 'to admire that in a Foreigner, which they either slight, or take little notice of in one of their own Nation'.[3] It would not be hard to cite more recent examples of the same attitude. The cock-house spirit cuts a poor figure in art, all the more when it casts its shadow over research. The truth must be squarely faced that English music owes much to foreign influence. The madrigal—one of the glories of Elizabethan England—was an importation from Italy. Purcell, rightly accepted as a typical English composer, was a profound admirer and a diligent practitioner of the Italian style. The Victorian renascence was led by men for whom the example of Schumann and Brahms was something not easily forgotten. Stanford, whose native brogue could be delightful, was only too ready to show himself a good European. It was only when Cecil Sharp unearthed the forgotten treasure of English folk-song that our composers consciously assumed a local dialect.

[1] ***A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*** **(1597).**
[2] ***Ayres and Dialogues,*** **Book I (1653).**
[3] ***Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues,*** **Book I I I (1681).**

Yet if national pride has its pitfalls, there is no reason to despise approbation from abroad. When Tinctoris, about 1475, speaks of the new music of the early fifteenth century as having *its fons et origo* among the English, of whom Dunstable was reputed the chief, we can accept the tribute as disinterested. It is the same when Doni in the seventeenth century refers to Morley as an *erudito musico inglese.* Even evidence produced by an Englishman can hardly be suspect when it is unimpeachable. Dowland declares with a modesty barely feigned: 'Some part of my poore labours have found favour in the greatest part of Europes, and beene printed in eight most famous Cities beyond the seas, *viz.: Paris, Antwerpe, Collein, Nurenburge, Franckfort, Liepsig, Amsterdam,* and *Hamburge.*'[1] The favour we might question; the printing cannot be in doubt. In more recent times there is the enthusiasm with which Elgar's *The Dream of Gerontius* was received at Diisseldorf in 1901, or the growing interest in English music that we are witnessing to-day.

Frankness compels the admission that there are dull patches in our history. Tinctoris complained that English composers after Dunstable continued in the old paths instead of moving with the times. English conservatism is as evident in our music as elsewhere. Purceirs fantasies for strings, and his early anthems, show a very strong regard for old traditions. By continental standards the greater part of modern English music would be considered behind the times. Yet conservatism has sometimes saved us from extravagant experiment, and it has proved no barrier to originality. Byrd's motets are faithful to the guiding principles of sixteenth-century polyphony, but he applies those principles in a manner wholly his own. Boldness, even harshness, is not strange to English music. The traditional element in Purceirs fantasies is combined with a spirit of adventure that gives them a flavour unique for their period. There is nothing revolutionary in Delius's harmony. It is his individual way of associating familiar elements that makes him one of the most original composers of our time. As for the dull patches in our history, we can cheerfully disregard them in the light of what is admirable. The robust vigour of the Agincourt song, the poise and mystery of Byrd's five-part Mass, the searing agony of Dido's lament, the incomparable tunes assembled in *The Beggar's Opera,* the bracing energy of Boyce's symphonies, the happy craftsmanship of Sullivan, Shakespeare in-

[1] *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612).

terpreted in Elgar's *Falstaff,* and the rugged integrity of Vaughan Williams—here are some of the splendid things that any survey of English music immediately calls to mind. We can feel, too, that our history has continuity. Dunstable's *Cruxfidelis* begins with a melody that is practically identical with the theme of Elgar's Traise to the holiest in the height'. The spirit of Bunyan seems to live again in Vaughan Williams. The Elizabethan motet has helped to create the warp and woof of Rubbra's symphonies. We are conscious of a past that is ours. The Agincourt song can be used without incongruity as a background for *Henry V;* the air of *Greensleeves* enchants the man in the street to-day as much as it did his Tudor forebears; and whereas Gilbert's comedy is now faded and old-fashioned, Sullivan's tunes enjoy perennial youth.

in

The supports of our musical tradition are several. First, the influence of English words. A similar influence can be discerned in the music of any nation. The feminine endings of Italian verse have plainly left their mark, not only on madrigal and opera but equally on instrumental music. In England the studied imitation of Italian models in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to similar results. But there are also plenty of songs in which English rhythms have shaped the contour of the melody. When Purcell set

> I attempt from love's sickness to fly in vain,
> Since I am myself my own fever and pain,

he was sufficiently sensitive to Italian rhythms to use 'fever' at the end of a phrase and repeat it, but he could not help accepting the monosyllables. It is significant that Sullivan began his settings by fixing the rhythm of the words and then clothing them with melody. It would, however, be possible to exaggerate the influence of words. In the choral music of Elgar and Delius the words often seem to have been grafted on to a predetermined melodic line. On the other hand a too respectful attention to words has sometimes led to stodginess. This is true of Lawes, in spite of Milton's admiration, and of Parry. Such an attitude is seen at its worst in church music, producing a flood of unworthy anthems which would have no interest for anyone without the text.

Yet the influence of the Church cannot lightly be disregarded. In England the lack of provincial opera has left the cathedral as the centre of local activity. We sometimes hear murmuring, not

unjustified, against the tyranny of the organ loft. But the profession of church music does not of necessity narrow the mind, and many cathedral organists have been men of parts. In the days when colleges of music were unknown the cathedral choir school was the nursery of young musicians. Here, too, the music of the past was never wholly forgotten, even though it was often inadequately sung. The cathedrals of Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester gave us the Three Choirs Festival—an institution which has flourished on the English love of choral singing. The oratorio—delight of the Victorians—we owe to Handel, who was as ready to find inspiration in English, as in Italian, words. His annual performances of *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital inaugurated a tradition that is still alive. But that tradition would hardly have persisted if the enthusiasm for concerted singing had not been there already. The choral festivals have in the past been responsible for quantities of rubbish by composers now mercifully forgotten. But they provided the soil from which *The Dream of Gerontius* grew.

In instrumental playing the tradition is less obvious. The reputation of the Mannheim orchestra in the eighteenth century or the Meiningen band in the nineteenth had no parallel in England. It is characteristic of this country that the Crystal Palace concerts conducted by August Manns should have developed out of performances by a military band, and that in the initial stages of the Promenade concerts Henry Wood was compelled to attract audiences with programmes whose details would make the modern music-lover blush. The peculiar excellence of English orchestral players came to be an unrivalled skill in reading at sight, developed as a consequence of the evil system of deputies at rehearsals. Today the system has disappeared, but the excellence remains. Stravinsky, while admitting that 'England has not for a long time produced any great creators of music', praises our executants 'for their ability, precision, and honest conscientious work'.[1]

The background of our music is the world of amateurs. The extent of amateur activity in the Elizabethan age has been much exaggerated by those who have forgotten that large numbers of our forefathers could neither read nor write. The singing of madrigals was a recreation for the upper classes. There is more than a trace of snobbery in Morley's famous anecdote of the man who was considered ill-bred because he could not sing his part

[1] *Chronicle of My Life.*

at sight. More than this, such performances were as often as not the work of paid professionals. The spread of amateur music-making to a larger circle seems to date roughly from the Restoration; and even then Pepys could express surprise that a 'working goldsmith, that goes without gloves to his hands', should sing 'a most excellent bass'.[1] A curious result of the practice of music by people of this class was the institution of public concerts. But amateur enterprise survived this paradox. Perhaps the most stirring example of such enterprise is the concert performance of Mozart's operas in early nineteenth-century London. The presentation of *Don Giovanni* in a floor-cloth factory, 'amidst the mingled effluvia of canvas, oil, and turpentine',[2] anticipated its first English production on the professional stage. It is a quaint commentary on our musical life that, whereas the history of professional opera has been chequered and uncertain, the form is one that has often engaged the attention of amateurs. *Dido and Aeneas* was written for performance in a girls' school; and in our own day there have been several amateur revivals of operas neglected or forgotten by professional performers. It was at one such revival that a distinguished foreign musician exclaimed in admiration: 'So amateurish, but so English!' It would have been churlish to resent the compliment. Contempt for amateurs is misplaced. From their ranks may arise a virtuoso or a genius. We may complain that brass bands have no taste, but we cannot help being impressed by their zeal and their achievement. It is a healthy sign when composers write for amateurs, and it is encouraging to think that this has happened in England without the necessity for preaching a crusade. It seems that we take *Gebrauchsmusik* for granted.

IV

Finally, there is the importance of a musical soil. From such a soil sprang Haydn, Mozart, and Schubert. The accident of genius depends on its environment. If our soil has not been equally fruitful, the reason lies partly in our social history and partly in the English attitude to music as an art. In the days of patronage England had nothing comparable to the dukedoms and principalities which fostered music in Italy and Germany. To this we may attribute, in part, our lack of opera houses. The rise of provincial orchestras, such as the Halld in Manchester, dates from

[1] *Diary,* 15 Sept. 1667. [2] *The Harmonicon,* 1831.

a later period, when industry was dominant. The tradition we absorb is shaped by circumstances. Song still lives, because we are a singing nation. From Dowland to the present day the line, though sometimes thin, is scarcely broken. Yet if opportunities are to some extent predetermined, they can also be created. We are not fettered to the past. Oratorio, once the staple of our music, is now dead and can at best be artificially revived. Opera, for so long an importation or a counterfeit, is feasible if only we can establish conditions in which it will appear a natural growth.

Style and tradition are interlinked. That is why the claim to see national character in music is not entirely frivolous. English music is inclined to be romantic yet reserved. Much of it avoids expansive gestures not from a lack of feeling but from a habit of restraint. Some English critics allege a lack of restraint in Elgar, and for that reason disapprove. On the other hand restraint may be carried too far. Hoist in his later works drained music of its vital juice and left it bloodless. What is particularly noticeable in English music is a nostalgic quality that defies precise analysis. It is present in folk-song. A simple tune, without any of the mannerisms that we associate with pathos, may easily stir the sentiment of regret. We find the same quality in composers as diverse as Elgar, Delius, and Walton. It is the same habit of mind that has led Tippett to use negro spirituals in *A Child of our Time*. Their function is meant to be similar to that of the chorales in Bach's Passions, but their effect is different. They move us not by their associations but by their intrinsic qualities. Their native nostalgia finds an echo in our own emotions.

English music is willing to be rugged. Eighteenth-century critics frowned on the 'crudities' committed by Elizabethan and Restoration composers and were prepared to believe that their own age was more refined. Yet there is also an underlying addiction to euphony, apparent as early as *Sumer is icumen in*. English music of our time is faithful to the spirit of this tradition. It uses dissonance not as a new language but as an enrichment of the old. It admits the fiercest tension but accepts repose as something due to the mind. There is in much of our music something that recalls the English country-side, where there is often no challenge to the eye but a pervading tenderness of harmony and outline. Elgar once told an orchestra to play a passage in his first symphony 'like something we hear down by the river'. The influence of the English scene may prevail even in works whose avowed setting

is a foreign land. There is no trace of the East in Vaughan Williams's *Job.* The flocks are in an English pasture, just as in *Dido and Aeneas* the sailors have deserted Carthage for Wapping Old Stairs.

Every genuine artist has an individual speech. Hearing the music we know something of the man. This is true of Byrd, of Purcell, even of a *petit mattre* like Maurice Greene. But behind the personality of each lies the common property of all—the heritage never confessed but present everywhere. This is something that the English listener takes for granted in the music of his nation. The influence of Elgar on Walton, Ireland, and Bliss is not superficial. Between him and them there is a kinship that finds its natural expression in their work. Nor is Vaughan Williams's style a mere appropriation of the idioms of folk-song. The truth is rather that in folk-song he has found something to which his own impulses are allied. Vaughan Williams is an outstanding instance of the influence that song has had on English music. While in central Europe the popularity of the *Musikant* has made instrumental music seem an obvious outlet, in England the tradition of song has cast its spell on everything we write. We glory in

> The fine song for singing, the rare song to hear!

This may have been at times a limitation, but it has also proved a source of strength.

XX

OUTDOOR LIFE

By **V. SACKVILLE-WEST**

I

STATISTICS may readily and coldly prove the population of England to be by majority urban rather than rural; industrial rather than agricultural; yet we shall submit without much fear of contradiction that some peculiar and essential virtue of the English character sucks up its life from the roots buried in that baffling, contradictory, yet unwavering product of centuries, the countryman. He was here long before the industrial worker was here, and is thus not only the immediate grandfather but also the remote ancestor of our mechanically minded young men. Such pressure of heredity, so continuous a strain, cannot be ignored: its hodden thread in our tapestry is too strong.

Moreover, this countryman, this ancestor in the past, was not only the rustic, the hind; he was also the squire, and the squire's son, and the yeoman who thought himself a cut above the labourer he employed. There was a sort of hierarchy in this arrangement, very naturally developed, very naturally accepted, and very naturally producing an indeterminate sort of democracy founded on a workaday friendliness, convenience, and mutual respect. It was, and still is, a sound and sensible arrangement. The squire may be called a good chap (or a poor chap) by old Pattenden as he drains his pint in the smoky atmosphere of the pub, wishing that there were more (or fewer) like him; and the squire may equally remark, as he drinks his coffee in his eighteenth-century drawing-room, that old Pattenden is a good chap (or a poor chap) and may wish that there were more (or fewer) like him. They are both speaking the same language about each other; they each have a realistic measure of the other's qualities. There is some common factor linking them. How long this relationship will continue to exist none can say. It may be only the last flicker of a dying world. The generations pass and with their passing comes change. Nature may be eternal, and even monotonously unimaginative in her seasonal routine, but man, of his very essence, is not static. All that one can say with certainty is that in this

year of 1947 life in rural England still presents its odd convenient mixture of the feudal and the democratic; tempting us to add, as of all perfectly patterned moments, 'Verweile doch, du bist so schön\

There is indeed a certain grace to be found in the survival of this old system of unforced co-operation. Some of us will be sorry to see it go; as go, I suppose, it must, in an England where cottages will be replaced by prefabricated houses, and villages by ribbon-development. I am well aware of writing in a twilight so dim as scarcely to cast a light sufficient for my pen to travel across the page. I am well aware that this attitude may appear sentimental, yet I trust that I am not at all a sentimental person. I detest false sentiment, as violently as anyone could detest it; I reject out-worn ideas with my mind, yet I must confess that with my heart I cling to their dying beauty as to the last falling petals of the red rose I hesitate to throw away. There is something perhaps to be said for this corrective retention, opposed to the entirely utilitarian and materialistic outlook of the present world.

il

It is certainly most convenient that in speaking of the English countryman one should be able to generalize irrespective of class (so far as generalizations are ever safe or permissible), for after making allowance for differences of education and degrees of comfort in daily life one discovers a remarkable similarity of temperament prevailing amongst 'the gentry', the yeoman, and the cottager. This similarity should probably be attributed not only to the factor of a common race, but also to the common background of an existence led in close contact with the exigencies of nature, succinctly defined as 'the weather and the crops'. So obvious a remark should, however, surely be applicable to all nations? Conditions in rural Italy, France, Spain should surely produce a parallel state of affairs? Yet they do not. It is interesting to inquire why not. The answer, I think, may be twofold: (1) the absentee landlord is relatively rare in England, (2) there exists in rural England a sort of solidarity, compounded of good-fellowship, tradition, real democracy, and, reluctantly though I say it, sport.

Sport—it is not only that the young gentleman from Eton and the son of the village blacksmith meet on equal terms on the

village cricket-ground and in the hunting-field, the one on his father's hunter, the other on a tubby pony, each to be judged entirely on his own merits of pluck and performance; but that in this very dominant aspect of English life certain fundamental traits of the English character become floodlit. It is a great bond, to have such standards in common: a sort of cement, welding at least one section of our queer ramshackle nation together. Let us admit that; but at the same time let us examine with impartiality, for better or worse, with approbation or condemnation, or with a mixture of both (which is the more civilized estimate to adopt), the effect of the sport-obsession on its votaries.

An obsession it is, with two facets: games and sport. Both are separately dealt with in another chapter; but they must be mentioned here since the countryman would not be completely portrayed without them. Although in my attitude towards sport I may differ in some degree from the writer of that other chapter, I shall agree with him that the love of games with its attendant character-building qualities of fair play, team-spirit, generosity in victory, cheerfulness in defeat, respect for the better man, and all the rest of the platitudes is in fact responsible for many of the less offensive traits in our national make-up. The Englishman is seen at his best the moment that another man starts throwing a ball at him. He is then seen to be neither spiteful, nor vindictive, nor mean, nor querulous, nor desirous of taking an unfair advantage; he is seen to be law-abiding, and to respect the regulations which he himself generically has made; he takes it for granted that his adversary will respect them likewise; he would be profoundly shocked by any attempt to cheat; his scorn would be as much aroused by any exultation displayed by the victor as by any ill-temper displayed by the loser. He really loves the thing for its own sake, and the resultant purity of motive is remarkable enough to be recorded. In this field we need look for no division; there is no hypocrisy, no evasion of awkward facts. It is all quite simple. One catches, kicks, or hits the ball, or else one misses it; and the same holds good for the other chap. It is all taken in good part.

But when we come to sport the discussion immediately becomes far more complicated and the arc-lights thrown against the great facade of the English character produce shadows which we cannot ignore. This is no longer a flat surface that we contemplate. It has its planes of light, but it has also the deep arcades

offering shelter to something worse than nocturnal depravity: the intellectual dishonesty of false thinking, which has given us a half-deserved, half-undeserved reputation for actual perfidy among the clearer-sighted nations of Europe. Perfidious Albion! a phrase consecrated to world politics—since of our island life our neighbours know little—but a phrase which unconsciously reflects something deeply based in the strange composition of our misty nature. It might be true to say, not that we think wrongly, but that we do not think at all, or at any rate stop thinking the moment thought threatens to become unpleasant or to interfere with what we want to do—a proposition extremely hard for the more lucid and uncompromising mind to entertain.

Yet our capacity for self-delusion is genuine; it is neither a pose nor, consciously, a convenience. It explains many of the remarkable contradictions of the English. For we are surely the most contradictory race on earth. I insist upon this, not so much from a desire to generalize, which is not my business here, as because this whole question of sport more especially affects the countryman who is the subject of my thesis. Taking a look round, what do we find ? We find in the first place a notable degree of kindliness and humaneness towards the helpless animal world. It amounts to sentimentality of which many instances might be given; let us recall a story recently quoted in the press, of a village which after a prolonged struggle with the Post Office succeeded in getting a letter-box set up; the box was immediately occupied by a pair of nesting blue-tits, when, sooner than disturb them, the villagers patiently waited to use their box until the nestlings had flown. Or again, let us mention the railway carriage selected for the same purpose by a thrush; it was the time of the General Strike, when men were angry and bands of reckless youths came from the universities and elsewhere to defy the strikers and drive the trains in fulfilment of a schoolboy's dreams. Tempers were nasty, and opposition fierce; yet both strikers and amateur railwaymen agreed in parking the carriage on a siding sooner than disturb the little bird. What are we to make of a people like this ? Again, I remember meeting a man very carefully carrying a litter of unwanted puppies under his coat; it was raining, and although he was on his way to drown them in a bucket of water he explained that he 'wouldn't like the poor little things to get wet'. That struck me as an unrivalled piece of humane though ludicrous delicacy—English all through.

It is, I think, a mark of true civilization, this compassionate attitude towards the animals at our mercy. But it renders all the more extraordinary our attitude towards those other animals whom we have selected as participants in our sport. The Englishman finds himself in a very awkward position here. He would not willingly be unkind, nor would he willingly forgo his pastime. He has to accommodate these two incongruities somehow, and he does it in a deplorably characteristic way, either by ignoring the implications, or, when forced by hostile influence to examine them, by pretending that the animal enjoys it.

For fox-hunting there is, perhaps, something to be said. Beautiful and romantic as is the fox that we may, with luck, espy crossing a woodland ride, or the vixen and her cubs that, with even greater luck, we may surprise at their play, he is still from our point of view a brigand whose forays must be controlled. And in the best English tradition the Hunt turns out brilliant, picturesque, and truly democratic, to enliven the autumn landscape with streaming scarlet and streaking piebald of white and brown, accompanied by the peculiar music of the horn, the hounds, and the excited cries. What are we, in honesty, to make of all this? There is something in us, despite disapproval, which responds. Nor can we forget that the followers are at least risking their own limbs.

Again, there is perhaps something to be said for hunting the wild deer: there is the same necessity for control. But what can possibly be said in defence of such sports as otter-hunting, or the hunting of specially preserved deer brought to the Meet in a van and often so tame that they must first be goaded into flight? Can even the Englishman convince himself that the harried otter or the gentle deer really collaborate with enjoyment? Yet the same Englishman would be roused to one of his rare rages if he caught a Neapolitan ill-treating a dog; and as for bull-fighting (that technically great art, in which the man surely takes the maximum risk), his indignation swells instantly to impressive and righteous proportions. He would be aggrieved to hear it called Pharisaical.

If such insistence has here been laid, though with the minimum of amplification, on the general question of sport, it is with no immediate desire for anti-sport propaganda. It is, indeed, recommendable that in a book of this nature the personal prejudices of the contributor should be entirely set aside. It is necessary only

to indicate the connexion between the occupations of the Englishman and their repercussion upon his character. Which is cause and which effect need not be argued. It would be irrelevant to discuss whether the kindly Englishman permits himself to hunt because he is hypocritical, or whether he persuades himself to be hypocritical because he wants to hunt, or whether he is quite unaware of being inconsistent or hypocritical at all (as I believe). The result is the same. This amiable man, to whom organized cruelty would be abhorrent, should he once recognize it as such, is enabled by his peculiar national and racial capacity for the avoidance of lucid thinking to esteem himself rather a fine fellow under cover of that grand totem name of sportsman.

iii

Yet there remains much to be said in praise of the rural Englishman, be he the agricultural labourer, the yeoman farmer, or the landlord squire. Let us take the agricultural labourer, the American 'farm-hand', first; and to him in his category we may add the village builder, plumber, carpenter, bricklayer, blacksmith, wheelwright, and all those who help to keep rural life going in the village or rural area concerned. Let us declare at once, without partiality or prejudice, that in this category we may find decent men. Decent, I think, is the right word. The *Oxford Dictionary* defines it as 'satisfying a fair standard; fair, tolerable . . . good enough in its way'. That is a very English definition, and it fits the man I have in mind.

He is a mild man; violence is not part of his nature. He is also, as I have shown, a humane man, apart from the short lapse which he has to accommodate to suit his code. Deliberate cruelty is foreign to him. So far, so good. Towards his employer he is, on the whole, honest: they are in league together against the outsider—a continuance, one may suppose, of the small tribal encampment. This is a loyalty which goes in widening rings and ends by encircling his county: the people of the neighbouring county are 'foreigners'. One discovers a surprisingly narrow parochialism still existent in 1947 and within fifty miles of London. I have heard Kentish men say: 'Oh, he's only a foreigner here, he comes from Sussex'. And it is a recorded fact that men of the Kentish Home Guard refused to be responsible for a field just over the border. 'That's Sussex', they said: and when asked

whether they expected German parachutists to know the difference they replied: 'If they don't they ought to'.

This parochialism, of course, becomes even more noticeable in the remoter counties. But when you share the genuine country life you do make such surprising discoveries, and according to your temperament you are either amused or annoyed. The main point is that you should neither romanticize nor disparage the countryman; you should approach him with realism, recognizing that he is not wholly admirable but recognizing also that he has a certain quality to contribute in his own queer way to the general picture of our queerly composed nation. He is England, in a sense that the citizens of our industrial towns are not England.

He has his faults. He is a suspicious man, prone to believe that his neighbour is always ready to get the better of him, and therefore is himself determined to get in first, if any score is to be obtained. This makes him sly and lowers his standard of ethics: it is considered smart to outwit the other fellow, since otherwise the other fellow will certainly outwit you. His neighbour and his employer both know this and are consequently on their guard, but there is no ill-feeling on either side. His wife has her faults also, so predictable as to be scarcely worth recording, so inevitable as the outcome of her narrow life; gossip is her chief amusement, but then, poor soul, she has so few amusements that she may well be allowed this one, provided she retains (as she usually does) her native kindliness in the emergency of real trouble and the fundamental good sense which she displays collectively at her Womens' Institute. His daughter has her faults too, and these again are predictable, not exclusive to her, but shared by her sisters of the town: too great a preoccupation with her personal concerns to the exclusion of a wider view; coming back to sex always, whether in the defined shape of the boy-friend or in the subsidiary little shapes of the lip-stick tube and the paper square of the clothing-coupon; or, translated into audible terms, in squeals and giggles. All this is natural; to be deplored, perhaps, but not by any reasonable person wholly to be condemned.

He grumbles a great deal, but that is in the nature of the English, who, beneath all their complaints and grievances, entertain a considerable satisfaction (amounting to arrogance) with themselves, their island, their empire, and their general superiority. He grumbles about his climate, his government, his beer, his landlord, his income-tax, his lodging; but on the whole he would

scout the idea of changing over to any other country. Nor will he endure seeing his island attacked, whether by foreign criticism or foreign invasion. Neither by word of mouth nor by force of arms must it be threatened. It has, according to him, an impossible climate, muddle-headed rulers, no consideration for the working-man, a rotten system of social services, a heartless disregard for the old, a bullying attitude towards the young who must continue at school long after they could begin to earn good money; but all the same it is his island and nobody else may lay a finger or a tongue across it. Listening to him, you wonder why he continues to live in such a place at all, soaked by rain, parched by drought, blinded by fog, scorched by sun, rooked right and left by the Right or the Left; yet he does continue to live in it, and, at the bottom of his extremely reserved heart, continues to think it not merely the best but the only place on earth.

Certain virtues have gone out of him, or are rapidly going. Only among the older generation may you find the traditional pride in craftsmanship and the ability to practise it. The blacksmith, the wheel-wright, the carpenter, the woodsman, the rare thatcher, the dexterous layer of hedges, may still exhibit their virtuosity in those professions which mechanization has so far failed to corrupt, but generally speaking the rural crafts have passed into that simpering region where cranks persuade other people to run with ribbons round maypoles or trip in folk-dances on the village green. A great pity, as everything which involves a loss of quality is a pity. But perhaps we may look forward to a time when, sickened by mass-production, the world turns once more towards an appreciation of genuine manual skill, and the potter or the basket-maker return to their trades with no stigma of affectation; a time, alas, which none of us now living is likely to see.

More seriously, his religion has also gone out of him. It has become negative rather than positive. A trace of Puritanism survives: he is shocked, in his deep conventionality, by anything that goes against it. But this disapproval concerns moral and social behaviour rather than any true religious sense of God, Church, or Christianity. He is not a passionately religious man. Religion does not enter into his everyday life as it enters into the everyday life of the minority Roman Catholics for whom he preserves so vigorous and defensive an antipathy, a persistent hostility derived from so long an inherited tradition that it has

developed almost into an instinct, like the migration of birds, rather than remained as an analysable prejudice in the thought of reasoning men. This is not the place to discuss the religious views of this country (that, again, belongs to another chapter), but some reference must be made here to the part played by religion in the life of the countryman who does or does not attend church or chapel, reads or does not read his Bible, says or does not say his prayers, has or has not a standard of ethics consciously based upon the teaching of the Christian creed. On the whole, I cannot believe that orthodox Christianity enters very much into the daily make-up of the English country-dweller in 1947. He is too independent a man; individualism is too precious to him. He respects his parson, but would not allow his conscience to be ruled. He cannot endure dictation, even from the lips of a Man of God. And when it comes to any question of Rome, that is foreign interference, that is wholly abominable, that is a thing we won't stand, a thing which covers intimidation under a cloud of incense, a thing which makes appeal to the worst instincts of emotion, luring with beauty rather than with austerity, luscious rather than bleak, entirely opposed to the iconoclastic Ironsides of Oliver Cromwell.

For the Englishman has a profound distrust of anything that might possibly appeal to his aesthetic sense. He is not only a Puritan, but a Philistine. Visual beauty represents moral danger, or so he seems to think; aesthetic considerations arouse more than mere indifference, they provoke him to suspicion and actual scorn. They are 'art', and art is suspect; it is highbrow, it is almost 'un-English*; and this hostility arises from something far deeper than lack of education or sophistication. There is, in fact, only one form of beauty tolerable to the countryman: the beauty of Nature. Some writers have maintained that he is insensitive even to this, a contention with which I should wish energetically to disagree. It may be his natural inarticulateness which has given rise to this impression; or it may, more plausibly, be his apparent unconcern when such people as speculative builders, advertisers, and garage proprietors, come along and ruin his landscape; but give him an unspoilt view as he leans over the top bar of his gate, and you will find that he is perfectly capable of appreciating it.

For, having made sufficient disobliging remarks about the countryman, it is now time to turn to something more agreeable

and there can be no question that his best side shows when he has anything to do with Nature—of which, after all, he is the human counterpart. Endearing and lovable in this connexion, and above all *real,* with a fund of genuine lore and even a vivid language of his own, mixing metaphor and simile in a way to arouse the envy of any poet, he still walks his land with pride and understanding, and according to his lights does his utmost to enhance its simple loveliness. Look at his little gardens. Cabbages in the allotment, of course, and potatoes in the patch behind the cottage; but at the front of the cottage what a charming medley of pinks and pansies, roses and marigolds, Madonna lilies and love-lies-bleeding, with some old bushes of lavender and of what he still calls *laylock\ There is no trace of shame-facedness in his love for these. This is Nature, not 'art'. This is a thing he can trust; it carries no taint of the highbrow. He has no idea that he is supplementing (sometimes redeeming) the work of the architect, or creating a picture preferable to the atrocious canvas of the holiday-making young woman in her yellow smock. He labours as instinctively as the bee collecting honey, with no conception that Shakespeare sang his flowers or that Fantin-Latour painted them.

It is impossible to resist here a plea for some future collaboration between this unconscious maker of beauty and the planners, architects, and builders, in our post-war England. After all, in the past, up to the landslide of taste which so unfortunately coincided with an outburst of building in the days of Victorian and Edwardian prosperity, we had a fine tradition in the construction of our country towns, our homesteads, and our cottages. Our cottages were not always convenient, it is true; their rooms were poky, their windows too small, their staircases too steep, and their doorways designed so that any man of respectable physique must choose between stooping or hitting his head against a beam of good English oak. But how lovely must our country have been when Cobbett rode! No blemish upon that sweet incomparable landscape; no visual blemish, though we must be prepared to overlook the shameful conditions of poverty obtaining within doors. Is it too much to hope that some sense of our tradition may be revived, not necessarily in a copy of the old, but in an attempt to build soberly and decently, with all regard for modern needs, homes which may increase the self-respect of the people, freeing the women from much drudgery, giving the younger generation a better standard of cleanliness and comfort, stimulating perhaps

even an awareness and pride in the beauty of our land? One has seen examples of what can be done; the thing is not impossible. Would that some philanthropist with sufficient capital to risk in experiment might set a pattern by erecting a modern village, complete with shops, church, school, communal laundry, public hall, approached by radiating avenues of fruit-trees.

It is necessary to be realistic as well as romantical and to insist upon the provision of such things as electricity and that elementary need, water. No picture of English country life in 1947 would be faithful without recording the fact—which we may hope will appear unbelievable to our descendants of even fifty years hence—that no water-supply exists in innumerable cottages or in some villages, a shameful truth which has only recently been fully realized. Lugging water home in buckets from a stagnant pond or a well (and ponds freeze in winter, though wells don't) is an occupation with nothing picturesque about it except perhaps to those who have never done anything more strenuous than to turn on a tap.

IV

Rising in the social scale, we leave the labourer and reach the farmer. He is England too. Quite apart from his tweeds and leggings, he has a definite physical and mental type. Politically, he is apt to be a Conservative, and temperamentally he certainly is, though nearly six years of war have done much to jolt him out of some of his grooves. Independent, stubborn, and an individualist like the rest of his race, he has had some shocks to suffer. It was a shock to find that he could be interfered with by a War Executive Agricultural Committee, compelling him to plough up grass which had never carried corn before, and a still greater shock to be informed by the same committee that his land would be taken over unless his manner of farming it displayed an instant improvement. On the whole he took it very well. The remarkable common sense of the English asserted itself, and he came gradually to see that although the scheme began by outraging all his notions, in practice it *worked.* He grunted, not without satisfaction, when told that he was now producing two-thirds of the nation's food. Of course he complained and found fault; it was not his nature to accept control gladly; the innumerable forms and permits irked him, demanding hours of uncongenial office-work; he deplored the new spirit among his men, who partly

thanks to the higher agricultural wage and partly to the imposition of an income-tax they had never been required to pay before, wouldn't willingly work over-time, even during harvest, as they had always done (and was there also an undefinable spirit abroad amongst them, he wondered, not to be accounted for either by the better money or by the tax called Pay-as-you-earn ?): his views about the future of agriculture became gloomier and gloomier; but taken all in all he has not proved uncompliant and has not set himself too resolutely against innovations which his father would never have countenanced. He has seen the point of increasing the use of labour-saving machinery, and he has been gratefully appreciative of subsidized official schemes such as land drainage. He has realized that bad farming is uneconomic farming, a very valuable lesson when we consider what a surprising proportion of our agricultural holdings is in the hands of the small man—50 per cent, are under fifty acres, 85 per cent, under 150 acres. Working on this minute scale, the English farmer manages much variety: he has the dairy-herd, he has flocks of sheep, droves of poultry, pens of pigs, he has the mixed farm of the richer districts, the rough grazings of the northern Fells, and in certain parts of the country he has acres of orchard, soft fruit, or hops. And yet another surprising estimate is that out of our 280,000 farmers, 150,000 depend upon family labour.

To sum up, it could not be expected that under so almost amateurish a system the average working-owner or tenant would scientifically avail himself of advanced ideas. Financially, he might be handicapped; temperamentally, he might be too stationary. Not for him the pedigree cattle, the combine-harvester, the great gyro-tiller which demanded spaces as vast as Gigant. He must be content—and too often *was* content—to continue on his makeshift way, departing from the methods of his ancestors only to the extent of using a tractor instead of horses to pull his plough, an antiquated motor-car to propel his hay-scoop, a reaper-binder to travel round his harvest-field. Farther than that he could either not afford to go, or in some cases was reluctant to go. What his future will be is no subject for speculation here.

V

Before we finally reach 'the gentry', we must pause for a moment in the village street; take a look into the shop windows, and then push open the door to the tinkle of its cracked bell. We shall expect to find some establishments of specialized trades—the baker, the butcher, the cobbler, and, of course, the post-office—but perhaps the most characteristic of all the English muddle is the shop that sells nearly everything else. Grocer, haberdasher, draper, tobacconist, seedsman, ironmonger, fruiterer, the proprietor of this delightful anomaly plays, with his wife, a central part in the village life. The men may gather in at the public bar in the evening, but the day starts with the women coming in for their purchases and also for any bit of news that may be going. There, among the tins, the blue packets of sugar, the yellow packets of mustard, the dangling fly-papers, the big bottles of sweets, with the clacking till and the slicer hissing through the bacon^ they compare notes and make their private observations. Everybody knows everybody, and knows everybody's doings too, which is either one of the great pleasures or the great disadvantages of rural existence, according to the way you look at it. The proprietors, busy behind the counter, appear not to know that they are doomed; perhaps they sometimes really do not know it, though to the more reflective ones the shadow of the Co-op and the chain stores must loom very large and black. But so long as they survive they will continue to serve their customers with the irreplaceable personal touch that grows more sadly out of keeping every day.

VI

Mixed in with the village life are 'the gentry', whose activities also embrace a wider range, taking in all interests which affect the county. We do not here refer to the very big landlords, dividing their time between their country seats and their London houses, freemen of the fashionable and cosmopolitan world, but to those more modest and useful souls who stay put and unostentatiously devote so much of their energy to the public service. Unpaid, and without reward, it is they who figure on the County Council, dispense justice on the Bench, run the Women's Institute, and lend themselves willingly to whatever duty may be asked of them. I fancy that not the most extreme member of the Labour party would deny the respect in which they are rustically held; and although the accusation of snobbery has often been brought

against the English, I submit that that respect is based less upon any snobbish regard for birth or wealth than upon confidence in their reliability, probity, and unselfishness.

In accordance with the old topographical plan 'the big house' usually stands at a little distance from the village. It may not be a big house at all, and the bigger it is the more likely it is to be impoverished; but its size does not affect the matter: it is the home of the local squire and his lady. They are not 'clever' people in the sense of belonging to the intelligentsia; they take no interest whatsoever in modern artistic or literary developments, or at most only a puzzled disapproval. So far as the past is concerned their nation has produced the greatest poetry of non-classical Europe, but they do not read it. They vaguely honour the names of their poets, once they are safely dead, adding them complacently to the general brilliance and superiority of the racial crown, but would have neither the courage nor the inclination to be found with a volume of Donne in their hands. (Shakespeare is the exception. It is no more eccentric to like Shakespeare than to like the Bible; and the English, in spite of being perhaps the most eccentric race on earth, entertain the greatest horror of eccentricity. I once taxed a very representative member of our provincial aristocracy with reading poetry and enjoying it. He looked at me in naive astonishment. 'But that was Shakespeare/ he said; 'Shakespeare *isn't poetry.*[9]*)*

It is thus not in the realm of the intellect that their value lies. They may even justify the exclamation of the exasperated Latin, 'Yes, you are nice, but my God you're dull!' One ought, I suppose, to esteem it as a tribute to be called nice: *c'est deja quelque chose.*

My provincial gentry are undoubtedly nice, using the word in its corrupted present sense. They are practical, competent, and humanly sagacious; cheerful and humorous, though not witty; authoritative but not self-seeking; kindly though severe; sincere in their opinions, though with no boldness or enterprise of mind. They believe that they think honestly, though in practice it is only with the greatest difficulty and caution that they recognise the existence of any new idea, and with even greater difficulty and caution that they adopt it. All this makes them very solid and unshakable, and has a very direct influence upon the general unrevolutionary sobriety of rural England. Above all they have that highly developed sense of public duty which makes it rare indeed to find the man or woman who leads a life of complete

self-indulgence. And their incorruptibility is so much beyond question that it is taken as a matter of course by all classes.

Now this, although it may not present a picture of any great liveliness, is certainly a favourable estimate to be able to offer. The source of virtue comes, I think, from a kind of inherited responsibility—a responsibility towards property, towards tenants, towards neighbours, and eventually towards the entire social organization within their orbit. Their standard of culture may not be very high, nor their minds either nimble or receptive, but their life is in the true sense gentle, and their usefulness redeems them from being too much of an anachronism. England would be the loser if so devoted, steady, and inoffensive a class were to disappear. They and their homes are threatened, of course, and many a proud old squire must sorrowfully shake his head as he surveys his diminished life, his neglected gardens, his leaking roof, his son dead, and his stable empty. But he plods on, and has the wisdom to see that although his case may be perilous it is not so desperate as that of his grander neighbour with vaster possessions and even less hope of preserving a home which to others may seem inordinate, but which to him is dear.

VII

For now we climb to the topmost rung in the country ladder and after penetrating into the labourer's cottage, the yeoman's farm, the little shop, and the Manor House standing behind its gates, we ring the bell at the formidable entrance of the medieval castle, Elizabethan palace, or classical country seat. And these also are England, although an aspect of England which is more urgently having to adjust itself to the rushing days. Speaking reasonably, one must admit that they are quite indefensible. Indefensible that one man should command hundreds of rooms and hundreds of pleasure-acres in park and garden; and inexpedient too, as he himself must feel in times when he can no longer find the labour for their maintenance, nor the means to pay for it if he could. Under the present system of taxation, he is not a rich man, and in this respect is even worse off than most, for he has had obligations and expense forced upon him through no fault or choice of his own. Looking round him, he sees something worse than present difficulties: he sees future ruin for his heirs when he shall have departed from this world, leaving to them the inalienable burden of succession. And since he is no effigy,

decorated with a proud title and an historic name, but a human creature with attachments like the rest of us, he suffers in a very simple way over the loss of a home which to others may appear stately, but to him is the shrine of his family and the haunt of his boyhood. It is in his blood. Not a glade in the park which is not familiar to him; not a corner of the roof to which he has not at some time made his secret escape. His pride is not the pride of ostentation—for indeed the splendour of his home is a matter of natural acceptance, he has been born to it, grown up with it, till it becomes part of him as he of it—no pride of that kind, but simply love. It is a fierce love, of the sort that involves the breaking of a heart. Yet what is he to do?

The ability to make a fortune is not given to every man, and a very large fortune would be required. Not much use, therefore, in saying 'Let him work as others work'. No, his only hope for himself and his descendants is to rid himself of his beautiful incubus, and to do so in a way which will damage it as little as possible, for even if it must pass from him he sentimentally desires its preservation. It is thus not surprising to find more and more properties handed over to the National Trust under a scheme which will safeguard them for ever in the possession of the nation, will relieve them of onerous taxation and death-duties, and will yet enable the owner and his successors to continue as life-tenants in the rooms their ancestors have inhabited for generations past. It would seem, on the face of it, that no complaint could be raised by the owner against so sensible and advantageous an arrangement. And, indeed, there is no ground for rational complaint. It is only the heart which is not rational, and which sees the whole difference between ownership and tenancy on the sufferance of a peppercorn rent. There will always be that discreet little notice at the entrance, saying Troperty of the National Trust: admission i / - \ It is not that he objects to admitting the public; in fact he has always done so; but to the Englishman's mind there is a vast difference between doing something voluntarily and doing it under compulsion. He has, moreover, the feeling that his house will be turned into something resembling a museum rather than a living organism; outwardly the same, the warm inward spirit will have fled.

I do not know if it is permissible to quote oneself, but I am tempted to do so, since I could not with truth vary the words I found on a previous occasion to fit this very subject, in an attempt

to express something of the symptomatic change. I had then in mind the handing-over of a house, supreme, perhaps, among its fellows, but still typical of many that must before long go the same way.

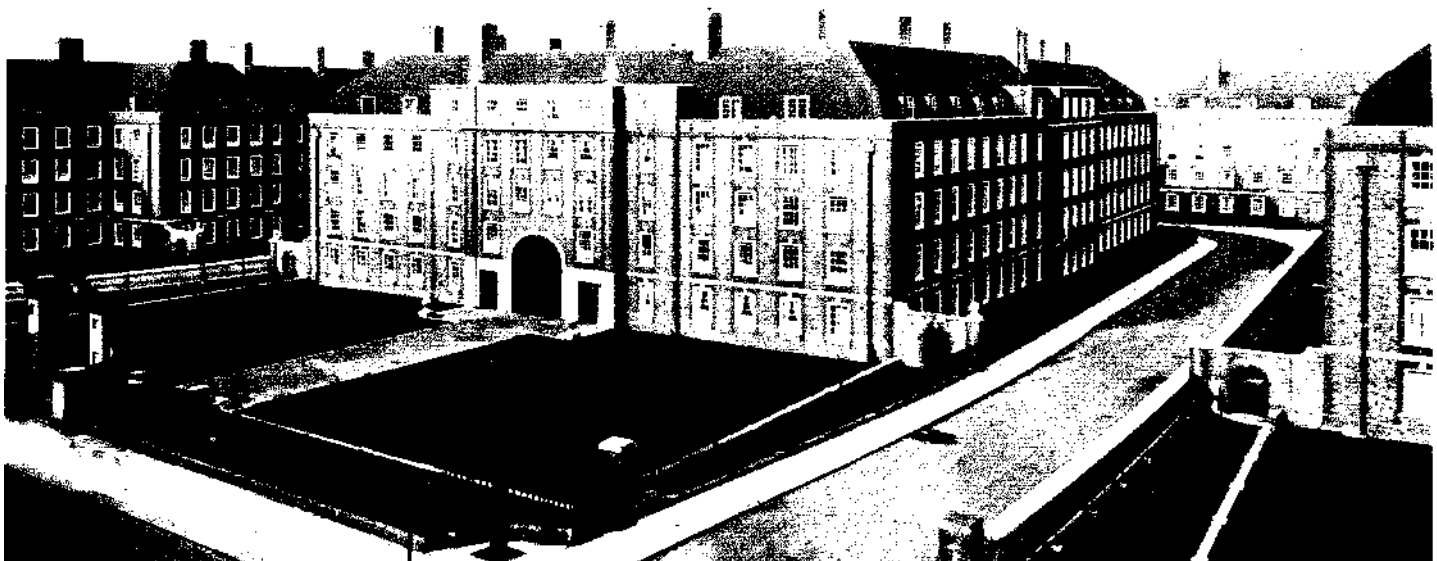
That which was a living thing/ I wrote, 'with its granaries, its chapel, its larders and still-rooms, its long garden paths made for twilight pacing and deliberation, will change over into some new transformation of itself, but what this transmigration of soul will bring about we cannot tell. It remains to be seen. As birth is a process of pain, so must rebirth be a process of pain also; a pain that one is prepared to accept in the hope that the travail will suscitate some Phoenix of future value when the privilege of beauty is no longer reserved for the few who can afford to indulge it. But what of those to whom these things belonged by birthright, and who belonged to the service of these things by tradition? Shall they lament over the passing, or shall they cultivate the philosophy that the old world must with cheerfulness relinquish its heritage into the hands of the new? Do they not deserve a word, if only a word of valediction ? It is a small thing, perhaps; only a single feather falling from the too gorgeous plumage of the discarded past; but to them it is the sacrifice, the symbol, of something perhaps too profoundly dear. For their comfort, let us suggest that some of the grace of another age may seep into the consciousness of the million wandering freely among these ancient courts, and that they, who are also part of our continuous history, may find enrichment in the gift of something so old, so courteous, and so lovely.'

And so it will be with all the country things. Craftsmanship has gone; the horses give way to tractors; the oaks to spruce and larch; organic manure to $P_2 0_5$ and $K_2 0$. The slow country is speeding up, trying to keep pace with the general rush after the material convenience which shall ease the life of man. Everything shall be cheapened, standardized; everything made more accessible to all. It would be merely foolish to oppose anything in the nature of true progress towards the relief of a harsh existence or the increased fertility of the land. One wonders only whether something even more valuable may not get mislaid in the process —the indefinable something which we call quality, distinction; the spirit, the soul. But perhaps with the liberation of the body from a no longer acceptable drudgery, may come the liberation of the mind, turning with a new freshness in its hours of unprecedented leisure towards the things which are not wholly utilitarian.





COMPTON WYNYATES, WARWICKSHIRE, DATING FROM THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII



LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL FLATS AT WANDSWORTH

XXI

TOWN LIFE

By LORD KENNET

I

THE Spirit of our towns is a dejected Spirit. One imagines her sitting on the dome of St. Paul's in a fog, contemplating her past, present, and future with melancholy. She knows that she has not been successful. She has meant so well, and achieved so little. *Quid feci? ubi lapsus?* Perhaps, then, some sister Spirit of Consolation brings her a vision. She sees dimly in the fog the wraiths of the agents through whom she has had to work, a procession of parliament men, mayors, aldermen and councillors, and of landlords and tenants. Bumble is there, Mrs. Grundy and Lickcheese, Chadband and Pecksniff, and at the sight of them the Spirit sighs, 'well, I did my best', and is partly consoled.

Our country-side is a success. When its individual inhabitants are left to look after it without too much control it is well ordered and seemly. Villages, houses, and steadings are in harmony with their surroundings and because of that have beauty, and they are convenient enough. But our towns are on the whole a failure. They are not beautiful, and they are not convenient. They are not even cheap. Large sums have been wasted in them on ornament which does not beautify, and display which does not impress.

What makes the difference ? Why are we successful in one, and not in the other ? We are the same people in the country and in town, by race, speech, and religion, and we have the same Government. But the Spirit of our country-side is a smiling spirit, full of 'nods and becks and wreathed smiles', while the Lady who sits upon St. Paul's is sad, 'with sable stole of blackest lawn over her decent shoulders drawn'. What makes the difference? Could we find the answer to the question, we might be on the road to find a remedy.

The first reason no doubt is that a good town is not made so easily as a good country-side. Where there are a thousand people sharing an acre, they have to take greater pains not to get into each other's way than where it is shared by three. Our species

has not the communal instincts of the ants and bees. Its instincts of the sort do not work very well outside the family. Of all races of the species, our race is particularly deficient in the matter. Outside the family, an Englishman's social instinct rapidly fades away. In town life he feels little or no natural solidarity with his fellow townsmen. His house is his castle; he would be uncontrolled, master of all within, and untroubled by all without. We have learned to expect that services should be rendered to us in common, supply, transport, heat, light, water, and drains. But at bottom each of us thinks of his town as a collection of individuals, who have services rendered to them by a remote 'they', unidentified with ourselves.

We do not naturally think of ourselves as a community, responsible to ourselves for our own welfare. At least we do not do so in our local life, for in this there is much difference between national and local politics. We are vividly conscious of the nation as an entity, but not so much so of the town. An occasional stimulus may make us conscious of the town as an entity. The most effective is that of competition, born of the local patriotism which is a miniature of national patriotism. Manchester and Liverpool may on special occasions make great efforts to excel each other in some civic purpose; or some calamity, an epidemic, a blitz, a flood, or a fire, may pull fellow-townsmen together in those bonds of fellow-feeling which are tied by common misfortune. A campaign to awaken the conscience of the community to some public disgrace such as slums or overcrowding may for a time effectively convince individuals of their common responsibility for the evil. But, without the extraordinary and too often fleeting strength given by a special stimulus of the sort, the ties which bind our town-dwellers together as a community are weak. Each of us lives in his castle, and frowns on his neighbours from the battlements.

One may observe this characteristic without at ail belittling all the good work done by the organs of local government through the strenuous and devoted men and women, both voluntary and professional, who devote their lives to the service of their fellow-townsmen. The pages of the record of their work are some of the brightest in the book of public service. But those workers, the few, should be and, indeed, they are, the first to lament the weakness and inconstancy of the support which they get from the public opinion of the many. Its inadequacy is patent in the

records of municipal polls. Its consequence is the slowness of improvement in our urban conditions.

We should get on much better but for another general characteristic of ours, our jealousy of authority. Our love of liberty often topples over into a dislike of all control so extreme as to be incompatible with our welfare under the closely knit social conditions of town life. Our individualism is so strong that although we, the many, are not interested, we are not content passively to permit things to be well run for us by the few who are. We dislike being told what to do and what not to do no less when it is for our own good than when it is not. We dislike other people assuming to do anything for us although we do not do it for ourselves. Our natural reaction to our rulers and administrators, however democratic be the method of their selection, is antagonistic* We are fertile in objection and criticism. The consequence is much inertia in our affairs. A few hands push the machine of progress forward with all their might. Many hands are laid upon it, casually and with partial attention, to hold it back, and the machine moves forward not at all, or only by fits and starts which are small and few. Inertia is even greater in the town council than it is in Parliament, because local political forces are less concentrated than national.

The lesson of experience is that some of the changes most needed in our towns, and particularly those that need foresight, will never be brought about by the forces of local government alone. I think that that is true of town-planning, which is the foundation upon which most other improvements have to be built. Without a good basic plan services cannot be as convenient and cheap or houses as pleasant and healthy as they should be, and as they can be. But the poor dejected Spirit of our towns is not vigorous or wide awake enough to be able to plan for herself. She has not enough force of will to better herself on a far-seeing programme. She lives from hand to mouth only. She is, so to say, too near to her own immediate prospect to see the far horizon.

Every proposal for a future gain for all is beset by those to whom it would mean an immediate loss. It needs some force that stands more aloof to carry it; and as things are that force can only be the central government. Unless we are prepared to give the central government power to see to it that every town has a plan and power to hold the town to its plan when it has got it, we shall wait long enough for effective town-planning. Whether that

central power should be exercised by a ministry or by a special commission is a minor question. The essence of the matter is that, whatever the body is, it should have executive power to see to it that a plan is made and enforced. Powers to stimulate and advise are not enough. If we take the matter as seriously as we should we had better have a minister in charge of it. The force of a minister is the strongest force which our democracy can provide. At bottom, of course, his power is no stronger than public opinion; but with the support of public opinion he is better able than anybody else to overcome stupidity, lethargy, and self-interest.

A central authority cannot know or understand local conditions well enough to make a town's plans for it. That is very true. The plan must come from the town, or at least be made with its help. It is the strength needed to carry it out that must come from the central authority.

There is one particular question involved in this basic matter of planning that has to be answered before much can be done. Who is to bear the cost of making the plan effective? Every plan almost without exception requires that some value, actual or potential, which benefits private owners should be destroyed or transferred to the public. For example, the value of land has to be reduced by restricting the purposes to which it can be put; or existing buildings have to be removed or altered; or the cost of buildings has to be increased, and the profit of building, or of other industrial enterprise, has to be restricted by limitations on the use of sites. On whom is the loss to fall? If ribbon development along a road is to be forbidden, are the owners of the land along the road to be compensated for the reduction in the value of their land or not? We have never had a clear mind about the answer to the question, and it is because we have not had it that we have never been able to plan effectively. The ribbons of houses inconveniently and uneconomically placed have gone on uncoiling themselves from the towns into the country, and nobody has been able to stop them. Should the cost of the improvement fall upon the community which will enjoy its benefit? Or should it be laid upon the owners, who are so ill-starred as to have in their possession a potential value which cannot be made actual without mischief to the community? Our politicians vigorously debate the answer. We need not here join in the debate. It is enough to observe that until the question of compensation is answered, one way or another, we may get plans made for our towns, but we

shall not get them carried out. But there is a suggestion that may be made. The way to get the worst of all aspects of the matter is to compensate partially. Full compensation may do justice, and no compensation may do justice. But partial compensation cannot possibly do justice, either to the public or to the private interests. It seems obvious, but it is worth mentioning, because a partial compensation by way of compromise is the usual outcome of political contention on the point.

So the chief cause for the higgledy-piggledy character of our towns is our national character, which is rather higgledy-piggledy too. We hate restraint, and will not submit to the rules and plans necessary for ordered life on crowded sites. We are not capable of any very admirable degree of devotion to interests other than our own. If we look back we see that our ancestors had the same characteristics; and that, by an historical accident, has had in the past a particularly unfortunate effect upon the development of our towns. The historical accident is that there was an industrial revolution, and that it came to us before other nations—to us, the nation least able, because of that unsociableness of ours, to take the social measures necessary to prevent its evil effects. Other nations to which it came later profited by our sad example. We had none from whom we could learn, and we were not the sort of people to learn quickly for ourselves. So the revolution swept over our towns like a muddy flood, leaving wrack and ruin behind. In the Middle Ages our towns were insanitary but beautiful. The Industrial Revolution left them insanitary and ugly. Now they are ugly and sanitary. Some day they may be sanitary and beautiful; but before they become so we must change our natures a little and sweep away the ruins of the industrial revolution.

When we turned from hands to machinery the new factories and workmen's dwellings were built with an eye to profit only. With an almost admirable singleness of purpose nothing else was allowed to count. There is an excuse. The capital needed to feed the growth of our infant industries had to be found from the profits of those industries themselves. There was no adequate accumulation to draw upon. It was only after the industrial system had been working prosperously for some time that there was any surplus of capital on which to draw for more than the bare necessities of profitable investment. Had not buildings been provided as cheaply as possible it would have taken much longer

to accumulate the surplus. It would have been better, no doubt, to have built and planned better from the outset, and taken longer to get rich. But it would have needed an amount of foresight and enlightenment which we had not got, and perhaps could not have. We may recognize the excuse; but it does not absolve us from the duty to put right what we did wrong then. To do so we must accept the unwelcome truth that it is necessary to spend now as much as, and even more than, we saved then. We cannot get rid of our evil inheritance from the Industrial Revolution without spending large sums that will earn no direct return in money.

To put right what went wrong with our towns in the nineteenth century is a task so big that it will need the whole strength of the nation for many years and no interruption by wars or acute industrial depressions. Before we consider in more detail the size and nature of that task let us encourage ourselves by considering some of the easier ways in which we could improve things.[1]

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As an example, let us take the advertisement question, because the terms involved in the problem are all simple and the whole problem is not very big. Public advertisement, as commercial men know if they are clear headed, and admit if they are honest, is, on the whole, anti-social. It is good for private interests and bad, on the whole, for public interests. Very much of it has for its purpose to push the sale of proprietary brands of things like patent medicine, which are bad for the public, or things, like this soap or that beer, which are no better or no worse for the public than any other thing of the same sort. A few advertisements are no doubt useful. They are those which educate or give information. But these are few. A seemly stand or so by the entrance to public buildings would provide ample space for them. The rest are of no use to the public, or worse. We could get and would get our tea at the grocer's without asking for so and so's: and it would be just as good. More than that, it would be cheaper. Advertisements increase the cost of production. Eager competition between advertisers can increase it very much. Everything we need we could and would get without advertise-

[1] **The writer is dealing with the long-term problems, not with the short-term problems of lack of houses which arise from the German war.**

ments. The only difference would be that we should ask for and get cheaper things which we should think of ourselves and like for ourselves, and not dearer things which we had been nagged into thinking we liked by the advertisers.

Materially advertisements do us no good. Spiritually they are one of the worst of avoidable evils. The sordid ugliness of our towns is the cause of much of the restlessness and strain which affect our happiness now, of the unhappiness of 'this strange disease of modern life, with its sick hurry, its divided aims, its heads o'er-taxed, its palsied hearts'. One may prove it by a visit to a town that has escaped the degradation of modern commercialism, an Italian hill-town, perhaps, with its towers and arcaded palazzi, such as San Gimignano was. In a few days the eye and mind are rested and soothed, and the spirit rejoices in its freedom from unwelcome and mannerless intrusions upon its privacy. There are many things no doubt that contribute to the comparative restlessness of our towns: but is not the chief thing our miserable acquiescence in open-air advertisements? We allow the cheapjacks to thrust themselves upon our attention at every turn. Our buildings are covered with print and pictures that distract and weary us. Architects may give their designs functional dignity, or the beauty of pattern and light and shade. It is in vain. The advertisers tread closely on their heels and obliterate their designs with print and pictures which are unrelated to the architecture and destroy its effect. They have but one requirement, that their intrusions should be conspicuous. Our buildings are no longer buildings. They are pages of print. We live and work between a cocoa and a cigarette. We pass not through streets, but through gigantic tradesmen's catalogues. By night as well as day our towns are hoardings, not towns.

Why do we allow all urban dignity and beauty to be thus destroyed? Why do we not revolt against this attack upon our peace of mind and our liberty to enjoy our own thoughts undisturbed? Let us revolt, and let us realize that to make our revolt effective we must make a clean sweep. We must be prepared to say that there is to be no open-air advertisement; that all paint and pictures on buildings, hoardings, bridges, or any other site, natural or artificial, are to go; that shop signs are to be limited to the least size and length necessary to tell the passer-by the sort of shop it is; and above all that there is to be no sky-writing. Our revolt will need a great effort. It will be perhaps an effort

too great for the strength of local authorities. Perhaps it is too great an effort even for Parliament. We may not care enough for dignity and beauty, for rest for the eye and ease from mental strain, to slay the jabberwock. But let us at least dream of the lovely release which it would be if all outside advertisements were swept away, and hope that some day we shall get it done. Until it is done, as fast as we make our towns beautiful the advertisers will mar them.

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Advertisements come first as the cause of the restlessness and (there is no other word for it) the squalor of our towns. They are a superficial cause. We could cure it by a law, and such a good scrape of our buildings as could be done in a week. There is another cause which is not superficial, and cannot be so easily cured. It is the extreme higgledy-piggledy of the elevations, of the exterior design and size, of our buildings. Until the beginning of the Industrial Revolution each period had its characteristic style in building, and the style was determined by the relation between the builder and his material and tools. His materials were limited in quantity and quality, and his tools were limited by the strength of a man, aided only by a few simple mechanical devices, the lever, the pulley, and the wedge or inclined plane. The style of the period was the result of a struggle between mind and matter, in which mind was by no means master. The contest imposed a measure of uniformity, and that measure was the style of the period. Beauty came with style and with the impression which the style gave of a necessary relation between the buildings and the people who used them. That state of affairs ended with the coming of the industrial age. Rather suddenly builders gained a far greater mastery over their materials than before. When steel and concrete came the mastery became complete. Now we could build almost anything we liked. Our materials no longer controlled us and told us how we had to build. But what were we going to like to build? We did not know. Tradition no longer helped us. We were at large; and we built—what we did build.

Having no longer any natural style we imitated on the new scale and with the new materials the styles which were natural to the old; and so we got our modern towns. If we glance down the elevation of a modern street in the central and sumptuous part of a town of ours, we see a mad jumble of imitations. There are imitations of medieval half-timbered houses, of gabled Dutch

houses, of renaissance Florentine or Venetian palaces, of Palladian porticoes, of Moorish arches and domes, of ancient Greek or Roman colonnades, and amongst these the spoiled and broken remnants of buildings surviving from the times when there was a natural style, the times, for instance, of the Regent, or Queen Anne, or of the early Stuarts. Amongst them stand the stark functional buildings which are the result of a healthy reaction against imitation. The effect of restless confusion is increased by our long failure to require any uniformity in skyline. The skyline jumps up and down restlessly, leaving ugly blank walls to catch the eye, to distress it with their suggestion of make-shift, and to show that the fronts of the buildings are only fa9ades whose decorations have no necessary relation to the structure.

What is the remedy? It is not to be found in any increase of the control that can be exercised over elevations. There is power in local authorities to control them now. The difficulty is not in the powers themselves. It is rather that they are not exercised; and the reasons why they are not exercised are not far to seek. There are two chief reasons. First, the local authorities do not exercise these powers, because if they did impose conditions on elevations it might damnify the owners, and compensation must then be paid, which would come on the rates. Secondly, were a local authority to prescribe a style for elevations it must know what style to prescribe, and it does not know. There is no style which it can prescribe which has much chance of being accepted with any measure of agreement.

If there is anything in this account of the nature of the difficulties it is possible to found upon it one suggestion for a way out of them which would be sweeping but effective. Perhaps those stark functional buildings show the way. Might it not be possible for the local authorities, or whatever authority is to exercise planning power, to prescribe that, for the present at any rate, no building shall have any exterior ornament or decoration at all, except sculpture, that is not strictly functional? Sculpture has to be excepted, because its true purpose in architecture is not to ornament the building. It is there for its own sake. The building lends itself, as it were, to sculpture, to be the pedestal or background of a work of art; and a very good thing it is for us when it does so. If it did not, that beautiful art would die of inanition. But the building in this relation is secondary to the sculpture;

and the freer it is from ornament or decoration the better it serves the purpose.

Such simplification would do much to overcome the financial difficulty. It is cheaper not to have ornament than to have it, and owners would commonly find it difficult to prove that they were financially damnified by the limitation. It would overcome the difficulty that we have at present no accepted style of architecture. It would take time, of course, for the reform to tell. There is too much capital sunk in our present buildings for them to be replaced before they are worn out. But would the change not be greatly for the better? Would it not be better than the present higgledy-piggledy to have streets in which the buildings have some uniformity, although the uniformity is that of unadorned simplicity and of the dignity of obvious and straightforward fulfilment of useful purpose?

IV

Reform of elevations and a good riddance of advertisements are improvements in the look of things, and much easier to achieve than improvements in the substance of things, in the quality of our dwellings from the material point of view of health and convenience. That is the greater part of the problem left us by the Industrial Revolution—how even now and at long last to put right the mindless and ignorant shape then impressed upon our towns both as to plans and as to structures? But unfortunately the problem how to put right the mistakes of the past is not our only problem. Our towns are not static in size. They keep on growing, so that we cannot devote the whole of our energy to correcting past mistakes. Much of it is needed to provide for the future and to avoid fresh mistakes if we can. A walk through almost any big town, with an eye on the look out for these two problems, that of the past and that of the future, makes many things about them clear. Let us imagine that we are taking a walk from side to side through a big and growing town, a typical one. It will help us to understand how big our problem is, and the relation between its parts.

Suppose that we are walking from the country towards Muddleford. The first sign that there is a big town coming is that a blackish haze appears on the horizon, with a distant prospect of factory chimneys, and that the grass and trees begin to lose their freshness and to look grimy. We ponder the problem of smoke.

Electricity, gas, and the concentration of furnaces at power-stations have reduced the size of that problem, but there are the cloud and the grime, and there are the chimneys, some of them making black smoke. We may reflect that there are powers in the law to prevent chimneys from making black smoke; but they are little used. Local authorities are reluctant to enforce them, because it is interfering with industry and costs the factories money. We may have heard it said that there would be little or no black smoke if all stokers were trained to stoke properly, and that enlightened local authorities should have classes to teach them. If so, we have heard a very useful truth, and may think that if all stokers were properly taught, and no one were allowed to stoke without a certificate that he had been taught, local authorities would feel themselves much more free to enforce the law. All but a very little black smoke from factory chimneys would then be mere carelessness. The problem of the domestic hearth would remain. One of the worst features of our obsolete housing is the open fire-places to burn coal; and there is still a good deal of prejudice against doing without them. The capital cost of converting it all to use gas or electricity would be enormous. It seems as if we must wait for the change to come gradually, with the increase in the supply of electricity and gas, and a fall in their cost. Water-power can make no very substantial contribution in this land of ours until someone finds out how to make water-power plant much more cheaply than it can be made now. Meanwhile let us cherish the hopeful thoughts of the schools for stokers and the gradual replacement of domestic coal-fires by gas and electricity.

The next sign of the coming town is a railway line, with a steam locomotive puffing along with a train. We think of the atmosphere its smoke will be making presently along the built-up part of the line, and wonder why all railways do not have to adopt the electric haul for the last part of their journey into large towns. It would be costly, but even in the matter of expense it would pay in the long run, partly in the greater convenience and lower cost of running, partly by attracting traffic to the much pleasanter stations which it would enable the companies to provide.

Here is a line of pylons striding with us towards the town. Some people think them an eyesore. But the cost of buried mains for electricity is so enormous that for the foreseeable future it is a question of pylons and more electricity or no pylons and much less, but much dearer, electricity. For myself I prefer pylons and

mors electricity. But then I do not dislike the pylons. They have some beauty; and there is the consoling thought that they do not permanently affect the landscape. When they go they need leave no trace behind.

We are passing some allotments, those patches of Mother Earth which give so much pleasure and peace of mind to some of her children who, but for them, would not see much of her. We notice the evidence which they give of our vehement individualism. On each patch there is a separate erection of bits of board and old tins. It is a shed for the holder's tools. The Allotments Committee had a plan to provide a row of lockers in a special structure at the entrance to the allotments. The lockers would have been neater and more convenient than the tumble-down sheds on the plots, and they would have enabled the holders each to have had a bit more ground. But the holders would have none of them. An Englishman's house is his castle, and his spade and hoe must have their castle too. It is part of the pleasure of the allotment.

The town itself has stretched out a feeler, and it touches us. Here are the first of the bungalows. This is the end of a ribbon which comes coiling from the town far out into the country and all along the main road. It is 6 o'clock p.m., and the road is narrowed to half its capacity by many little cars drawn up along the curbs. The authorities ought to have made accommodation roads parallel to the thoroughfare on both sides of it; but it would have cost more, and who was to pay?

Here is an odd object to see on the outskirts of a great town, a windmill. Some enterprising bungalow-dweller has provided himself with his own water-supply from a well; from which we see that this ribbon was built without any water supply piped from the town. The authorities ought either to have laid pipes or not allowed the building. That is so, too, as to sanitation. There are no sewers. We can see the earth-closets in the back gardens. These are not uncommon sights. Many authorities are much too weak-kneed about allowing people to build in areas where there are no sewers or piped water, and they cannot be laid without unreasonable cost. It is another instance of feeble planning.

We see trees, shrubs, and garden walls and hedges ahead, and soon we are walking through the town's best residential suburbs. Here are trim Victorian villas, standing each in its own garden

with a little drive. They were built by the manufacturers, merchants, and professional men to whom the town owes much of its prosperity. To be able to afford to come and live in one of these was the ambition of a thriving citizen and the reward of his success. There is not much to be said for the houses. They are solid, roomy, and comfortable, and nothing more. But their gardens are charming, or were so before the German wars. They were the pink of neatness and a blaze of flowers. It will be a sad thing if they with their little glass-houses are never again to be the homes of the skilful horticulture which was so pleasant to their owners and the neighbours. It will indeed be a sad thing altogether if changes in our economy are to wipe all these villas out of existence. They provided the town with a green and flowery belt at private expense. If they must go, the authorities ought to plan the area as park and open space.

Leaving the villas behind, we are in the town. We are in the 'west end', among streets and squares of the town-houses of the well-to-do. They are tall, thin, Victorian houses, five or six stories high, with stucco fronts and porticoes. There are back and front drawing-rooms, steep stairs, and basements and areas. The servants' rooms are in the basements or the attics, and there are coal fire-places and no lifts. What is to become of them? They are caught in the same draft as the Victorian villas. The incomes have gone which used to enable people to pay for the many servants needed for them; and, if they had not gone, could servants be found to accept their inconveniences? If not, is there nothing for it but to pull them down and build smaller and more convenient houses, or the more expensive sort of flat, in their stead? Perhaps that is the ideal, but, like many an ideal, it is not practicable. With so much else to do we cannot afford to waste the whole of the big capital value which they represent. The path of least resistance is already being marked. By internal alterations they are gradually being converted into flats. Such flats are not very convenient or economical; but it is the best we can do. In course of time, as money becomes available, they will go, and blocks of flats or smaller houses come in their stead.

Not many tears will be shed over Victorian stucco. But as we penetrate more deeply towards the centre of the town we find some streets and squares of Georgian brick; and we notice the difference. Wherever advertisements allow it the eye is charmed by their proportions, by the appropriateness of their use of

materials, and by their restrained and harmonious decorations of medallions, wreathed entablatures, and ironwork. Here is something worth saving, some beauty to be taken into account with cheapness and convenience. If we care about such things we say to ourselves perhaps that at the next municipal election we will write to our candidate and ask him if he is prepared to have these buildings scheduled for preservation, and we will tell him that we will not complain of our small share of the cost.

The buildings get higher, the traffic denser, and we are at the centre of the town. But is it the centre ? This town seems to wish only to disguise the fact that it has a centre. There is a big ganglion of tram and bus lines, a large Gentlemen and Ladies, and a huge amorphous front of glass, plaster, nickel-plate, and print, which is a cinema; and that is all. Black cliffs of office buildings tower up all round and radiate in dwindling chasms. A train puffs, audible but unseen. The smoky cavern of the central station is close by.

The indifference we show to civic centres is significant. Did we think of the town in which we live as a whole, as a community with a life of its own and a character of its own, we should think it natural that its life and character should be expressed and dignified by a fine civic centre. But we do not so think of our town, or at least not often enough or clearly enough. So we are indifferent to a civic centre. Let London be the example, which allows the finest site in the world, the centre of civilization, to be wasted on the Royal Exchange building, a meaningless lump with a pretentious portico, squalid with little shops; a building which is useless and purposeless, and has no dignity, or beauty, or history.

No, our towns are collections of the separate castles of Englishmen, not civic units, and it is no doubt that incoherent quality of theirs, and of ours, to which we owe the lack of a dignified grouping of municipal and central buildings, to express the town's life and aspirations and to give its citizens a sense that there is something good in their association together as citizens, and something to be proud of in their citizenship of this particular town. Cardiff may serve as an illustration. It differs in this from other towns. It has a very fine civic centre, spacious, well laid out, with beautiful and generous buildings, made pleasant with trees, flowers, sculpture, and green grass, and, above all, kept clean. The reason for this difference from other towns is to be found in another

difference. During the years of Cardiff's growth into a great city all the land was in one ownership. The successive owners, the Lords of Bute, were no doubt not much more enlightened than the rest of mankind. But the fact of their single ownership enabled the city to develop its centre on a single plan, free from the clash and drag of many warring interests; and so Cardiff is a fine town, perhaps our finest, because it had the good luck to have a fortuitous coherence in its affairs to remedy our native incoherence. Planning was made easy for it.

Cardiff suggests a day-dream. The cities of medieval Italy were often so torn by faction that life therein was no longer worth living, and a desperate remedy had to be sought. A city in such case would choose a governor, a *podestd,* who had no interest in any of the factions and was commonly a stranger to the city. For the sake of peace and quiet all the factions swore obedience to his orders, and while they kept their vows life in the city was worth living again.

Warring interests and jealousies, such as those which arise between local and central authorities, paralyse planning and development. They do not make town life intolerable, but they make it not nearly so well worth living as it might be. One dreams of a golden age when each town would have a *podestd* for planning and development to whom all would swear obedience. The town would delegate by common consent to their *podestd* for planning and development all powers that could and should be exercised by the city, and, on their own account, powers equal to those exercised by the ministry in Whitehall, He would be for the town in all matters of planning and development both town council, as it were, and the minister, but he would be the minister localized, near at hand, and serving the town alone. As long as the citizens kept their vows to their *podesta,* how the town would advance! But I suppose it would need an amount of self-restraint and fidelity which can be found only in dreamland.

After these thoughts, which have come to us on the steps of the grand chromium cinema which is now the shrine of the Spirit of Muddleford, let us go on with our walk. Soon it takes us through the slums. This is the district of wage-earners' houses that was the first gift to Muddleford of the Industrial Revolution, varied here and there with a few ruinous dwellings which remain from the eighteenth and even from the seventeenth century. These mean streets are true slums. They are not merely inconvenient,

monotonous, and ugly. Streets can be that without being slums. The Cromwell Road is not a slum. In this district the houses are not only ail that, but they are so bad that they are not fit to live in. They are built back to back, in over-narrow streets and courts. They have no gardens or drying-yards. They have no water laid on, and so no bathrooms or water-closets. A number of houses share a water-tap on a post in the open air and some earth closets at the end of the yard. Round the closets the earth is soaked with sewage. The rooms are too few, too small, and too low. The window panes are broken, the doors are off their hinges, the woodwork has been hacked away for firewood, the paint is gone, the roofs leak, and there are bugs and dry rot. Some of the most horrid dens are built against railway arches. Everybody knows that the district is an outrage against humanity, and as a matter of fact it would have been got rid of by now but for the German wars. But here it is, and it is not only in Muddleford. The Spirit of even that backward city must weep when she looks at it and thinks that in these houses may have been born sailors of the little ships, soldiers of the Eighth Army, or airmen of the Battle of Britain.

No doubt in course of time the slums which we have will go. It will be for future generations to realize that slums, like weeds in a garden, soon grow again after a good weeding, unless the gardener keeps his hoe ready for them. They are a big problem but a simple one, and will be solved before long. For this stage of our civilization a much more complicated problem awaits us in the next, and bigger, district just beyond the slums. This is the district of wage-earners' dwellings built in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is the largest and most populous part of the town. On the whole it is not insanitary or unhealthy; but its long, monotonous streets of dreary, ugly, little houses are hopelessly lacking in all the amenities which they should not and need not lack. They are stupidly laid out, stupidly built, and, above all, they are overcrowded. Not a tiro amongst town planners or architects but could now plan and build houses incomparably better. These houses are innumerable, and obsolete. They are the legacy of stupidity in the past.

That past has left us a troublesome inheritance indeed in remedying its mistakes. It has left our towns with these great cores of badly planned, badly designed, and overcrowded wage-earners' dwellings, which are overcrowded because they are badly planned and designed. Fully to appreciate the nature and extent

of the problem we must walk on again through two districts which lie next beyond.

The very next district is the factory area. We will try not to think any more about the smoke, about which we have already had our rueful thoughts. We will cast no more than a look at the heaps of slag, cinders, and rubbish, the unkempt and unclean look of the majority of the buildings, the horrid patches of waste land, and the general look of dirt and untidiness; and we will do no more than remind ourselves that there is no reason why a factory-area should look like the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and the muddy circle in the Inferno, and the black desert of Gobi. Good examples have been given that factories can be made to look bright and decent, in green and seemly settings, and that furnaces need not prevent it. There are Port Sunlight, Bournville, and even the Bath Road. In most cases it needs only goodwill on the part of the management and the local authority to enforce tidiness. Widnes and Runcorn and such chemical cities, and the homes of the blast furnaces, where grass will not grow, these are harder nuts to crack: but even there much can be done at reasonable cost by mere tidiness and cleanliness.

After that look round, what we have to note, as a part of Muddleford's general problem, is that this factory area is next the area of wage-earners' houses. They must live near their work. If they do not it is bad for them, in loss of leisure and energy, and bad for the industry, in the cost of transport. When we have noticed that, let us walk on through the next district. What a change! This is the Town Council's pet housing estate, newly developed on the outskirts of the town. It does Muddleford great credit. Pretty, convenient little houses in pretty little gardens are well grouped about pretty little centres, with a few shops and a good inn, an institute and a cinema. All is as it should be, and the district is spreading fast into the country, on a good plan. Obviously the city fathers are putting any amount of energy into it.

Now we can fit together the parts of the town's problem. It has a few remaining slums. It has a very large central area of obsolete and congested wage-earners' dwellings. It has a fine modern housing estate, much smaller than the obsolete congested area, and growing away from the factories, so that it grows less convenient for its inhabitants. It is devoting all its energies to the extension of the nice new housing estate on the outskirts, and doing nothing about the obsolete and congested central area.

There is a pillar-box by the wayside. Let us take him for the chairman of the Housing Committee, and address him, saying:

'Chairman! this will not do. It is easy to develop your nice new housing estate. It has an imposing effect, and it gratifies you to see it growing, and to show it to others. But yours is the primrose path. You are not facing your difficulty. You should be grappling with your bad central area, where your difficulties are so much greater, because you have not a free field, as you have in the new estate, where you have to clear as well as cure, and where the need is so much greater, because people must live near their work. *Sursutn corda,* and to your task!'

The pillar-box whines a little, and asks what it can do. Land in the central area is so dear. It is so expensive to clear. How can it rehouse all the overcrowded population decently on the same inadequate space? Where are people to live during the building? And anyhow, people do hate to be disturbed.

We need not waste time on a pillar-box, so we answer it shortly.

'Because the value of the sites is big and clearance costly, and because you have so many to rehouse to the acre, you will have to build flats. It is no good kicking and saying that small houses are the best. The best is often the enemy of the better. In large towns, with the irresistible economic forces which attract people to gravitate towards the industrial centre, it is impossible without blocks of flats to solve the problem of the reform of the obsolete congested cores. Blocks of flats, not more than five stories high, can now be built economically to provide pleasant, healthy homes. They can be convenient, roomy, airy, quiet, light, dry, warm, or cool, and with easy access to playgrounds and the street. Some prefer them. Some are prejudiced against them. The prejudice is largely caused by experience of ill-designed early blocks, dating from the Peabody age. It will pine and die with experience of good modern blocks. You will, of course, have to provide 'decanter* homes for a part of the displaced people during re-building; and you will have to harden your heart a little against recalcitrants, both landlords and tenants. It is worth the effort. Without action, your obsolete areas will in time become slums.

'So to it, good pillar-box! Turn some of your energies from your easy work on the new estate to the harder and more necessary work that awaits you in the mean streets.'

Our walk is over; we need not plod along the bungalow ribbon that again stretches before us out into the country.

Poor pillar-box, who is responsible for so much that is amiss, and who is by no means a *podestd* with power to put it right. What makes one sorriest for him is to know that so many of us

who lecture him about his duties give him conflicting advice. Even now some other wayfarer may be addressing him thus:

'Away with your few slums, of course; but never mind about your obsolete and congested old central areas. Garden suburbs and satellite towns are the thing! Build them as fast as you can, and you need pay no attention to those central areas. They will empty of themselves, as people move out to the garden suburbs and the satellite towns; and then you can turn them quite cheaply into parks.*

Is that other wayfarer right, or were we right when we told the pillar-box that there are strong forces in our economy which make wage-earners gravitate towards the centre of industrial towns? To be near their work and so save fares and time is a chief reason, but there are others. There is convenience; they like to be near the club and the pub, the pictures and shops, and to have a choice of them. There is sociability. Women, in particular, like lots of friends, and of neighbours whether friend or foe. They live on the bustle of well-filled streets, and are unhappy in the comparative seclusion of a well-spread housing estate. There is tradition: 'We are Camberwell people, and we aren't going abroad to Dagenham.'

I think then that we were right in saying that he ought to attend first and foremost to the obsolete core of his town. More accommodation in the outskirts and in satellites will never relieve overcrowding in the inner areas of our large and long-established towns. The only way to improve matters there is to redesign and rebuild them so as to enable those areas to house a larger population than they house now, under good conditions. The new and better conditions must, of course, be protected by a legal standard as to the amount of space to be required for each person, and by prohibition of overcrowding, as provided by the Housing Act of 1936. Without that protection the improved areas would at once start on the downward path that leads through congested area to slum.

When the obsolete cores have been put right, and to put them right is so big a task that it will need a concentration of money and mind for years, after that the more of the nice new housing estates the better. Satellite towns are a questionable idea. If the phrase means anything, 'satellite' means development in little new towns near the big old towns; and 'towns' mean real towns, each with its establishment of capital equipment for the conduct of industry and the enjoyment of the amenities of life. The little

new town is not to be grafted so to speak on to the stock of an old town. It is to be an autarky. If it is not, it is not a town, but a suburb. Understanding thus what is meant by a satellite town I am afraid that we understand too that it is a visionary project. The capital cost of starting new autarkic towns must be prohibitive in comparison with the cost of adding suburbs to existing towns. The hard fact is that geography and history have decided where our towns are to be; and we cannot now dispute their decision.

We cannot dispute that decision; but we can dispute the decision of our predecessors that it is not worth while to make our towns beautiful as well as sanitary. Beauty no doubt we can achieve by slow degrees only. It is probably best sought by indirect methods. When we say 'Let us have something beautiful', we bring forth St. Pancras Station. We had better say: 'Let us plan, and prevent higgledy-piggledy. Let us relate material and design closely to use. Let us do without mechanical ornament.' If we say that, we shall very likely find that we are producing beauty indirectly, as a by-product. Perhaps the most practical step of all would be to say 'Let us be tidy'. Tidiness is the first thing our towns need; and to tidy them up is the first, best, and easiest thing to do for them.

XXII

RECREATION AND GAMES

By I. j. PITMAN

HOWEVER much we may dislike the word because of other associations, we must begin with, if not change our title to, the word 'Sport'. 'Recreation' will not do, because we cannot helpfully include recreations such as play-going or reading poetry in the same classification with football and shooting. The word 'Games' will not do either, because obviously rat-catching and ferreting, along with the more formal fox-hunting and pheasant-shooting, are as important a part of the heritage of British sport as even association football or cricket. We must have three sub-classifications for any intelligent analysis—recreation, games, and sport—and the greatest of these is sport.

Indeed, a consideration of which activities—more vigorous or less vigorous, dangerous or relatively safe—may from time to time be accepted into the symposium of English sport can be one of the revealing approaches to an understanding of English character; for not only does such an activity give a 'free behaviour' insight into the standards of value of those who originally were moved to indulge in it, but reciprocally, the effects of British sport in developing and maintaining English character are important considerations in understanding English social history. Archery, bear-baiting, skating, the jousts of chivalry, the maypole and country-dances, mountaineering and big-game hunting, tying a jumping cracker to the coat-tail of some pompous or even kindly fellow human—they would all satisfy an Englishman's subliminal longing for action and his general sense of values, leading him to think that such action afforded a worth-while outlet for his superfluous human energy. Moreover, this psychological approval operates for spectators as much as for those actively engaged; even passive bystanders identify themselves with the protagonists, and—with parallel respect for fair play and the traditions about which we are inquiring—will take 'recreation' in 'sport'. In fact every Englishman, an active participant at one sport, a spectator at another, is a potential sportsman, and will proclaim with un-

challengeable conviction the philosophy of the man in country and in town: ''Tis good fun for them that likes it, and good luck to them, 'cos I do like to see a bit of sport!'

What have archery and skating (and the other activities more marginal as sports than cricket and football) in common, which entitles them certainly to be included in the honourable symposium? And what factors are there in the card games patience (even that exciting, competitive patience—racing demon) and bridge, in crossword puzzles, in waltzing, and in chess which make them with equal certainty inadmissible as sports? What is the common factor in English sport?

It is not a factor of danger: archery and croquet can be as safe as jousting, rock-climbing and ski-jumping can be dangerous. It is not a factor of utility: badger-digging is often as useless as ferreting is expected to be profitable. It is not a factor of social contacts: big-game hunting can be as lonely and misogynistic as lawn-tennis can be social. It is not a factor of passing time with tangible evidence of achievement: a university football-match ending in a scoreless draw can, in its result, be as lacking in achievement as a record-breaking grouse-drive can be full of tangible evidence of success. What characters are there which may be analysed and found common to all? And if there are one or more common factors, in what way do they reflect English character and in turn maintain it?

It seems arguable that at least one common factor is the desire to exert to the maximum both muscle and nerve; to exercise direct judgements in action (as distinct from the exercise of the intellect through the verbal thought-processes); to develop the instinctive reactions in response to the five senses, in preference to the slower processes of the higher mind; to prefer skill to cleverness; and, in consequence, deliberately to court the difficult, and to impose the most rigorous self-limitations which the situation will allow. This self-limitation, it is submitted, engenders towards competitor (or victim!) a forbearance and a sympathy which, under the title 'sense of fair play', affects the community in the 99 per cent, of its time which is not spent in sporting activities, as well as compelling it inevitably in the one per cent, of its time which is spent in active sport.

In the Centre Court at Wimbledon the perfection of timing, the precision of skill, and the exactitude of angle, both in direction and in depth, which combine to produce a forehand winner, is

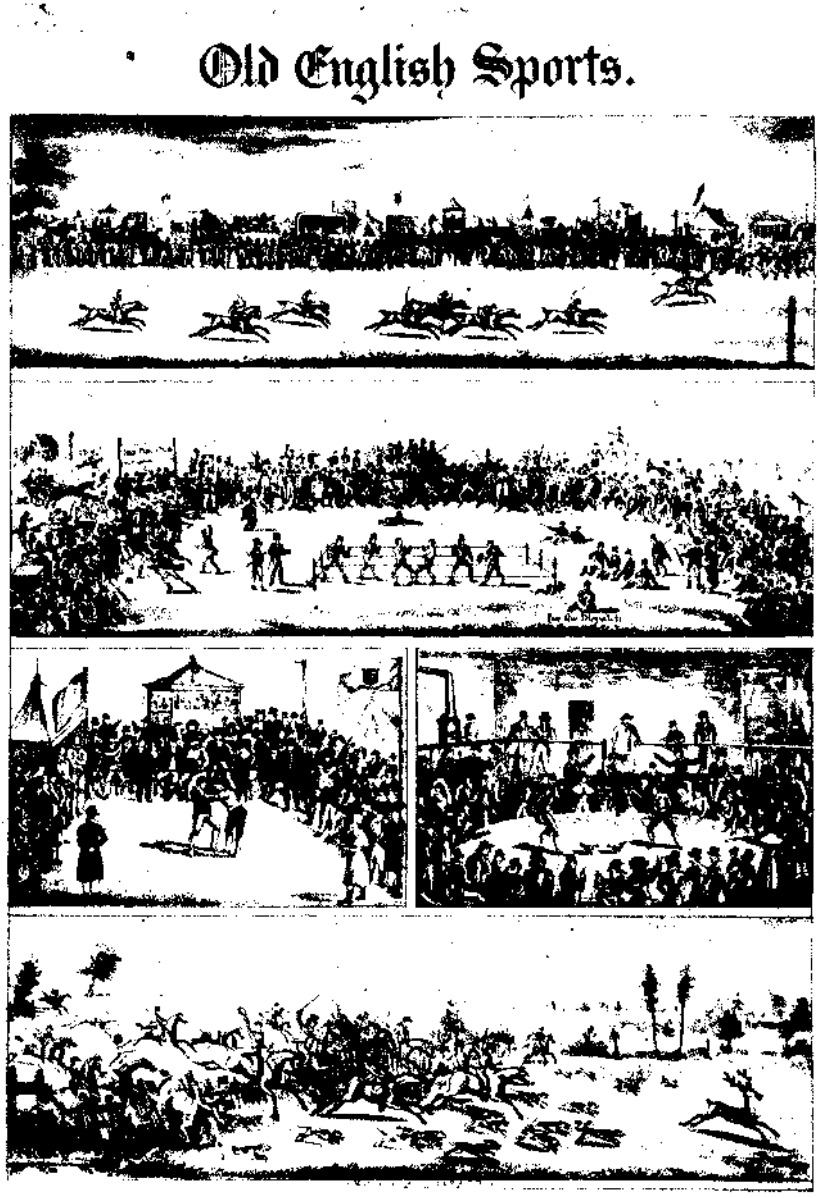
an accomplishment of human nerves and muscles which, in its delicate precision with crude tools, transcends intellectual comprehension. Furthermore, the judgement which perceives the many possibilities, selects the best, and directs the action, must be formed—just as the action is taken—in a flash of a second, and surpasses as greatly in speed as it differs in quality from a judgement of deliberate ratiocination.

Bridge and chess are clearly not instinctive muscular and nervous skills, and by this distinction—and perhaps only by this distinction—can we understand their inadmissibility as a British sport. Although each is a 'game', both are, like acrostics, an intellectual pastime only.

Billiards and croquet are shown by this consideration to be the border-line cases which all Englishmen instinctively know them to be. The need for high muscular and nervous skill is certainly there, but we feel that the deliberations by which nice points of tactics and even strategy may, *without urgency of time,* be considered and selected before action are not present in true sports, and that therefore these slow-moving skills are not satisfactorily admissible as sports.[1]

Suspicion of logic and *of a priori* reasoning, and respect for the intuitive guidance of the conscience and the mind acting through experience, are both strongly developed English traits. This attitude of mind was probably in origin a product of medieval Christendom: certain it is that at all times Englishmen have distrusted planning and respected action, have feared analysis and been delighted with achievement. To this day not only every boy, but every parent and every friend, would prefer—and fortunately evidence shows that the two need not be exclusive—a school career to end as Captain of Games than as Captain of the School. Here again English pragmatism has been observant and not far wrong. *Mens sana in corpore sano* is the rule, not disproved by the exception, and a potential father-in-law, in his judgement on a suitor for his daughter's hand, is better advised to seek assessment from those with whom the young man has played games or been shooting than from those who have examined him for his School Certificate or Final Schools. The flash-second reflex actions, even of

[1] **Golf is claimed by every true Scot as a Scottish, and not an English, sport. Let Scotland have it! Like croquet, it is a slow-moving skill, in which 'canniness' plays a part which your true Englishman finds pleasure in spurning. While your Englishman prefers to drive valiantly over hazards, your Scot delights in the short, cunning game round them.**



A NEWSPAPER POSTER: PROBABLY OF THE EIGHTEEN-TWENTIES


BANQUET
HELD ON
MONDAY, JUNE 24TH, 1895, at the VICTORIA ROOMS, CLIFTON,
TO
MR W. G. GRACE
in Celebration of his
ONE HUNDREDTH "CENTURY."
Completed on GLOUCESTERSHIRE COUNTY GROUND in match
SOMERSETSHIRE v GLOUCESTERSHIRE,
on FRIDAY MAY 17TH 1895.
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT, K.G.,
President

guaranteed*, yet in practice concedes the 'other-respecting* limitations which are implied in team-work. The customer is always right, and every man has accordingly the right to prefer and swear by big-game hunting, or table-tennis, as against association football, or rowing, or, indeed, to prefer any sport he likes. Individual preferences are paramount, and are entitled to that unreserved respect which the complete liberty of the individual implies. Yet doubles will keep creeping into tennis, relay races into running, and combined figures or dancing into skating. The respect and admiration for the prowess of a partner or of fellow-players in a team is a source of delight which the happiest moments of family life alone can equal. An eight going perfectly on the tide-way, English figure-skating perfectly called and executed with precision and timing, the reverse pass with which a stand-off-half sends his centre-three-quarter racing for a clearly certain try, carry a satisfaction in corporate human relationships which can be felt but not described. Team-work, the delegation to another of a responsibility on the faithful performance of which the welfare of the whole team depends, which carries also with it the obligation of fullest possible support which must stop short, nevertheless, at a poaching interference, is a lesson which begins to be learnt in the English nursery from the day when an elder boy or girl first says, 'Let's pick up sides!'

It is arguable that the two-party system of English political life is the product of 'Let's pick up sides'; and even the horse-shoe-shaped council chambers of the County Hall, London, or the Municipal Buildings of Birmingham are, in practice, as two-party as the chambers of the Houses of Parliament, both Lords and Commons, are two-sided.

In any case, other-respecting individualism and individual-respecting collectivism are the *sine qua non* both of team games and of majority government. Sport is an activity more universal in England than government, and it is therefore more probable that sport has developed and maintained these two traits for the benefit of government than vice versa.

Anyhow, sport seems to have flowered earlier, to have developed longer, and to have reached a stage of influencing a greater percentage of men, women, and children in England than in any other country. It seems also to have been enthusiastically adopted as something indigenous in England's colonies, and to have flourished to an equal stage in a former English colony (the United

States of America) and in the self-governing Dominions which have equally with America developed from colonial administration to tolerant, yet effective, democratic self-government. It is more probable, therefore, that both sport and government by consent—so called (and so being in practice, notwithstanding the strongly held contrary views of the minority on particular issues)—are related products of English character.

The way in which the minority sits down cheerfully and willingly under the majority, and in which the majority willingly moderates its power and respects the natural rights of the minority, requires a peculiar blend of character which seems to be absent from men of countries other than those who have inherited and continued the English variety of representative government. If these traits of character are thus peculiarly English, whence do they arise? It is at least a credible answer to say that they spring from the same source from which has come the spirit of playing the game with both partner and adversary. It is also possible to name the common source. Surely it is to English mothers, to their teaching and example, that this blessed tolerance is due. After all, the mothers of England—not many thousands of women in any one generation in the thinly populated England of earlier days—believed and lived the Christianity of a relatively more secure and fertile outpost of western civilization, and they brought up their sons and daughters to an objectivity tempered by a common-sense regard for practical realities, to team-work tempered by individualism, and to tolerance tempered by a sense of duty; all of which is presumably that middle territory in which lies the truth of happy and effective life for a community.

Horse-racing, the sport of kings and the king of sports, presents just that difficulty to tidy analysis which is desirable—otherwise English sport would be what English character is not: something explicable and consistent in all its manifestations. In its origins horse-racing came perfectly within the layout of our analysis. Charles II and his friends on Newmarket Heath found expression and delight in the exercise of skill, endurance, fitness, and nerve. It was the sport of the participator more than of the spectator, and it is true that in both senses the sport was the sport of kings.

Now, however, except for riders in and organizers of point-to-point races, who are amateurs, and except for all the riders in a very few special flat races, and a very few riders in steeple-

chases and hurdle races, the training, riding, and organizing of race meetings is exclusively the day-to-day paid work of those doing nothing else, and the sport has become one of 'spectating' rather than of participating. Similarly, whippet racing, the sport of coal-miners, has, by indirect lineage, produced the spectating sport of greyhound race-tracks.

In both these cases we are brought up against that most intractable aspect in an analysis of British sport—betting. Betting is a factor, cutting to a lesser or greater extent across all sports, which introduces great difficulty in satisfactory analysis and explanation. Betting on the result of some sporting event is clearly a separate issue from the sport of the event itself. There is a small but significant number of spectators at horse-race meetings (if not at greyhound-race meetings) who habitually do not bet, and yet enjoy the spectacle and appreciate the competitive atmosphere. At the other extreme is the man or woman who may never have seen a race meeting or even a race-horse, but who studies the form, in the 'form-books', and the entries and latest information in the racing columns of the newspapers, and has his or her 'bit of sport' through betting. English public opinion would, however, be of one mind in asserting that a similar judgement on the results of the efforts of wheat growers, 'backed' through a Produce Exchange, and not through a book-maker, could not be regarded as a bit of sport: they are, moreover, tacitly united *in* their conviction that their 'bookie' is a fellow sportsman.

The issue of betting by the non-spectator is clearly not an easy one and not to be side-stepped. Is betting really part of British sport? Half a crown on the result of the university boat-race offered and taken, even in the Sudan, by a partisan Oxonian and Cantab would seem as clearly admissible a piece of English sport as the instantaneously wagered 'tanner' between two Yorkshiremen (at a 'needle' league cricket match) when a high catch goes to 'deep field' standing in front of them.

We may thus concede that betting is part of English sport when based on the result of some event sporting in itself, notwithstanding that it may be *in absentia*, and may, in addition, be the result, not of an impulse, but of a cool judgement taken after prolonged study. The essence of the sporting factor in betting is that there shall be a clear sporting interest in the result on which the bet hangs.

By this standard the betting of a stay-at-home punter, who,

in ignorance and idleness of selection, backs all the favourites at a certain race meeting on an 'accumulator*, is not a participation in a sporting activity, but the action of a man merely out to make money and to have the excitement of a gamble in trying to do so. By comparison, the man who, having meticulously studied the trend of consumption of linseed oil, and the stocks and output of linseed and of sources of alternative oil, hazards his money in support of his judgement appears as a true sportsman, as well as one who performs a valuable social service by improving the certainty of the future in the planning of production and consumption. It is only because of the presumed magnitude of the 'bet', and because the interest is in an event which is itself not sporting, that the 'investment' cannot be regarded as sporting.

Here, therefore, the moderation and sanity of judgement of Englishmen again is shown asserting itself. If betting is done with the spirit of sport, then it is itself a branch of it.

If, as some suspect, the greyhound race-tracks would become unattended if betting ceased, then betting is the tail that wags the greyhound, and that is all wrong. If, as all who know the coal-miner well will assure you, whippet-racing would continue to be conducted and to be well attended, even if bets were not laid, then it's all right—betting is good sport; but in every case, with the mental reservation that a man who is a true 'sport' will be, like any true Englishman, moderate in all things—he will not let the money-making and losing aspect get out of proportion, and he will keep his bets to a scale where the losses are not such as to disturb a rational expenditure.

The mention of whippet-racing, along with horse-racing, introduces two further considerations—the way in which the Englishman delights in the prowess of animals, and the way in which sport flourishes at all levels of English social life, and is never really a factor in division by class habits, but usually the generator of a classless confraternity.

All Englishmen love sport, but polo and grouse-driving on the one hand, and whippet-racing and horse-shoe pitching on the other, seem to be in practice as class-dividing as rabbit-shooting and race-going tend to be class-merging.

All the sports in which animals are the protagonists, either as racers or as hunters of other animals, are based on the Englishman's love of his domestic animals and of his pride in their prowess. The man who has bred and owns a fine racing pigeon, the man

who has brought up a whippet from a puppy, even the man who has brushed out the stable for a horse, are all one at heart with Charles II on Newmarket Heath. Betting just does not enter into the story as a primary; the only primary is faith in the speed, endurance, courage, and often intelligence of a friend of man, and in a vigorous but other-respecting combativeness that seeks outlet in a match.

The Englishman's delight in the prowess of animals reaches a zenith of apparent incomprehensibility, however, when there are two animals, one of which is also the intended victim. It is easy to understand the owner-rider's pride and love of a fine horse, or of a fine greyhound, and his rightful title to describe himself as a lover of animals, but how can we reconcile his action when he mounts that horse, or unleashes that greyhound, to chase a fox or a hare ? It may not be an answer, and scarcely even a feeble excuse, to point out that he genuinely delights in the prowess and vitality of the fox in outrunning or outwitting its pursuers. Just as the pheasant has his natural right to sneak or even strut by unmolested on foot, and just as that pheasant, if he keeps to the ground and appears to be a fine and crafty bird, will give the shooter more joy in his earned indemnity than will be given by the neat dispatch of some high and curly rocketer; so, in the same way, the fox-hunter will often stand quiet to watch a clever fox lay a false line for the hounds rather than open his mouth and help the baffled huntsman.

Killing game for the larder, or vermin for good husbandry, is not in itself wrong or incompatible with a love of open air, of the fields and countryside, and of the animals who share it. There is thus a great difference of purpose between fox-hunting *in* the dingles of Wales or the fells of Cumberland (where it is wholly vermin killing) and fox-hunting with the smart Midland packs, just as there is between shooting grouse and shooting reared pheasants. The difference is one of formality, just as it is in football or in racing; the village football and the point-to-point are informal and a natural ebullience from Englishmen in that situation, whereas the Cup Final and the Derby are the quintessence which organization alone can procure. Neither the league match in the First Division at Stamford Bridge nor the meet of the Beaufort at Swallets Gate is out of sympathy with English character merely because formality has been necessary to produce these outstanding manifestations in their respective lines of English sport.

Perhaps, however, the best line to take is merely to state that love of animals lies very close to English sport, that from the earliest times Englishmen have combined the apparent contradiction of 'the chase' with a general interest and affection for all God's creatures who share this 'other Eden, demi-Paradise' with 'this happy breed of men*.

Green grass may well have a psychological effect on men and women in producing a desire to disport themselves. There are some who say that we owe our sport to the earthworm and the climate. At any rate, sport is very general through all classes. The class divisions are economic, not intrinsic. Polo, ski-ing, deer-stalking are not as widely accessible as pigeon-racing, darts, and ferreting, and it is not lack of common interest but only of opportunity which makes for segregation of classes. If further confirmation were needed, those who rear pheasants will assert that geographical propinquity alone is all the accessibility that a poacher requires, and that every Englishman is at heart a poacher, with the exception only of the man who has paid for rearing those particular pheasants!

The way in which police magistrates, beneficial owners, and poachers work out their mutual relationships is another very revealing window to the character of the English and its link-up with their psychology as sportsmen. Perhaps 'hedge-peeping' is a less emotional and therefore more satisfactory instance. Watch the young boys who clearly cannot afford the entrance fee as authorized spectators of the visit of an Australian cricket XI to some county cricket ground. There is that admirable tacit respect for the rights of property which is common to all Englishmen. None sees any cause for comment that the management have placed screens to obstruct the view of hedge-peepers, or even that they have placed jagged ends of broken bottles or a liberal coating of tacky tar along the tops of those walls which afford the easiest and best views, because, after all, private property and the need to finance county cricket and visiting Imperial cricket are unequivocally and immediately conceded as highly deserving. Nevertheless, because it's sport, those boys have sympathy and support from the crowd (and would have them from the magistrates). They (and the sacking or old blankets they bring to protect themselves from the jagged glass) will disappear with a grin and a flourish whenever the crowd warns them of the approach of a policeman, who may allow to appear the even broader grin which

he most certainly feels inside. They will reappear again, smiling, as soon as a joyously conspiring crowd can announce the departure of the Nelson-eyed policeman.

The English respect for property and the Englishman's sense of sport have come in head-on conflict. The courts dismiss the case or award only nominal fines where sport is at issue. However, let the same young spectator appear in the dock on a charge of taking a packet of five Woodbine cigarettes from a tobacconist, or the poacher for taking a young pullet, and the story is altogether different, because the issue of property is not counterbalanced by the opposing issue of sport. In the poaching case there may have been fifty pheasants taken, and each pheasant may have cost as much to rear as the pullet, but look how easy and unsporting it is to take a pullet, and how difficult and sporting it is to poach even one pheasant. Harvesting wild birds in daylight with the help of the keeper and beaters is a matter of some skill—to do the same at night in silence, and with the active opposition of the keeper, and of whatever guinea-fowl and dogs the keeper may use to assist him, is indeed a matter of great technical achievement. The removal and sale of the game has recently been made too easy by the speed of motor transport, and the spirit of the game outraged by the supplanting of the local man as the poacher by itinerant 'professionals' from the towns, who do it primarily for the money.

Generally speaking, however, the Englishman regards the poacher as a sportsman, and generally he is a sportsman. If it is contended that this development is one of modern thinking only, and that the old game laws show how differently Englishmen thought once, it ought to be sufficient to answer that in the first place the law and its administration was then only in step with the harshness of administration and penalties for other violations of property current in those days, and secondly that even in those days there must have been struck, appropriate for that time, the balance between respect for property on the one hand and tolerance towards a fellow sportsman, and for his prowess, on the other. At any rate there must have been some general mitigating factor for the squire to enjoy, as he did, locally and generally, through several centuries, the reputation of being the first gentleman and sportsman of his community. Surely we may conclude that some factors such as human sympathy, based on respect for common enthusiasms, must have been at work mollifying the rigour of the

law in practice. As ever, it is the bad cases which make the headlines, while the thousands of good ones never even reach the reporters' ears, much less the pages of history. Whether in hedge-peeping or poaching, there will always be a working compromise for Englishmen over this clash between diametrically opposed and deeply rooted factors of English character—respect for the property of others and a love of sport and adventure. The continuance of restrictive practices (game laws and the law of trespass, or spikes, broken glass, and screens obstructing the view) will always be tolerated. The Englishman knows that if all and sundry are to be free to go tramping over grouse moors, it will not be long before the sport is valueless even for the poachers, and that if all and sundry are able to steal a seat at football and cricket matches, it will not be long before first-class matches cease to be played. The restrictions will, therefore, no doubt continue, because they are at once an assurance of the quality of sport in England, and an expression of, and a tribute to, the Englishman's good sense in the field of compromise.

The value of international sport as a cementer of friendship between nations is second only to education as a subject on which men talk with their hearts—and very woolly hearts at that—and not with their heads. The very essence of sport is that it shall be an activity primarily directed to satisfy the participator, and give *him* and his playmates pleasure. To consider it as a means of adding prestige to the nation to which the participator belongs is to misunderstand, and, inevitably, to thwart, the true purpose. Ten minutes of hopscotch or of cricket against a lamp-post is (apart from the danger from and to traffic) worth all the international meetings ever staged in any sport. The Nazi (and Fascist) conception of sport is wholly alien to the English conception, whether looked at on the plane of individual or of international participation. A privilege to enjoy himself for an Englishman becomes only too often a duty to train himself for a German; an opportunity for an Englishman of enjoyment in the highest possible flights of skilled achievement becomes, for the spectator, if not also sometimes for the participant, a tussle, if not a battle, involving the prestige of his nation. The original attitude of the English (and the proper attitude) to sport is that it is a bit of fun —something not a bit important. Your work, your Sunday worship, your obligations to your family, all come first, and sport can have only part of what is left over. The Englishman's mental

reservations about the wholetime professional and the 'shamateur' are just simply that he knows that the 'pro' and the sham amateur have got their priorities out of order, and furthermore, that he suspects that temptation to slide away from the ideals of 'playing the game' will press more strongly on someone who owes his livelihood to his continuing success, and on someone who has allowed himself (with or without contracts with firms selling sporting or other equipment) to profess one specialized sport as his main day-to-day activity. A university blue and an international cap are admittedly by no means a handicap in a scholastic, or even a business, life, but then at any rate they will have become *post hoc,* and be no longer *propter hoc.*

It must be admitted that a Steve Donoghue and a Jack Hobbs are paid; but they are so secure in the permanence of their excellence and employment, and so crystal-clear in their characters, that fears of faulty priorities or of compromised ideals do not even arise. The English public are no fools. Just as they could sum up as no sportsman the crack German 'amateur' skier who, as the apple of the eye of Baldur von Schirach, was under intense training and pressure for the purpose of adding to the lustre of the Greater Reich, so they know well enough when privileged, financed, or even paid excellence at sport is somehow still the real thing. They know, too, when an international meeting is in sympathy with the true conception of sport. There is nothing they like more than a Calcutta Cup match at Twickenham when no one, not even the players, really cares whether Scotland or England wins, and when the issue of 'cementing' friendly relations does not arise. They enjoy a test match against Australia, but many are uneasy, nevertheless, lest Bernard Shaw may not have been right after all in saying that if the British Empire can survive test matches, it can stand anything! I believe the English actively dislike Olympic Games; that—notwithstanding great stimulative propaganda by the popular press (which is necessarily benefited by frequent representative and, if possible, prestige-carrying contests)—they may be in large measure uneasy at heart when London comes to be chosen as the venue for the next Olympic Games; and that there may be difficulty in raising the great sums which competitive internationalism involves for full participation.

II

We must not, in our sympathy for English sport, overlook games and recreations. There seems little, however, in which English character has been influenced by games and recreations in which it has not similarly, and to a greater degree, been influenced by sport. Recreations and recreative games (to distinguish them from sporting games) fall into two main classes: those which require organization and bring out team-work, and those which are entirely informal, whether social or not.

Choir singing is an example of such an organized recreation requiring team-work. It is not in Wales alone that skilful part-singing flourishes. In fact English madrigals probably created the vogue, and English singers certainly set a standard. Chamber music, too, has been a source of great enjoyment to English men and women. The brass bands of collieries and other industrial concerns are further examples of fine amateur effort in recreation. The sense of achievement of fine individual performances, which merge into perfectly co-ordinated total effect, gives in this field exactly the same satisfaction which is obtained in similar team-work in the field of athletics. Amateur theatricals are apparently conducted primarily for the enjoyment and experience of the actors, the pleasure of the spectators being regarded as only of secondary consideration. Charades and dumb crambo, since they start with those words dear to English children, 'Let's pick up sides', are as team-work more peculiarly English, if less frequent in occurrence, than are choirs, orchestras, and dramatics.

The public-house is second only to hearth and home as the most popular English indoor recreation. The inn, the pot-house, the 'local'; it is as social as gardening is perforce solitary. Naturally each complements the other, and many a gardener finishes his solitary outdoor recreation with the more social indoor variant. The 'pub' is a formal, more than an informal, recreation; the opening hours so peculiar to English life have at least the effect of ensuring a concerted attendance, and so a social event :* opening time is thus to the 'pub' what kick-off time is to football. The social event is the thing: darts, skittles, billiards—they are all secondaries. It is the play of personalities and the opportunity for hospitality to others—the outward and visible sign of friendly feelings which would otherwise spring up non-committally and

[1] **The shortage of beer in war-time was an added incentive to punctual attendance at opening time!**

become abortive—which draws men to their circle. That circle in England is probably more hospitable, more wide, and more open to change than are those in the cafés, saloons, and estaminets of other nations; its circle is like the octagon of the kaleidoscope: the smallest incident or interest acts like a tap on the side of the mirrors, and the groups break up and re-form into fresh groups with the speed and certainty of movement of the mirrored beads and clippings. The colour lies in tone of voice and dialect, and in the counterpoint of interruption; the brilliance lies in the gusto of fresh anecdote and fresh meeting. At another end greys and browns predominate, for a glass of English beer is a great help to one who 'just sits and thinks', and even to one who 'just sits'. An English 'pub' reflects English character no less than an English football side. Across the landlord's side of the counter, even through any doors between the parlour of the smoking-room and the bar, there is a sense of team spirit, a social unity which we may find it hard to believe will exist in any caf6. Moreover, individualism is uncurbed, except by some English sense of fitness, and the social unity develops, but does not cramp, the freedom and peculiarities of the constituent members. An Englishman in his 'local' is as free and unbound in spirit as the gulls on the cliffs of Dover; yet he feels that he counts as part of a bigger unity. English beer may be no longer what it was, but even so, it is not difficult to understand why the 'pub' remains the most popular of all English recreations.

Ball-room dancing, from those dances in the days of Beau Nash at Bath to the fox-trot, two-step, and palais glide of modern times, has played an important part in recreation and in social miscegenation. England, the home of freedom and moderation, has always afforded, and, indeed, deliberately organized, 'meetings' (as they were even called outright in the time of Beau Nash) at which man might meet girl, and the general circle of social acquaintance might be widened and broadened into friendship and often marriage. Social contact and the social contract of marriage has probably been easier and less stratified in classes in England, and in the English-speaking communities which have sprung from the common cradle, than in other communities. Dancing, marriage, and an ever-widening circle of friends have been an outcome as well as a factor in this sense of national confraternity.

Love of the open air and the open road are the twin secrets lying behind the popularity of most of the informal recreations.

Gardening is probably the most popular of all English recreations. The Englishman (envy as he may the climate of foreigners) has to concede that his climate is one in which gardening can be an all-the-year-round recreation to an extent which men of few other nations can claim. The joys of mild exercise, the warmth of effort well done, the peace of mind which comes from fresh air and from the company of Mother Nature, and from a climate which in itself is restful, all are very consistently at an English gardener's disposal. The love of flowers and the eye to the main chance of the brussels sprouts combine in happy compromise. At heart every Englishman is a gardener, just as at heart our England is a garden.

Rambles on foot, expeditions on a bicycle, and excursions by car, are but extensions of the early English pilgrimages. The factors of good company, good stories, fresh air, exercise, and semi-purposeful travel are as fresh to-day for the idealization of J. B. Priestley or H. V. Morton as they were for the party which set off from the Tabard Inn at Southwark, whose pilgrimage to Canterbury has been immortalized by Chaucer.

Finally, what of the sea and of the seaside of this England?

This royal throne of Kings, this sceptred isle . . .
This precious stone set in a silver sea?

King George IV at Brighton, and the rest of 'this happy breed of men', have found happiness and recreation on the sands, the rocks, the chalky downs, and, lately, the concreted and macadamized promenades of the sea-coast of England which 'serves it in the office of a wall, or as a moat defensive to a house'. Even when the barbed-wire entanglements, the minefields, the batteries of low- and high-angle guns and the stout English hearts behind them, have been sorely needed to keep out the 'envy of less happier lands': even when anxious times brought home to Englishmen the straight thinking of the words of William Shakespeare, the epitome of English character:

This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of War:

even then the seaside did not cease to attract Englishmen and their children for holiday and recreation.

The seaside is first in point of time, as well, no doubt, as in point of popularity, in the recreations which a family may take as a family. The unfailing delight of toddlers in tidal sand and water lures mummies, daddies, nannies, not to mention uncles and

cousins, to give and to share those joys. Later, the big sister to a succeeding toddler finds that the sands or the promenade are the modern equivalent of the 'Meetings' of Jane Austen. The honeymoon may take place at a hotel by, or in a holiday camp at, the seaside, and in a year or two the virtuous circle will have completed its beneficent revolution, and a new generation of toddlers will lure parents to the sea.

And since English mothers are no doubt the secret of all that has been good tempered, tolerant, and Christian in the character and behaviour of Englishmen, what happier ending could there be than to take our leave of that mother, happy—blissfully happy—on the beach, teaching her young son the rudiments of cricket and of life, of English life, by letting him do just what he wants to do—to hit that ball with the end of his spade?

XXIII

HOMES AND HABITS

By **JAMES LAVER**

THE English like to consider that they have a particular sentiment of 'home', a quasi-monopoly of the word itself. They love to point out that even peoples who use the same language employ this term in a different and somehow inadequate manner, as if unconscious of the deeper meanings which we read into it. Thus an American millionaire can be said by the press of his native country to have 'two (or even three) beautiful homes'. But if 'Home is where the heart is', this is obviously impossible. Several houses, yes; several homes, no. Therefore the Americans do not understand what we mean by home. As for the German *Heitn,* that belongs to a different order of sentiment, and the French *tnaison* and the Italian *casa* merely show that the benighted Latins have no word provided by their language for distinguishing a home from a house.

What then is a home, that we should take so much pride in it (in idea at least), and think ourselves unique in possessing it? Is it something we have had since the days of Hengist and Horsa, if not before, or is it an invention of the nineteenth century? Did our earliest ancestors—as we should like to think—feel about it as we do, or did it merely—a horrible thought this—come in with Prince Albert and the Christmas tree? We should at least inquire among the Anglo-Saxons to try to discover the truth about this disturbing question.

It seems fairly certain that when our Anglo-Saxon forbears, recently arrived on these shores, spoke of a home or a *hám* they were thinking of the whole establishment of the head of the family group; less, in fact, of a house than of what we should call a village. It has been surmised that the man who established his family residence on the site of what is now Birmingham was probably called by some such name as Beorm. Had he called the place merely after himself it would have been Beormes-ham, or Birmsham. The Anglo-Saxons had their patronymic form in *-ing,* and the whole group of our hero's dependents were the Beormings. Hence Beormingsham, the House of the Beormings, and hence, by corruption, the modern name. Whatever the philo-

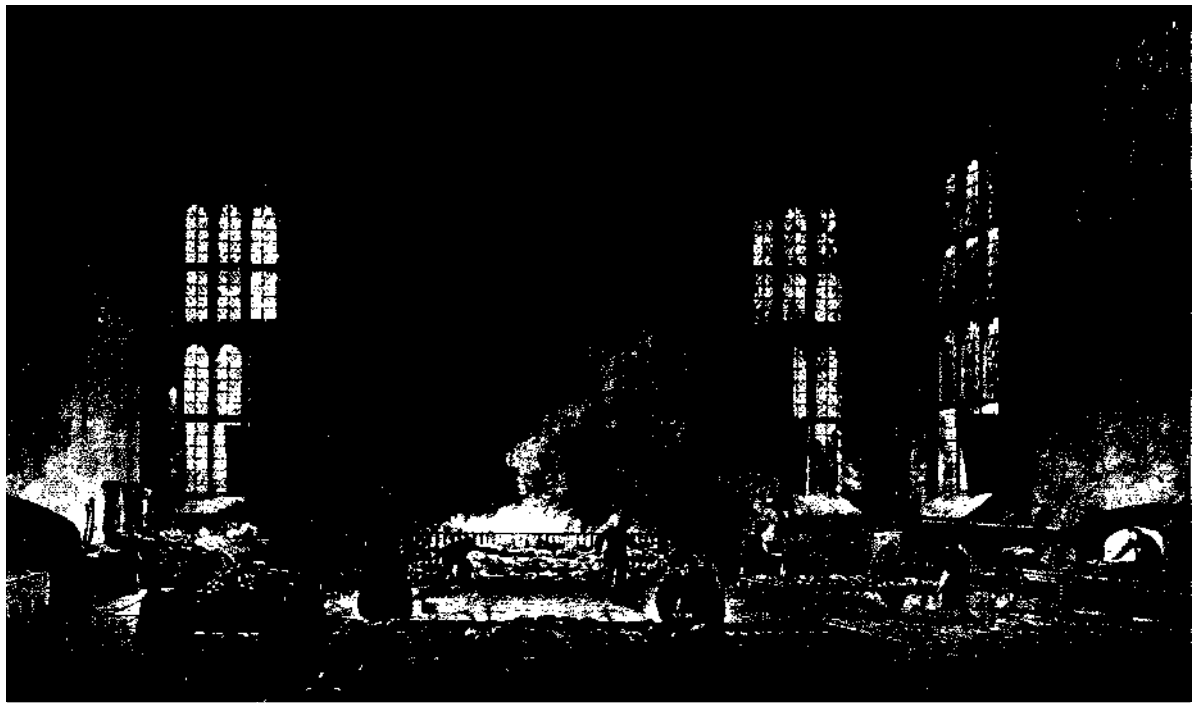
logical details, we may be fairly safe in assuming that when one of the original Beormings said he was going to his *hám,* he was not thinking of any particular structure of wattle and daub; he was thinking of the whole settlement. And if the whole settlement was on a very small scale it might even be given a diminutive and called a *hamlet* The idea of a home as the house occupied by one man and his wife and seven children (in the Victorian mode) or as a rabbit-hutch in a large block of flats, occupied by a man and his wife and no children at all, was an idea that had not yet dawned on the imperfect understanding of the Anglo-Saxons.

Among the huts which composed the *ham,* no doubt one was slightly larger and perhaps more ornate than the rest. Yet this, the abode of the head of the family, was at first no more complicated in structure. It consisted of a single room, a mere weather shelter to a people accustomed to live the greater part of their lives out of doors. Even cooking was done out of doors in these early times, and well into the Medieval period. But in winter, when the wind blew and the English climate was beginning to earn the reputation which has clung to it ever since, the chieftain and his *immediate* dependents must have been glad to huddle round a fire made inside the hut on the stamped earth of the floor. At such moments, in spite of the smoke in his eyes and the draught from the inadequately shuttered window (inconveniences which were not entirely got rid of a thousand years later) a man with his flaxen-haired wife beside him and the healthy, naked bodies of his children glowing in the firelight, might well have felt stirring within him something of the sentiment which was to find its final expression in the favourite ballad of Victorian England.

He had, indeed, the two essentials of a home; a wife and a fire. For 'what is home without a mother?' and who can doubt 'No fire, no foyer* ? The fire is easy enough to understand; the mention of central heating coincides with the decay of the home. But the position of woman in this matter of home-making is more complicated. Like almost everything connected with the nature of woman, it seems to repose upon a contradiction. For the home (in the larger or the narrow sense) depends on a patriarchal system. There is nothing comparable in primitive matriarchies; it belongs essentially to a world of Father-right. Yet in the home the mother's influence dominates, not only in the sentimental, but also in the evolutionary sense. The history of the home is the



THE HALL OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, SEEN FROM THE HIGH TABLE



THE KITCHEN OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD
Drawn by A. PUGIN/O^ *Ackermann's "History of the University of Oxford',* 1814

were the ldss important tables and at the far end of these any stranger was accommodated. Magnificent vessels of gold and silver decorated the high table, but of other table-furnishings there was little enough. Each man made use of his own knife, at least at first. Forks were unknown until the time of Elizabeth and even then were regarded as foreign and effeminate—an impious attempt to improve upon the work of the Almighty who had made the fingers of the left hand so supple and prehensile. The problem of washing up was largely solved by having no plates. Instead, a thick slice (a *tranche)* of bread was laid before each guest. On this the meat was placed and the gravy soaked down into the bread. The charitable, and the well-fed, took care to leave at least a little of this bread at the end of the meal. It was then scrambled for by the scullions and what they did not eat was given to the poor at the gate. Any pieces of meat not wanted, bones, and the like, were tossed to the dogs or simply flung upon the floor. This was usually strewn with rushes but these were not renewed as often as hygiene would have demanded. Table manners in general were undoubtedly very crude.

We have spoken of meat and bread and these no doubt formed the staple fare of Englishmen in the Middle Ages. Even the lower orders seem to have consumed far more meat than their equivalents on the Continent. Roasting was, of course, much practised, and an ox roasted whole was a recognized part of great feasts. It must, one thinks, have been usually roasted out of doors, although the very large fires of medieval kitchens would bring such a feat within the bounds of possibility even inside the house. Boiling was an even more usual method of preparing meat, and the huge cauldron (or kettle as it was called—from which we get our now meaningless phrase: a kettle of fish) was an essential part of every cook's equipment. Great quantities of salt beef were consumed, and this, of course, could only be cooked by boiling.

The medieval cook had quite an array of tools. As early as the second half of the twelfth century we find Alexander Neckham, in his *Liber de Utensilibus,* enumerating, in addition to pots with their trivets or tripods and their pot-sticks and pot-hooks, a mortar and pestle, a frying-pan, a gridiron, a posnet or saucepan, a saucer (that is, a vessel for mixing sauce), a hand-mill, a pepper-mill, and an instrument for producing bread-crumbs. He also mentions a special table for chopping and mixing herbs and

vegetables. It is plain that even at this remote period the culinary art was capable of many elaborations.

Elaboration rather than refinement. The meats were all heaped together and heavily drenched with sauces, spices, and even with perfumes. The main efforts of the cook seem to have been devoted to the decorative side, with more emphasis on the pleasure of the eye than of the palate. He loved to serve peacocks with their tail-feathers spread, herons and swans propped up to look as if they were alive. Indeed the taste of such birds can never, one feels, have been equal to the splendour of their appearance. 'Old swans', as Andrew Boorde tells us, 'be very difficult of digestion.' Sometimes dressed birds were contrived in such a way that other meats fell out of them when they were cut open, and the more incongruous the contents the better. But what the late medieval cook chiefly prided himself upon was his confectionery—huge erections in the shape of castles or ships, or fantastic animals, generally with some complimentary reference to the lord who was giving the feast or to his principal guests. These were brought into the hall with the utmost ceremony; indeed all the dishes were, the servers forming a procession in which their places were rigidly determined by custom and etiquette. This is the origin of the word *entrée* which has so curiously survived into modern usage.

These pomps were naturally confined to the houses of the aristocracy, but the burghers who grew wealthy towards the end of the medieval period, if they lacked something of knightly ceremony, certainly knew how to furnish their tables. In the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (which may be taken to reflect manners common to both England and France) we read of the widow of a merchant setting before a single guest a dinner consisting of soup, bacon, tripe, and a roasted ox-tongue, followed by a piece of salt beef and some choice mutton. As her guest (he was a monk) devoured all these she called for a ham, and when this had vanished, for cheese and a dish of tarts and apples. To our modern 'rationed' appetites this would seem to constitute a very handsome repast.

It was customary to wash before beginning a meal, and favoured guests had a ewer of water, a bowl, and a towel brought to them by two servants. Less important people were expected to wash before sitting down and for this purpose lavours or lavatories were provided sometimes in the hall itself, sometimes

outside. A few of these lavatories have survived in the cloisters of cathedrals. When the guests were seated the servants spread cloths over the tables, placed on them the salt-cellars and, in later times, the knives. Spoons were also provided when the nature of the food seemed to render them necessary.

One very curious feature of medieval table-manners is mentioned so often in the metrical romances that there can be little doubt of its being a universal custom. Guests were seated at the tables in pairs with only one plate between them out of which they were both expected to eat. Greed and good manners must often have been in conflict, for it was considered polite to push the best portions to the other person's side of the plate. The placing of guests must also have offered considerable opportunity for the exercise of tact by the lady of the house. The custom obviously implies the use of metal plates, and these were probably first used for sweetmeats and the like. The ordinary meat course was for long served, as already described, on slices of bread. Only very noble persons were provided with a flat platter of silver to put underneath them.

Carving, where such a bewildering variety of flesh and fowl was consumed, was a matter of some address and was not disdained even by those of high rank. The carver was provided with a large and excellent knife, sometimes broad enough to serve as a kind of slice, like our modern fish-slice. But he was given no fork and it was considered a mark of his skill and good breeding to touch the food as little as possible. The old *Boke of Kervyng* instructs the operator to 'set never on fyshe, flesche, beest, ne fowle, more than two fyngers and a thombe[5]. Even so he must often have burned them and wondered why nobody had yet invented that 'two pointed dagger' which was to make carving so much easier.

Medieval meals, partly because of the elaborate ceremonial in introducing the various dishes, and partly because of the number of guests who had to be fed, seem to have taken a very long time to consume and they were enormously prolonged by the drinking which followed when the trestle tables had been removed. Except for the very poor there was an immense amount of leisure, and the upper classes, except when they were actually fighting, were often hard put to it to occupy their time. One could not be riding, or hunting, or tilting all the time, and the long-drawn-out meals were welcomed as a distraction. So it was the practice, as often

as possible, to have minstrels or other entertainers to fielp to fill up the intervals and relieve the boredom of the company.

Cabaret entertainments, which the twentieth century was to regard as the height of modernity, are actually among the oldest institutions of mankind. The Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, all delighted in jugglers, acrobats, and girl-dancers, preferably unclothed. The Middle Ages had the Christian prejudice against nudity, but the same tricks and feats of agility are shown in medieval manuscripts as in the wall-paintings of Egypt, the figured vases of Greece, and the numerous representations which have come down to us of Roman amusements. Perhaps the singer with his harp begins even earlier; he certainly lasts almost as long.

He was the repository of the heroic traditions. It was his business to remind the host of the great deeds of the past, particularly if any of them had been performed by the lord's own forbears. His stock-in-trade was an excellent memory, some little skill with his instrument, and a willingness to flatter as well as to entertain his masters. It is curious to reflect that, for the upper classes, dining in the Middle Ages must have been more like dining at the 'Dorchester' than what we should think of as dining at home.

Then as the ales and the mead (and even the wine, at the high table) went round, spirits rose and the guests grew boisterous. Ribald jests were freely exchanged, but it is probable that it was not these which induced the ladies to withdraw when they saw that the men had drunk enough. The medieval *grande dame* was not to be frightened by a little plainness of speech; she was in the habit of indulging in it herself. What she feared was the riot, the actual fights, which frequently broke out and in which, as all the men carried at least one sharp weapon (their swords had been left at the door, as Chicago gangsters leave their guns before beginning a quiet game of poker) bloodshed was not infrequent. But where did the ladies retire to?

The bower, by the fourteenth century at least, had found its inevitable place. It was reached by a door near the high table, and was at first bedroom and sitting-room in one. As it was generally small it proved inconvenient to have a fire in the middle of the floor, as was for long the case of the hall. Accordingly the fire was made against one of the walls and a chimney built to accommodate it. It was not until the fifteenth century that the

hall followed suit. And that was the end of the hall, for as it was no longer necessary to have a *louvre,* or a hole in the roof through which the smoke could escape, it was possible to build the hall itself in two storeys. In other words it shrank to a dining-room.

The next step in the evolution of the chamber, as the bower was called after the Norman Conquest, was its division into an upper and a lower room. The lower room became the place for quiet talking—the parlour—and the upper room became the bedroom. The evolution of the house—and of the idea of the home—is essentially the transfer of emphasis from the public to the private rooms; the shrinking of the dining-room and the expansion of the parlour, until by the end of the eighteenth century it had become the most important room in the house.

Even before the chamber was separated from the bedroom it was the custom for ladies to receive their favoured visitors there. The chamber provided not only privacy but a higher standard of comfort, especially the fire-place in the wall which heated the whole room and at which it was possible to warm oneself without being roasted alive. It was in the chamber, too, that household furniture, in the modern sense, first began to make its appearance. True, the hall might have its *dressoir* and even its table dormant, or table which was not on trestles to be dismantled when the meal was over. But the chamber had its 'tester* bed, its inevitable chest across the foot of the bed (the chest in which all the household valuables were kept) and later its cupboard. Chests of drawers were still uninvented.

But this, it will be said, was still a bedroom and its furniture typical bedroom furniture. What we have been describing is a 'bed-sitting-room'. The late Middle Ages was to remedy this deplorable state of affairs, and it was not until the twentieth century that any but the poorest were to receive their friends again in the room in which they slept. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the two functions had been separated and the rooms divided in all respectable houses. Among the upper classes the word parlour fell more and more into disuse and the word withdrawing-room, or drawing-room, began to take its place. The word is current in the reign of Elizabeth and is very common in the seventeenth century.

Yet it is odd how the old idea persisted; the idea that this room—call it what you will—was the refuge of the ladies, the place to which they could withdraw when the hard-drinking male

began to grow boisterous* It was essentially the women's stronghold, the refuge of ladies at leisure, and, therefore, as the satirists were not slow to suggest, the very mart of gossip. Men's attitude towards it was one of suspicion mingled with a certain awe. In the dining-room (the degenerate descendant of the great hall) they might still sit at the head of the table and dispense the largesse of hospitality; but in the drawing-room they were mere visitors, even in their own house. One of the conditions which Millamant laid down before she would consent to* 'dwindle into a wife' was, it will be remembered, a demand that her husband should never presume to approach the tea-table without first asking her leave.

The operative word, as the current jargon has it, is 'tea-table'. For now a new element had entered into social life, a strange importation from the East which, paradoxically (when we consider the status of women in China), was powerfully to reinforce the position of the ladies. Tea! what a world of social evolution in three letters! For it seems to be a law of nature, or at least of human nature, that social intercourse cannot be conducted without the process of continually pouring something down the throat. The effect of the continual pouring of alcoholic liquors is well known, and was indeed the main cause, as we have seen, of the retirement of the ladies. But if beer and wine *created* the drawing-room by the force of repulsion, tea, by the force of attraction, confirmed and established it. You might take wine with the gentlemen, but you took tea with the ladies.

Nothing is more puzzling to the social historian than the names and times of meals. What one age calls breakfast another calls luncheon, what one calls dinner the other calls supper. And tea is a new complication. How did it come to be associated so definitely with 'five o'clock'? It is true that a French café has been known to advertise *le five-o'clock à toute heure,* but that only adds to the confusion.

Perhaps if we remember that until well on in the eighteenth century people 'dined' at three o'clock in the afternoon and took tea afterwards, we shall come somewhere near a solution of the mystery. The dinner-wave, so to say, has passed over tea-time, and the luncheon-wave has not yet reached it, leaving it isolated at the end of the afternoon and gradually rising to the status of a meal in itself. But we must not hurry forward too fast. There are still one or two matters to be dealt with before 'tea-time'.

Politically the sixteenth century saw the eclipse of the great nobles and the emergence of the strong, centralized monarchy of the Tudors. This was a great change, and it was reflected in the evolution of architecture. The 'great house* changed its character. It was no longer a place of defence; its fortifications fell away from it. Its moat disappeared, its drawbridge was discarded, its walls grew thinner, its crenellations were retained as mere decoration. Comfort was now the main consideration; even the comfort of the servants began to have some effect upon the shape and arrangement of the house. In fact, servants' quarters follow, after an interval, the same evolution as the main rooms. The 'servants' hall' (the very name is the same) develops a 'housekeeper's room' and a 'butler's pantry'. But this was only in the larger houses. In towns the servants' accommodation, especially for sleeping, was terribly cramped even as late as the nineteenth century. In the time of Pepys we find maid-servants sleeping in the same room as the master and mistress.

By the middle of the seventeenth century two classes had emerged which were to dictate the tone of English life for many years. In the country were the 'gentry', that is, the smaller landed proprietors; and in the town were the prosperous merchants. It is the failure to keep a rigid line of demarcation between these two classes which distinguishes English from Continental society and which is the reason for the continued existence of both into modern times. Their alliance in the time of Charles I put an end to centralized monarchy. They were the real rulers of the country and, aided by industrial development and maritime expansion, became for a time the real rulers of the world.

In spite of the difference between rural and urban life the houses of these two classes were curiously similar. It is true that most towns were small. Only in London did anything like modern urbanism obtain until the very end of the eighteenth century, and the prosperous house of the citizen of (say) Lichfield or Coventry was very like the country house of the squire. It had a garden and sometimes an orchard, it had stabling and outhouses. Even in big towns, even in London itself, Englishmen for long persisted in behaving as if they lived in the country. Every suburban-dwelling bank-clerk who lives in a detached, or semi-detached villa is making the same claim even to this day. 'An Englishman's home is his castle', that is, it is isolated in fancy if not in fact. It is an inviolable fortress even when it has no moat;

it is a private domain even when it is semi-detached—and held on a weekly rental. It is a notion at once sublime and absurd, and is only just beginning to break down under the impact of socialist economics and governmental encroachment.

Every visiting foreigner noticed this English passion for the *idea* of the country. Many of them admired it, and when the French revolutionaries had overthrown the *ancien régime,* although they liked to think of themselves as Roman senators, they began to dress like English country gentlemen. The leather breeches, the boots, the plain cloth cutaway coat, the high-crowned small-brimmed riding hat; these became in the early nineteenth century the accepted dress of civilized urban man all over Europe. Formalized, tightened, and stereotyped, they are the male costume of the whole of the nineteenth century. So strange could be the effects of a nostalgia which gave us also Wordsworth and Constable, and the back-garden of the London house.

The results of revolutions are never quite what their promoters expect. The French Revolution blurred the distinction between the aristocracy and the upper middle classes, but accentuated the cleavage between 'gentility' and what lay below it in the social structure. The new programme of the world-game was * Gentlemen versus the Rest\ But the cleavage between gentlemen and 'the Rest' was as nothing to the chasm between 'the ladies' and the rest of womankind.

This was due in part to the ever-increasing urbanization of the world. So long as the gentleman was *really* a country gentleman, with a real elaborate estate to manage, his wife and daughters could kill find plenty of tasks to put their hands to. The lady of the manor did not despise the preserving pan; her daughters saw nothing derogatory in presiding over the operations of the still-room. At the end of the eighteenth century the women-folk of the well-to-do suddenly found that they had no real duties, except to 'keep up their position*. And the best way to keep up their position was to live a life of complete idleness. Hence the whole range of parlour amusements and parlour crafts—poker-work, silhouette-cutting, water-colour painting, and the like—which suddenly sprang into existence. The young lady was free to employ herself in any of these occupations, but she was forbidden, on pain of loss of caste, to do anything useful. As for any career outside the family circle, that was, of course, not to be thought of. 'My daughter, I am glad to say, has no need to work.'

WORCESTER, July 1770

At William Bird's, at *Henwick-Hill*,

on Thursday the 26th Inst.

WILL BE

A Public TEA-DRINKING,

AT FOUR O'CLOCK.

Admittance into the Gardens *One Shilling* each Person.

MUSIC will be in Waiting, as usual.

S. BIGGS.

TEA!! TEA!! TEA!!

T for the many and T for the few,
T for the Ladies and Gentlemen too;
T for the merry and T for the sad,
T that is good—not T that is bad;
T that is Black and T that is Green,
T for the lusty and T for the lean;
T for the great and T for the small,
T for you each and T for you all;
T for a person and T for a party,
T for the weakly and T for the hearty,
T for the stomach and T for the brain,
T for your pleasure and T for your pain;
T that is up and T that is down,
T for the Country and T for the Town,
T for the Autumn and T for the Spring,
T without blemish in any one thing;

T for the heat and T for the cold,
T for the youthful and T for the old
T for the body and T for the mind,
T of a cheering and quickening kind;
T for the morning and T for the night,
T for the heavy and T for the light;
T for the married and T for the single,
T in which capital qualities mingle;
T for the palate and T for the nose,
T that will shortly make friends of your foes
T when you speak and T when you think,
T for your victuals and T for your drink;
T that you'll choose and never refuse,
T that will give you what others would lose,
T which you purchase from Biggs's depot
T which is good and surprisingly low.

HAMBLEDON.

THE SPREAD OF TEA-DRINKING

(Above) An invitation of 1770 from Worcester *(Below)* Part of a tea merchant's wrapping-paper of a century later



VICTORIAN LONDON HOUSES. WESTBOURNE TERRACE, PADDINGTON

The rise of the bourgeoisie to power in the early years of the nineteenth century merely made this prohibition more absolute. The wives and daughters of the newly-rich had not even the eighteenth-century lady's pastime of gallantry. They were confined to the house, and the house was no longer the spacious, rambling country residence, with innumerable yards, outbuildings, and human contacts. It was a town-house, in a city which was devouring the surrounding countryside as fast as brick could be laid upon brick.

This process was immensely accelerated as the middle of the century approached. The Great Exhibition of 1851 marked a turning-point in English economic life. After the 'hungry forties' came the prosperous fifties. In this latter decade there was an enormous extension of trade and a vastly increased number of successful merchants needed town-houses in London. The typical London town-house of the middle of the century (one might almost say, quite simply, the typical London town-house) was erected in large numbers on what had only recently been fields or market gardens. This is the period of the houses in Cromwell Road and of all houses like them. What were their characteristics?

They were, first, very large houses, at least by modern standards, but by all previous standards they were, owing to the high cost of land, very narrow houses. They were houses on end; and it is only because there were so many of them that they came to be accepted as the normal type of dwelifiig and that nobody noticed how very odd they were. Externally they had much propriety and even a certain magnificence, for the last relic of an English urban style had not yet been swept away in the flood of Ruskinian neo-Gothic. They were designed to form streets of uniform aspect. Perhaps the uniformity was even a little overdone. Carel Capek once remarked that there was a mysterious unwritten law by which every house in London was compelled to have a portico with two pillars. But we who suffered, until very recent times, from an opposite defect are not likely to complain of a style of urban architecture which at least regards the street as a unity instead of pursuing some different private fantasy for every house. When they were first built, the houses of the fifties with their generous balconies, their noble pediments, and, of course, their pillars, the whole covered with newly painted stucco, must have presented an appearance attractive enough.

What of the inside? The rooms were arranged on top of one

another. This was the vital fact. Great as had been the social divisions in the typical eighteenth-century country house, masters and servants were, at least in the physical sense, on the same level. Now that society was confronted with a perpetual symbol of its hierarchical structure, the servants became quite literally the 'lower classes'.

'High Life below Stairs', chuckled the satirists, rejoicing in what to them seemed a daring paradox. 'Below stairs' were the kitchens, pantries, larders, sitting-room for the servants—if any such were provided. On the ground floor (raised, usually, somewhat above the ground and reached by an imposing flight of steps) the domain of gentility commenced. The front room was the dining-room, the back room (there were only two) was a study, or occasional room. The first floor was given over entirely to one fine apartment, sometimes divided by folding doors but generally treated as one. This was the drawing-room, the best room in the building, the sacred shrine of the Lady of the House, the gilded cage of her daughters whose 'household duties' had now dwindled to a little dusting of the innumerable 'knick-knacks' that adorned the almost equally numerous 'what-nots'. The names suggest that the resources of language had been exhausted by the profusion of trifles.

Above the drawing-room was the 'front bedroom', occupied by the master and mistress, and another bedroom. The one or two floors above were shared by servants and children. Pure undiluted gentility did not rise above the second floor. In the whole history of architecture there never was a more class-conscious house than this astounding product of Victorian democracy.

Such houses were built, as we have noted, in enormous numbers, and they were built to last for ever. Even Hitler's bombs made comparatively little impression. But social structures are more fragile than architectural ones, and one of the main problems of modern London is how to live in a persistently hierarchical house in a decreasingly hierarchical world.

Still, in the period in which it was built and for half a century afterwards, the typical Victorian house served its purpose well enough. The 'servant problem' excited smiles in *Punch* and some complaints, no doubt, at ladies' tea-parties, but it was not yet insoluble. Mr. Gladstone was doing his best to abolish the terrible imposition of income tax at sevenpence in the pound. Rates were low and coal was plentiful. For the middle floors at

least the world was a comfortable world; there seemed no reason why it should not go on for ever.

Why should it not, indeed, when everything was as solid as the mahogany of the dining-room table? Even the food was solid, and lavish to a degree that the modern world has forgotten. Indeed, the modern world, or at least the modern middle classes, are already beginning to look back to this once-despised Victorian age as a halcyon period in which, at least, people 'knew where they were\ They knew exactly where they were: in the basement or on the first floor.

Of course there were many social levels even in the world of 'above stairs'. Gulfs yawned between Belgravia and Earl's Court. A lady of the sixties could decide that it was socially unwise to visit anyone who lived 'north of the Park*. The great houses still persisted in Mayfair and St. James's. But we are dealing with typical figures; and if the typical English figure in 1750 was the country gentleman, the typical figure in 1850 was the city merchant, with a house, bigger or smaller, nearer to Hyde Park Corner or more remote, as circumstances might dictate, but built to the same plan and harbouring the same kind of domestic set-up.

This was the kind of 'home' that the poor dreamed of having and that prosperous men were proud to contemplate as the reward of their labours. Home, with a dignified and fruitful wife, dutiful sons, obedient daughters, and domestics who, if individually tiresome, were, as a class, in plentiful supply. This was the Shrine of Domesticity dear to Victorian sentiment, and Englishmen liked to think that in no other country in the world could be found its like. Poor misguided foreigners, in particular Frenchmen, might eat their meals in restaurants or even spend long hours at cafe tables along the boulevards, but the Englishman had his home from which, in theory at least, he never wished to be separated. Even when he went for a holiday to the seaside he took his family with him and boasted (if he had comfortable lodgings) that he had found a 'home from home*.

No story was thought more touching than that of John Howard Payne. It was true that he was an American and that he spent a considerable portion of his life abroad. Indeed, he died in 1852 in Tunis, and was buried there. But the author of *Home, Sweet Home* could not be allowed to rest in alien soil and, thirty years later, the body was exhumed, transported across the Atlantic, taken home. It is no reflection upon the sincerity of John

Howard Payne himself to suggest that the oceans of sentiment which his famous words called forth at one time threatened to submerge entirely not only the Islands of Scepticism but the Continent of Common Sense.

It is not that there was nothing to be said for the typical Victorian home. On the contrary, there was a great deal to be said for it. It represented warmth and comfort and a shelter from the world. It was, or could be, the school of loyalty and comradeship, the academy of tact, the breeding ground of almost every virtue, the abode of love. It was also, and long continued to be, a stronghold of liberty, for the front door was still inviolate and the billeting officer had not yet been born. It must have been very agreeable for the Tired Business Man (but perhaps business men were not tired until mechanical amusements began to be provided for their relaxation) to know that, at the end of his cab or omnibus ride from the City, his slippers were awaiting him, embroidered by the hand of wife or daughter, and carefully warming before the fire. It must have been very pleasant to know that *there,* at least, he was king of the castle. Even nice men might rejoice in such a situation; there must have been many a petty tyrant who revelled in it, far more than was agreeable to his household or good for himself:

I am Paterfamilias, a terrible fellow,
When my wishes are thwarted I roar and I bellow,
When I frown in the morning the servants turn yellow—
I'm a Father of Early Victorian days.

That hen-pecked husbands were not entirely unknown can be gathered from the pages of *Punch.* But in general, Mamma (unsupported as yet by any Married Womens' Property Act) took a secondary, if still ample, space in the patriarchal picture:

I'm a mother of seven and enduring my lot
Without envying others the things I've not got,
You may think me unhappy, I assure you I'm not—
I'm a Mother of Early Victorian days.

Submission and resignation were the accepted feminine doctrines of the day. There could be no doubt who dominated the household:

My dearly-loved children, they quail at my nod,
I bring up my brood in the fear of the rod,
Thus discharging my duty to them, and to God—
I'm a Father of Early Victorian days.

The writers of ballads often throw more light upon social epochs than the compilers of histories. The bard concludes:

> We're a Middle Class Family of moderate birth,
> Just sticking together in plenty and dearth,
> And doing our best to replenish the earth—
> We're a Family of Early Victorian days.

Alas! for human institutions. No sooner do they seem to be firmly established than the rats of Time and Change begin to gnaw at their foundations. For some time longer the facade, the shell, remains, and then, suddenly, the whole edifice comes crashing to the ground. The home, the English home, was no exception. In theory it long continued to be an island of refuge in a sea of troubles, but long before its benefits began to be openly questioned sharp ears might have caught a growing murmur of revolt.

Strangely enough, father was the first to find its shackles irksome, and before long he began to take refuge in his club from the sweets of a too cloying domesticity. That, perhaps, was understandable, and still easier to comprehend was the unwillingness of 'the boys' to stay at home. Young men have seldom been home-lovers. But the matter did not become serious until the women, the wives and daughters, for whose protection the home had been instituted, began to grow fretful.

At least as early as the eighties we hear of the New Woman. The new woman (by no means as new as she thought she was) cherished many strange aspirations. She wanted to play cricket or even to 'take up' nursing. Later, there was the bicycle, making the problem of marital and parental control ever more difficult. From Scandinavia came dark rumours of a dramatist who encouraged women to 'live their own lives'. Emancipated women began to ransack the home from cellar to attic and finding nothing to their satisfaction to slam the door in its face.

Men may continue to sentimentalize, but women, once they have got hold of an idea, ride it without mercy. Most of the diatribes against the home have come from women, and as the new century dawned their clamours grew louder and louder. In the year 1904 a certain American lady named Charlotte Perkins Gilman brought out a book with the deceptively innocent title of *The Home: Its Work and Influence.* She pays a few compliments to

the idea of the home in order to lull the suspicions of the reader and then—she suddenly produces a pickaxe as if from nowhere and proceeds to attack the foundations with immense vigour and ill-concealed delight.

For what, she asks, does the home provide? Does it provide privacy? Is there privacy in the poor man's home with six or seven people herded in the same living-room? Is there privacy in the rich man's house with servants everywhere spying upon their masters? And she mocks at the paradox that if you want to be private in your own house you must get your servants to say that you are 'Not at Home'. And if you want 'a rest' you must leave home altogether and go somewhere else. She ends by remarking that 'this little ganglion of aborted economic processes, the home, tends to a sort of social paralysis'.

Well, since 1904 the economic processes have maintained their triumphant advance; society has continued to evolve and the 'little ganglion' in question is gradually but effectively being ironed out. The twentieth century witnessed two mass migrations, the first wave travelling outwards in concentric rings, and the second back again. The first resulted in covering the adjacent country-side with villas, the second in the creation, nearer to the centre, of huge blocks of flats.

The wave outwards was, for a few years, an almost successful attempt to make the best of both worlds. A man could work in the city and sleep amid the laburnum trees. It was the last pathetic attempt of urban man to live the life of his ancestors. But the city worker *cannot* 'live in the country', for he takes the town with him wherever he goes. In London at any rate, the suburbs spread so fast and so far that a long train journey from home to office and back again became a commonplace of daily life; and many a suburban dweller spent an appreciable portion of his income on his season ticket.

Still it *was* possible to rear a family in suburbia, even if the family tended to be a small one, and suburban houses were so much easier to run than the vertical houses which had been left behind that the stock disease of the suburban wife was not overwork but boredom. The counter-wave did not really begin until immediately after the first world war. It was gathering momentum throughout the thirties. New blocks of flats were springing up everywhere. In many of them it was obviously almost impossible to bring up any family at all.

Home is anything—it may be merely a hole in the earth—where food can be eaten in common and where the young can find protection. As soon as these two conditions cease to be satisfied a dwelling is a home no more. So we have come full circle and this essay might have been entitled The Growth, Glory, and Decadence of the Home\ Yet just as religions, when they evaporate, leave a sediment which is called ethics, so institutions leave behind them a deposit of sentiment. The home is in some ways an especially English thing, and all Englishmen have the sentiment of the home, even if fewer and fewer of them possess the thing itself.

And perhaps, after all, this full circle has really brought us back to the place where we started when the home (or the *ham)* had a slightly different meaning. What if 'Home' should renew its vitality by shedding its narrow, family meaning? What if it should become once more a community? There are already 'blocks of flats' (deplorable and depressing phrase!—Who could feel any loyalty towards 'a block of flats*?), which are already growing the organs necessary for a real community life. They have communal kitchens and canteens (another word that needs changing); they have communal wash-houses and play-centres. All the physical requirements are there; what is lacking is a community sentiment. We shall have to rid ourselves of a lot of prejudices before that becomes possible, but upon our ability to do so depends the future of the race.

We must face the fact that, whether we like it or not, the patriarchal system is over. It was founded (let us face that too) upon the subjection of women. Women are now emancipated to a degree which would have frightened the pioneers of Feminism. They have revolted (wives and domestics alike) against the drudgery of housework. The home, in the old sense, is becoming increasingly impossible. If we persist too long in the effort to maintain it, it is quite possible that the race may die out. We have really reached a crisis in human history beside which the invention of the atom bomb seems unimportant. Can we meet and transcend it, can we turn our technological knowledge to construction instead of destruction, can we expand instead of extinguishing our loyalties? Our English homes and our habits have, in the last thousand years, seen many changes. We are often said to have a genius for compromise. Perhaps it would be kinder to call it a genius for maintaining continuity in the

midst of change. This faculty is likely to be put to a severe test in the years that lie immediately ahead. If it survives that, we may yet attain a society in which there is liberty for all—even for the wife and mother; a world in which the sentiment of Home may burn the brighter on a wider altar and in a larger fane.

XXIV

THE ENGLISHMAN ABROAD

By **REBECCA WEST**

I

AMONG the qualities fused in the English character are common sense, an individualism which here degenerates into eccentricity and there is elevated into heroism, a desire to find salvation in the light cast by religion or art or science, and a capacity for enjoyment of pleasant things. At almost any time since England has had a working history of her own, these qualities have combined to send her people across the Channel to the Continent on travel which was neither trade nor exploration. Common sense moved the English to go abroad when they were poor and could get better food and drink and gear overseas in return for their labour or their learning; and it moved them to make the same journey when they were rich and could buy the best the foreigner could sell, while living more cheaply than they could at home. Individualism made Englishmen all too often fall foul of the standards laid down by the community in matters social, political, or religious; so the more obstinate went into exile, and could find themselves at home so far as their minds were concerned, since any heretic must find himself orthodox somewhere on the Continent. Those who desired to learn the nature of reality were drawn to those foreign centres where that study had begun in institutions founded by antiquity. As for good cheer, the sun in England is not, whatever physical geographers may say, the same as the continental sun; and if the Romans grew wine in Kent, no wonder they had to go home, and figs and peaches are not here as they are there. So the Englishman through the ages has gone abroad; with the contemporary version of travellers' cheques or the letter about the lodgings advertised in *GalignanVs Messenger* or *The Times* in the pocket; wearing the funny hat or heresy that Norwich or Bath did not like but had to lump; with the Greek declensions at the back of the mind or Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* in the hold-all; with the address of the inn which serves such good Heuriger wine. But he has had behind him for most of history a larger motive. He has been living in a new and loosely integrated system, and wants to know the security offered by an

old and highly integrated system; or, living in an old system which disappoints, as any working system must, he has wanted to refresh himself by contact with a still older and contrasting system or with a newer system that promises fresh hope. The Englishman crosses the Channel to take a second chance.

il

It was glorious for the Catholic frontiersmen of English stock to travel to the established centres of their faith. It was often difficult for such frontiersmen to keep their motives pure. Ine the King of Wessex laid down his crown, we are told, in 726, after a reign lasting thirty-eight years, and went to live in retreat in the Holy City of Rome; and a story is told which represents this as a flight from the illusions of temporal power. He and his queen, it is said, spent a night feasting in one of his palaces, and in the morning rode away to another part of their kingdom. At the end of the journey the queen insisted that they should turn round and ride back whence they came. He gave way to her; and they found that the palace where they had feasted the night before was a desolation. It was stripped of its furniture and plate and hangings* The farm beasts had been turned into it; the cattle were dropping their dung in the banquet-hall; and a sow lay among her farrow on the royal bed. 'See, my lord,' the queen is said to have told him, 'how the vanity of this world passeth away!' Such considerations were supposed to govern those who went to Rome. But as a matter of historical fact Ine, while well able to repel attack from without, could never establish order in his own kingdom; and certainly the Holy City must have seemed a solid refuge to one who trailed a peripatetic court through civil war. The reflection regarding the vanity of the world must, however, have passed through his mind when he settled in Rome, for, two years after his coming, there broke out the dissensions which eventually split the Western from the Eastern Church, and, six years after, Christendom held its breath when the Arabs came to Tours. Doubtless he was sustained by the splendid ritual and that preaching which was bringing the faith towards the medieval triumph of definition; and certainly the judas-trees would be purple in spring and in autumn the chestnuts would be golden, summer would be more easily distinguishable from winter than it had been in Wessex, and winter would not be so wet. Thus tangled must have been the motives of such ancient exiles, and they have never since been quite simple.

There Were other exiles who went further than he did, with a double tendency towards renunciation and fruition. After the Norman Conquest the English rose again and again in insurrection, and were put down by the sword. 'Having lost their freedom/ a chronicler wrote, 'the English were deeply afflicted. Some of them shining with the blossom of beautiful youth went to distant countries and boldly offered themselves for the military service of the Byzantine Emperor.* They were received into the Varangian Guards, the body-guard of the Emperor himself, which had been originally composed of Russians and Scandinavians, but was in the end predominantly English. That is to say, during the last three centuries of the medieval attempt to mould earthly society in the forms of heavenly society, the man standing next the Byzantine Pope-Emperor, during the curious convulsions caused by this political ideal, was, as like as not, a native of Ashford or Ipswich, or his descendant, who knew well what he was. For Byzantine tolerance permitted the exiles to worship according to the Latin rite in their own church of St. Nicholas and St. Augustine of Canterbury, and generation after generation was buried under stones that announced their origin. Theirs was not a fortunate flight; they had changed quick ruin for slow ruin, and they must have known long before it happened that their Church would be called by a Turkish name. But again there were consolations. In any age the Bosphorus has considerable climatic advantages over the English Channel, and Constantinople in the eleventh century must have offered many more attractions than Norman England. Again principle drove the Englishman away to a land where pleasure met him on the shore.

So it was with those who did not wander so far and who left themselves liberty to turn on the tracks. The traffic between England and Rome was persistent and refreshing. There were enough pilgrims in King Ine's time to make it worth his while to found a hospice for them. King Alfred on his visit to Rome represented the English infant abroad rather than the Englishman abroad, but it can be seen how his mind was oriented in his translations of St. Augustine and Boëthius and Gregory the Great, in which he tries to drag European culture over the rough threshold of his new and unformed language into the land he would not let be barbarian. Through the ensuing centuries there continued this double flow of devotion: the clerics who passed, intent on something, on God, on learning, on ambition, on the sun, from

abbey to abbey, from university to university, and from palace to palace, even, in the case of Alcuin, to the supreme palace of the West, where Charlemagne sat, and to the papal court; and the laity, who took a holiday, with God and the saints, and in the sun, in Italy, or Spain, or France, or, history permitting, over the edge of the familiar, in Jerusalem.

Until imaginative literature gave status to the subjective we did not learn easily, save from the genius who refused to ignore either side of reality, what people felt as well as what they did and thought. Therefore we do not know what contrast was remarked by the learned men who passed in these early days between England and the Continent. To us there is a sort of safety in England, even under bombardment, a local dispensation of moderation, and it might be that these travellers saw the gaunt beauty and hideousness of medieval Europe with eyes sensitized by knowledge of a contrast. When Alcuin of York worked in the bejewelled and smoke-blackened court of Charlemagne he may have shared in our squeamish aversion from its violence, which would thereby be proved English. But we have little to go upon. There are countless figures in the history of continental learning who are of English birth, though some are disguised under foreign names, usually adopting a more opaque disguise than did Walter of the Mill, who became Gualtero Ofamillio, Archbishop of Palermo. Robert of Melun, Adam du Petit Pont, Alexander Neckam (let us now pause to praise an unusually competent Englishwoman, who no doubt stayed at home, for this remarkable philosopher was the foster-brother of Richard Coeur-de-Lion), Alexander of Hales, Grosseteste, Bacon, Richard Middleton, William of Occam, were all renowned scholars; Robert Pulleyn was Papal Chancellor, Thomas Brown was counsellor to the King of Sicily, John of Salisbury was Bishop of Chartres, Serlo of Wilton became Abbot of L'Aumône. Nicholas Breakspear was made pope, thus becoming the extreme example, the untrumpable ace, of Englishmen abroad. He took on a fight with Frederick Barbarossa, and, in the interests of unity, gave Ireland to England. Had there never been an English pope this is what an imaginary one would have been depicted as doing. But none of these told us, with modern impressionism, what it was like in those days to be an Englishman abroad.

But there were distractions from scholarship which deflected even the most learned men from their pursuits now and again.

Europe is full of flowers. Flowers forced their way into the strictest medieval religious poetry, and the rose always brings company. Waves of pleasure were perpetually breaking over the Continent. There were those who, enclosed in sainthood or philosophy, were never sprinkled by a drop of it. There were those who had the strength to keep one foot dry and one foot wet. Philip, Archbishop of Ravenna, an excellent prelate from many points of view, used to stride up and down the hall of his palace singing hymns to the Glorious Virgin, a flagon of wine cooling in ice-water in each corner. There were those who were submerged by the wave and never got on their feet again, and became members of the Order of Vagabonds. Because the true scholars had to move about in search of the best masters and pupils, and because preachers were sent here and there to the congregations which needed them most, the Church could not insist on immobility. Under cover of this situation the weaker brethren took to the road, to abuse the hospitality of monasteries with lying tales of pilgrimage or captivity in pagan hands, to beg from the charitable, or to prostitute their gifts to the business of the world and even of the underworld. To this army of ragged intellectuals there were many English recruits. A German military correspondent contemptuously mentioned in a despatch that the forces had found in a French village an Englishman, with books that showed that he was of some education, and nothing else in his suitcase, who was in debt to the small inn where he was staying. The contempt was irreverent, for he had certainly been there for a thousand years. If the twentieth century has provided a literature that deals with this figure in formidable detail, the subject is at least not ephemeral.

As for the pilgrims, they, too, were innumerable and constant. In a hospice at Rome 200 pilgrims were registered in the year 1505; and Rome was only one of many pilgrimage towns to which men and women went, profoundly educated by seeing the wide and diverse nations unified by the presence of God and Christ and the Virgin Mary. An eighth-century pope went to the length of forbidding both lay women and nuns to make the journey from England to Rome, alleging with the wild licence of language which through the ages has been granted to the holy, perhaps in compensation for the restriction that has been laid on their deeds, that 'there is not a town in France or Italy where there is not an English harlot or adulteress*. But even if he counted wrong, the business was bound to be taken in a light-minded way. For read the

pilgrims' instructions laid down by William Wey, Bachelor of Divinity, who died in 1474, having been twice to the Holy Sepulchre and once to the shrine of St. James of Compostella.

'When a man is at Venyse and purposeth by the grase of God to passe by the see unto port Jaff and the holy londe, and so to sepulkyr of oure Lord cryst Jhu in Jherusalem. He must dyspose hym in thys wyse.

'1. Fyrste yf ye goo in a galey make yowre covenante with the patrone by tyme, and chese yow a place in the seyd galey in the overest stage, for in the lawyst under hyt ys ryght smolderyng hote and stynkynge.

*2. And ye schal pay for yowre galey and for yowre mete and drynke to port Jaff and ayen to Veyse xl ducatt for to be in a goyd honeste place, and to have yowre ese in the galey and also to be cherishet. Also when ye schal yowre covenante take, take goyde hede that the patron be bounden to yow afor the duke or other lord of Venyse yn an c doketts to kepe all maner covenants wyth yow that ys to say thatt he schal conduce yowe to certeyne havenys by the way to refreshe yow and to gete yow fresch water and fresch bred and flesch.'

There are twenty-five of these injunctions to pilgrims, all of the sort that Englishmen love to ponder before they start on a journey, including hints on how to secure their wine barrel so that 'other pylgremys' will be frustrated if they try to drink from it, how to buy a bed for the voyage in Venice (near Saint Mark's) and what they should pay for it, and what the merchant should pay for it on their return, even if it is in bad condition, what rates of exchange they should get, how many meals the patron was to provide, what fruit should be avoided, and how to secure a good meal at Jaffa.

* I I . Also y consel yow to have wyth yow oute of venyse confettyunnys confortatyvys laxatyvys restoratyvys gyngever ryse fygys reysenes, gret and smal whyche schal do yow gret ese by the wey, pepyr saferyn clowys maeys a fewe as ye thenge nede and powder dekke.

' 12. Also take wyth yow a lytyl cawdren and fryyng pan dysches platerrys sawserrys of the cuppys of glas a grater for brede and such nessaries.'

Of course the pilgrimage turned into a picnic, a beano, a wayz-goose; and such a transformation affected it even in its extreme form, the Crusade. We were all taught at school that the Crusades were a manifestation of medieval bigotry, but the importance which has been attached to the Middle East in the present war by all the powers concerned with the preservation of Christian civilization suggests that this was not a profound view; and it could hardly be pretended that the inroads made by Islam on Europe did not destroy the harmony of Europe. Those forebears of ours who desired to recapture the Holy Land from the heathen

good and fearly may be regarded, particularly by those of us who are members of the Palestinian Police Force, as men of foresight amounting to genius. But those who tried to carry out that idea were subjected to many temptations before which they often fell: as Richard Cceur de Lion did that day in Calabria when, going ashore, after the habit of tourists, when his boat put in at a port, he took a ride through the country-side with one knight as companion. In one village he passed a house where, in a loggia, a falcon was resting. It was a very fine falcon, and he got off his horse and went into the loggia to look at it. Some villagers formed a suspicion of the stranger, which was quite natural and may indeed have been justified, and they bade him leave the bird alone and go. This aroused Richard's anger and he and his friend took on the whole crowd in a free fight, in which the villagers used sticks and stones, and Richard Cceur de Lion and his knight used their swords till they broke them on a miscreant who had drawn a knife. Then, weaponless, they had to use sticks and stones themselves, and, two against the crowd, won hands down and joyously remounted and rode back to the ship. It is because of such scenes that fastidious establishments hang up the sign, 'No Charabancs'. At home and abroad we are a vulgar, rowdy, roistering people, who in between our pursuit of merchandise, our own souls, and eternal truth, like every now and then to let ourselves go.

ill

But the relationship between the satellite and its star was altered. No longer was England content to depend on the old and highly integrated system of the Continent; it must make its new and independent system, which must not be loose.

Henry VIII split a unity, and the lives of men who had built on that unity were split too. There were many whose gracious promise passed into a gracious frustration. When Reginald Pole, a gifted and handsome young man of royal blood, graduated at Oxford under Linacre, who had learned his Greek at Padua, he was himself sent to Padua by his king; and England and Italy must have seemed to him a continuous champaign of pleasure and honour, only geographically divided. But when Henry VIII sought his divorces from Katherine and from Rome, each territory in turn rejected Pole and called him renegade. First he went to England and found that he could not divest himself of the intense experience of the Church to which he had subjected himself at

the king's behest, not even when the king bade it. Trying to hold his peace he returned to Italy, but the king forced him to an expression of his mind, and thus forced him into disloyalty. He was lifted up to be cardinal and went down into the darkness of conspiracy against the country where he was born, being legate to the Low Countries, where English malcontents met together. For this reason his mother was beheaded. He served the Church so well that he was nearly elected pope. But when Mary Tudor came to the throne and he returned to England as legate, he was coldly treated by the Papacy, who saw in him one of a people who had been false to the party line. He was one of those historical figures who died when they had to die, when life had closed in a perfect circle the blank wall it had built around him; and in his enactment of his destiny he made no ugly gesture and uttered no accusing word.

There were others who suffered a briefer and more acute form of his pain. In the fourteenth century a London merchant named John Shepherd had founded a hospital in Rome for the use of English pilgrims; and this, when the reign of Queen Elizabeth showed that England was hardening into Protestantism and pilgrims came no longer, Gregory XIII transformed into an English College, where Englishmen were trained to go as missionaries labouring for the reconversion of their country. The students were obliged to swear an oath to obey implicitly and immediately the command of the Church, to take Holy Orders, and to proceed to England 'for the aid of souls'. Between 1579, when the English College was founded, and 1603, when Elizabeth died, 350 students were trained there. Many proceeded to England, of whom some were imprisoned, usually for life, and others were hanged, disembowelled, and quartered. These, in their deliberate martyrdom, seemed masterpieces of tortured dignity and reflective courage, and beside them their persecutors seemed crude daubs. That estimate of the opposed forces would seem confirmed by the odious conduct of certain Protestants who made the return journey of propaganda. William Gardiner, born in Bristol, went to Lisbon as a clerk when he was twenty-six, and was shocked by the pomp and ceremony of a royal marriage instead of feeling gratitude for the fine show and wishing the young people happiness. Shortly afterwards he set himself by the cathedral altar during a service attended by the king, and at the moment of the elevation of the host sprang at the officiating cardinal and threw the wafer on the

ground arid trampled it; and there were English Protestants in Italy, such as Richard Atkin, who were as graceless.

The truth is that martyrs have an immense advantage if they have taste; then they close their eyes, compose their features, and fall into attitudes which refer to accepted values. They are ridiculous when they lack taste; then they roll their eyes and distort their features and fall into attitudes referring to values not acceptable now or perhaps hereafter. The physical disorder of such martyrs is the outward sign of the consciousness that the spectators are rejecting their values, and that this may mean that they are wrong. There have, of course, been a host of English Protestant martyrs who have not been ridiculous. Some of the sailors who, in foreign parts, were seized by the Inquisition affirmed their faith with a simplicity and steadfastness that is like the springtime of courage, that makes them seem in martyrdom like youths, though they were old in the service of the sea. To reconcile us to such stories we have to remember that the Inquisition was in deadly fear of the new system, and that the naturalist was no fool when he wrote, 'Cet animal est tres mechant, quand on Tattaque il se defend', for we animals become extremely wicked when we defend ourselves. But there were many other English Protestants who, respecting their own faith, yet had an age-old feeling of inferiority to their continental Roman Catholic opponents, and therefore bore themselves awkwardly in their argument.

That this awkwardness was no great crime we realize when we contemplate those who avoided it and find ourselves hardly exalted by the spectacle. The most conspicious of these was one Sir Edward Carne, who arranged his affairs with a prudence so perfect that its real nature escaped recognition until a king pried into it. Sir Edward was resident ambassador to the papal court when Elizabeth came to the throne, and though he liked the ancient faith and also, it may be guessed, the Roman sun, he formally asked the Queen for permission to return to England. But when he received this the pope refused him permission to leave and commanded him to remain in Rome as the Governor of the English hospital. Elizabeth was anxious to protect the old man and requested Philip of Spain to intercede for him with the pope. Philip found that Sir Edward had not the slightest desire to return home and that his apparent internment was a ruse to prevent the confiscation of his estates in Rome. So Philip returned a vague answer to Elizabeth's inquiries and Sir Edward stayed in Rome until his

death. Therein he acted very sensibly, no doubt, but all the same it is as disconcerting to read his story as it is to find a dog behaving like a cat; and indeed Sir Edward was not an Englishman abroad, but a Welshman. And that, for all that the Tudors were of Welsh origin, might still prevent a gentleman from feeling complete identity with English policy. The English College was placed in the charge of the Jesuits as a result of continuous disagreements between the Welsh and the English students.

The true Englishman was not supple about this doctrinal difference, even when he was a man of genius. Milton's nature, with its chaste sensuousness, answered to the sun of Italy, and to its moon and nightingales and high woods, and darker, richer women. But he moves like a hobbledehoy through the Italian scene, among hosts that greeted his beauty and his promise with the loveliest courtesy.

'From Florence I went to Siena, thence to Rome, where, after I had **spent about two months in viewing the antiquities of that renowned city, where I experienced the most friendly attentions from Lucas Holstein, and other learned and ingenious men, I continued my route to Naples. There I was introduced by a certain recluse, with whom I had travelled from Rome, to John Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a nobleman of distinguished rank and authority, to whom Torquato Tasso, the illustrious poet, inscribed his book on Friendship. During my stay he gave me singular proofs of his regard. He himself conducted me round the city, and to the palace of the viceroy; and, more than once, paid me a visit at my lodgings. On my departure he gravely apologised for not having shown me more civility, which he said he had been restrained from doing, because I had spoken with so little reserve on matters of religion. When I was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, the melancholy intelligence which I received of the civil commotions in England made me alter my purpose; for I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home. While I was on my way back to Rome, some merchants informed me that the English Jesuits had formed a plot against me if I returned to Rome, because I had spoken too freely on religion; for it was a rule which I laid down to myself in those places, never to be the first to begin any conversation on religion; but, if any questions were put to me concerning my faith, to declare it without any reserve or fear. I nevertheless returned to Rome. I took no steps to conceal either my person or my character; and, for the space of two months, I again openly defended, as I had done before, the Reformed religion in the very metropolis of Popery. By the favour of God I got safe back to Florence, where I was received with as much affection as if I had returned to my native country.'**

When \ve pause to wonder what English literature would have gained if Milton had ever stepped ashore into the matchless light of Greece, and realize that such a gain is beyond our imagination, we realize what English literature gained when Milton went to Italy. He brought back with him the joy felt by the Renaissance in massiveness, the greed which loved to use all three dimensions to the full. In the poems which express his sensuousness in its purity, in *Comus* and *II Penseroso* and *L' Allegro,* he takes scenes which would have lain bright as nature but quite flat on Herrick's paper, and makes them recede through the page as a landscape recedes from the spectator. In *Paradise Lost* architecture has come to the aid of poetry; the great court of the Capitol, planned by Michelangelo, had shown that man can imitate the majesty of space and time by thinking nobly yet bending the neck humbly to the yoke of proportion, and Milton was as ambitious in his epic. Nevertheless, while he was deriving this wisdom from Italy he must have been distasteful to the Italians, and no doubt Manso called him an infernal young puppy. His aggressiveness might be dismissed as a passing phase of youth; but if he talked like this he thought like this, and when he had learned to curb his speech in obedience to good manners his convictions would still distress him. No doubt he discharged his debt to Europe in that lack of serenity which gives his controversy and life so distressing a tension. In that he was a magnification of the Englishman abroad, who has always laboured under a sense of inferiority. He will go anywhere; he will fight anyone; he will follow his own bent in the search for reality; but he will feel a clumsy fellow before his hosts, and will react either by nervous uppishness or by hero-worship of all that is foreign. Sometimes that hero-worship became, ironically enough, imitation of neither heroism nor any other virtue. *Inglese Italianato e'un Diavolo Incarnato* was how it seemed to the Italians, and 'The enchantments of Circe' was Roger Ascham's description of what Italy offered Englishmen. Now the very gifted joined the Order of Vagabonds, and became worse than Vagabonds.

But there followed a generation who found it easier than Milton to hold their peace and were no *diavoliincarnati.* A notable example was John Evelyn, who was not a debauchee and not a hero and knew that the age of chivalric heroism was over. He had left King Charles's army after three days lest he and his family should be 'expos'd to ruine without any advantage to his majestic', and passed through Europe with the intention of getting into as little

trouble as possible. He gave himself up to the pleasure the seventeenth-century Englishman found in the recognition of the beauty of objects, which was a delayed reaction to the Renaissance. He was, of course, blind to the Gothic, but that blindness was to be shared by most Europeans till late in the eighteenth century. However, as a measure of his taste there may be taken his joy at Vicenza, a city 'full of gentlemen and splendid palaces', and his appreciation often harked back from the architecture the age offered him to the greatest period, which was already remote by a hundred years or so. In the course of his journeys he twice makes an interesting suggestion as to the reason why the Continent was able to surprise the English traveller by its superior artistic wealth. Writing in Rotterdam he describes how pictures were sold at the fairs in great numbers.

'Some of these I bought, and sent into England. The reason of this store of pictures, and their cheapness, proceeds from their want of land to employ their stock, as it is an ordinary thing to find a common farmer lay out two or three thousand pounds on this commodity. Their houses are full of them, and they vend them at their farms to very great gains.'

Later he suggests that the Italian aristocrats were able to embellish their palaces and villas so lavishly for the same reason. This is soothing in its implication that if England is poorer than the continental countries in certain sorts of artistic performances it is not because its creative instinct was feeble, but because the English country estate was itself a work of art which took the material that otherwise might have furnished pictures and statues.

Surely there must be some such explanation; for the Englishmen who went to the Continent to learn what foreign masters could teach them performed wonders, bringing back not imitations but the whole tradition. Inigo Jones, the son of a bankrupt clothworker, went to Italy and came back a master of the art in which Italians were paramount, of designing masques, and practised it till he was forty; and then became one of the most exquisite Renaissance architects. But he was not so miraculous in his achievement as Christopher Wren, who attained a nearly Michelangelesque grandeur without having been to Italy at all. He went to Paris and met Bernini and for an instant looked on his lost plans for the Louvre, and came no nearer the Alps than that. When he built St. Paul's he had seen but one dome, and that was on the Sorbonne. This is perhaps the most remarkable achievement of the Englishman abroad.

IV

To go abroad up till the eighteenth century was, with any luck, to go to Italy. Churchmen went to France; so did King Henry V, Falstaff, Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol: all alike on business. Times bettered, however, and John Evelyn saw a lovely sight when he stood with Mr. Hobbes the philosopher at his window in Paris, and the young King Louis X I V rode by on an Isabella barb in a superb cavalcade and equipage. But John Evelyn had some ugly times in France with bandits; he saw the citizens of St. Denis panic because the enemy was within five leagues, he heard the peasantry lament the pillage wrought by their own starving troops, and plainly he felt himself in a more established society when he was in Italy. That proportion of esteem, however, was to be altered.

As Europe was stabilized and England grew in material prosperity, what was known as 'The Grand Tour' became obligatory on young men of substance. The phrase is first met in 1670 and it was employed more frequently after the revolution of 1688; and it originally covered a journey through France and Italy, going out by Switzerland and coming back through Germany and the Low Countries. This was an attractive idea and it acquainted many an English gentleman with artistic and philosophic values that might have escaped him. The Grand Tour was the mother of the Society of Dilettanti, which was responsible for so much of the English taste for classical sculpture. But it is doubtful whether the idea always worked well in practice. It was the custom to send young men on this journey when they were between sixteen and twenty-one, and they were often too childish to get the best out of foreign travel; also they were sent abroad in the charge of tutors, and the state of Oxford and Cambridge was often such that it was difficult to find graduates who were fit to take such responsibility. The situation was complicated by the change which had come over the social habits of the Italians. Had John Milton returned, Manso would not have held out a welcoming hand. As poverty and political catastrophe had fallen on the country, and intellectual vigour had waned, the Italians had become grimly exclusive. The truth was that the new English system had been established firmly and was associated in an irritating way with material prosperity. The association, to those in the old system, was galling. The children who were sent on the Grand Tour, and the tourists who were by now swarming on the

main roads, went to Italy and found the sun, the nightingale, the woods, the peerless art and architecture of the past, and the exquisite, sly, masked pleasure of the time that Canaletto and Guardi show us. But there was no field in Italy for the kind of gravity that the virtuous English possess. Those came nearest to Italy, perhaps, who, as drunken schoolboys or unfaithful tutors or tourists who missed the stage-coach for bad reasons, joined the Order of Vagabonds, which had long ago been secularized by the Italianate Englishmen. These at least knew the world of lazzaroni. The others only looked at the enchanting country and passed on.

Those that possessed this virtuous gravity found a new pleasure in going to France. This was, though it seems odd to us to-day, something of a sacrifice. English inns were then as good as any in Europe; French inns were dear and bad. The mosquitoes and malaria of Italy did not apparently distress tourists as much as the dirt and vermin and mud of Paris, Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu is much less esteemed than Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, since she had not an ounce of charm and never wandered so far into the picturesque as Turkey; but she was a pre-eminently truthful woman, full of common sense. If she said there were bugs in her room in Paris, then there were; and had there been any possibility that she could have had a room in Paris without bugs, then she would have hired it. But they dropped so thick from the hangings of her bed that she had to sleep on the floor. She who was a perfect housewife, keeping in strict order clean, kind, loving, if sometimes naughty, servants, was disgusted by the starved rats, unpleasant as both the starving and rats often are, who waited on her. Yet she loved Paris.

Why should she not? She admired the intelligence of the company she kept, which, as it included Buffon, Diderot, Madame du DefFand, Madame Geoflfrin, and D'Alembert, was not surprising. Their circle was more brilliant and more sustained than the circle she had tried to create in Hill Street and Portman Square; and they knew quite well what she was at in her essay on Shakespeare, a tweak at Monsieur Voltaire's long nose, which was more than could be said of the English intellectuals, of her day or later. That circle contented not only Mrs. Montagu, but David Hume, who was as happy as a king in his post at the British Embassy. The interaction of these individuals and that group can be taken as typical of the Anglo-French relations of that century.

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The English were not as good wits and philosophers as the French; just as the amount of money and energy they had put into the rural economy of England had prevented them from attaining the artistic eminence of the Low Countries or Italy, so the amount of money and energy they were putting into the political development of England was preventing them from rivalling the Encyclopaedists. They could go to France, easy in their minds because they were richer than the French and better governed, and could conduct a mental barter with their neighbours without the embarrassment that had chilled them in their relations with Italy. For Rome is not France; even those French intellectuals who were not atheist lacked that pride which comes of living on Peter's rock. It was the happiest of international relationships, for it was reciprocal. It was sad that this relationship was broken by the Revolution, by the rise of Napoleon, by his defeat. Horace Walpole, Mrs. Montagu, David Hume, all died before the eighteenth century ended. The next generation grew up without any country at hand which could easily be admired without repudiation of their own; Hazlitt's adoration for Napoleon proceeded from his own dislike of his environment and exacerbated it. There was, furthermore, a most mischievous falsification of the intellectual map of Europe on this side of the Channel, for the intellectuals of France were discredited because they had failed to solve a problem to which they had, in fact, never been allowed to address themselves. The Revolution had come before they were allowed to have a hand in the government of France.

The romantics flew abroad as soon as hostilities were over, and complicated the situation by travelling without being travellers. They simply moved about in order to study themselves by a different light. Keats, who was arguably only a romantic because he was young and might have ripened into a classicism as complete as Milton's, received in Italy the grasp of fingers colder than the hand of Manso. He was thus accidentally prevented from seeking the essence of foreign lands; but Byron and Shelley were as effectively handicapped by their temperaments. Byron practised a remarkable isolation from his environment. Even in the sensitiveness of full youth he writes of a visit to Ali Pasha at Yanina without giving the slightest intimation that he is on the threshold of the East and in the zone of Islam, and that there is hot dirt behind the splendour and a leaning towards frivolous disembowelment. His letters from Italy are delightful; but they might have

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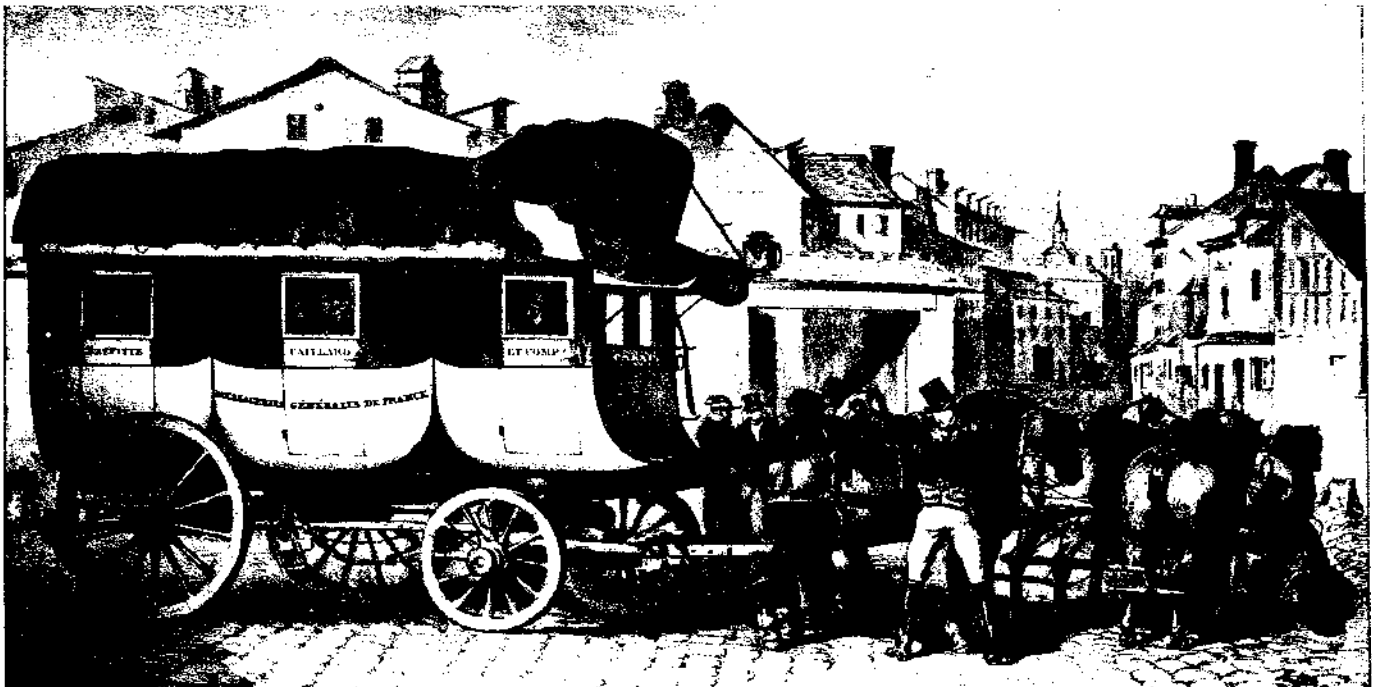
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THE GRAND TOUR. SERVICES TO THE CONTINENT IN 1826



THE GRAND TOUR. A LAFITTE AND CAILLARD DILIGENCE ABOUT 1828

been written from a house near Torquay to which some sultry sluts had been imported* If he died for Greece he did not live with it while he was dying; his last days seem to have been preoccupied with an intention, oddly irrelevant to Greek history at that moment, of adopting a little girl of four. As for Shelley, he writes from Italy as from within the frame of a Claude or a Poussin.

The influence of the Romantics affected the Order of Vagabonds, who became pensive and pretended to significance. When the wretched Medora Leigh, child of Byron and his half-sister, was seduced at the age of fifteen by her sister's husband and became pregnant, she was sent to Calais; and her seducer was led by the spirit of the age to act like a bogus Byron and take her to live in a ruined manor in Normandy where he wrote bad poems and raved at her. Throughout her tearful life poor Medora was popped in and out of France as if it were an umbrella stand and she were a wet umbrella. The general run of vagabonds became throughout the nineteenth century noticeably more lachrymose, and this was largely due to the circumstance that most visitors to the Continent came in a state of enclosed egoism. English people travelled more and more with less and less interest in the countries they visited. The Victorians were a great people, and had many virtues involving real spiritual effort and fastidiousness. But they were at their worst when they went abroad. In no other age can one imagine an Englishman of letters going abroad and getting so little out of it as Thackeray shows he got out of his trips to France and Germany and the Mediterranean countries in his travel books. Dallington, Turler, Nugent, Clenche, Starke, any of the minor writers on European travel through the previous ages, would have blushed at his nullity. It was not that the English had suddenly become stupid. When an Englishman's mind was opened towards some aspect of European life by a particular interest he could write with intelligence and perception: for example, an English Colonel who had been drawn to follow the Turkish army in one of the Russo-Turkish campaigns that few but the specialist can now remember, would write a book about his experiences superior as literature and in information to anything one would expect from his equivalent to-day. But the average tourist was sealed in a disagreeable egoism that made him a very obtuse person indeed.

This produced many awkward -situations which were often

bridged by the human worth of the persons concerned. *An Anglo-Irish lady from County Kerry, a widow with three sons, met when travelling in Switzerland a young teacher named Elysee Reclus, who had been banished from France. She leaped to the conclusion that he must have been a pious Protestant who had been driven out by the wicked Papists, and engaged him as tutor to her sons. He was in fact an atheist Democrat who had had to leave France after the *coup d'état*. When the young man discovered her error he was also surprised, having thought that as she engaged him she was probably a Freethinker of the school of David Hume. During the two years he spent in the post he was careful to do nothing to disillusion her or to betray her trust in his instruction of her sons, who to the end of their days remembered him with delight and reverence. But such agreeable adjustment of the trouble was rarely possible, because it sprang from such a really disagreeable state of mind. Though the Victorian tourist had learned some manners and would not have talked his Protestantism aloud as Milton did, he was thinking his Protestantism with an emotional abandonment and an intellectual ignorance that would have disgusted Milton. Moreover, he was richer than most foreigners and he had attained better political order, and for some reason taste had gone from him, and he was no longer impressed by French literature. The paucity of references to Balzac in the writings of Englishmen of letters of his day or the succeeding half-century is very curious. France and Germany and Italy were the main stamping ground of the Englishman abroad, though individuals had private love-affairs with other countries, often of a most rewarding sort. The French the Englishman would not admire; in Italy there was little contemporary he could admire; Germany he was willing to admire, but it presented him with the spectacle of a nascent society which he could encourage rather than respect. It is significant that it was from this time that in France and Italy the English tourist began to be detested, and the picture of the Englishman with the red hair and whiskers and a green mosquito-veil, and the Englishwoman with projecting teeth and of preternatural height, began to be a commonplace in Continental newspapers and plays. The French and the Italians felt, and felt rightly, that the English traveller was smug and contemptuous; and they were right in attaching importance to this. For it is of vital importance that every nation should be on terms of love with others. Some they must hate, for there is good and

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evil in this world, and this entails division. But some they must love, for a nation, like a man, is not born to live alone.

There were, however, many Englishmen abroad in the nineteenth century who did credit to England. One might expatiate on the many English men and women who were stirred to their depths by the Italian *Risorgimento,* or by the plight of the Christians in the European provinces of Turkey. There was above all John Ruskin, who was surely the greatest of Englishmen abroad, for he loved most, with both his heart and his eyes. They were on the side of the angels, and thereby worked towards our salvation. But theirs is an angelic brightness and whiteness, which is not English either. Let us rather turn to one who was—like all Englishmen, at home and abroad, and all that they may encounter—speckled black, grey, and white, and who, nevertheless, justified the existence of England, and the adventure of creation. Let us look back a little and turn to Tom Ward, Yorkshireman, who died Baron Ward of the Dukedom of Parma. He was born in 1809 of stock nurtured in the East Riding of Yorkshire, in Howden, where there is a medieval church which is among the glories of England. At nine he entered the service of Robert Ridsdale, a former stud-groom who had become a famous figure on the turf and ran a bloodstock farm, and in his teens he was sent to Vienna in charge of a horse. He stayed on the Continent, and as jockey and groom served first a Liechtenstein and then a Hunyadi. Then, in 1833, he was appointed third valet to Charles Louis de Bourbon, Duke of Lucca and later of Parma, to whom, eventually, he became Prime Minister. This career was not unambiguous. But he could have demanded that if he should die, there should be thought only this of him; that there was some corner of a foreign field that was for ever England, that was, in fact, practically indistinguishable from any butler's pantry in an English great house.

Not a great house that was in good fettle: a great house where the family had gone to seed. Charles Louis was a charming, weak, well-meaning creature who had been scared out of his wits by Napoleon as a child, and in his maturity had to abdicate because he had never got over it. His son, Charles Ferdinand, was a raking wastrel, and his wife, daughter of Caroline of Naples, a plotting shrew. Tom Ward tried to keep the whole thing going, and if some gold stuck to his fingers, well, one has known great houses that survived when fhey might have fallen because of

servants who thought at once of the family and of themselves; who pilfered, but who knew that the main thing was to keep the estate going; and in that recognition of necessity we can see English political history in little. Tom Ward's venture was, of course, not ultimately successful. Working with and against Metternich, he saved Parma from Austria; but he was defeated by Charles Ferdinand's wife, Marie Louise, who intrigued with France and thus had her husband's duchy taken from her by Piedmont. The butler often cannot prevent bankruptcy and the forced auction. This one was unable to prevent the assassination of his worthless young master, at whose hands it was impolitic for him or anyone else to guess. But in our time we may make a guess; for when Ward, who was away in Vienna at the time, tried to return to the dukedom, Marie Louise prevented him. She would not send him the money he had put by, so he set to work on a farm in Austria, while he petitioned the British Government to protect his rights, as, indeed, it did in the end, for Lord Palmerston, having heard his story and investigated his accounts, thought well of him.

He wrote with the very voice of England.

'... the Income of Your Government cannot support the cost of soldiery you have on foot much less the Augmentation you say you will impose—and who says or tells you contrary to this I declare Him a courtisan and a flatterer—and not a sincere upright servant of Your Royal Highness—You say you will hear nothing and your will must be executed—I say what is impossible cannot be executed more than momentary and the evil consequences must come afterwards—therefore there can be no *wisdom* or sincerity in the man that executes that which must end in ruin. . . .

*I am sorry to be deprived of your precious letters as though a persevering character which is rather unpleasant at times still you might allways be assured to have real genuine truth very cheap from me, and this is a very rare article expecially for a young sovereign to come at.

*. . . if you are really bent on doing what you like and heeding nothing then as a faithful servant I have a right to beg you to be candid, not wishing to become the slave of caprice which would make me become an outcast of vileness and I am too confident of your Gentleman feelings ever to believe for a moment that you would wish to see me thus reduced for to serve your personal purposes, I feel for you heartily and would work day and night to save you but I cannot bow down to vileness to satisfy your capricious ideas, as such I term all that any man follows which he knows beforehand will deprive Him of public esteem and deprive Him of all His Friends, as long as **the** question was pecunary I entered Boldly into it, as at **the** long end

dyeing rich or poor is no great matter, God gives and God can take, but now the matter has become moral and to sell my moral reputation for your pleasure is beyond the possibility of my principles. I say nothing about being continually in anxiety, that is all no trouble to me when I can do any good, but to see you running Yourself into Ruin and haveing to be the spectator would prove that I was nothing more to you than a mere hireling —and as such I will never appear.'

After his disgrace he was more English than ever. When he started farming he became enamoured of the new idea of inventing machinery to do agricultural work.

'What a wonderful thing Mr. Locomotive for farming purposes . . . think a locomotive pushing two Bells reapers along one right the other left, up Hill down dale trailing 4 to 6 ploughs—this makes me forget all.'

Finally he evolved his own reaping machine, which beat its French and English predecessors.

'This convinces me Old Fellow, that God has not forsaken me, as all my exertions do succeed, placed wherever I may be, this is not pride or ambition that spurs me on ... but I felt it my duty to prove that an Englishman could beat a French Reaping machine. . . .

'Farming is going on beautifully excellent and I must say if others would let me live peaceably I should be the happiest man on Earth as I rise at 5 nay sometimes ¼ past 4 and haveing such a joly troop of men say 27 at the Farm Table I fancy myself a little King, who could be happier besides Farming—say shooting—then comes Mr. Machinery which has all turn'd out a complete ăffair and wondered at by everyone—which proves that I will, must be happy with God's assistance in spite of all my enemies. . . . What a glorious day to be once more recognized as a real offspring of Old Brittain, as a useful member of my country.'

When the British Government awarded him his money he wrote to a friend.

'Christmas Day is over, and so passes Life, divided in seasons, and times for everything, and all is vanity in this world, every moment we vex ourselves is lost time, or when we overload our imaginations with sanguine hopes for the future and torment ourselves to obtain them is also vanity, therefore my Dear Friend get over your troubles, doing your best and leaving God to direct your endeavours, and if not always successful the feeling that you have acted thus will always make you comfortable.'

There must have been English men and women of his type who, whether they themselves were of perfect honesty, acted for honesty's sake, in upholding the family, keeping the machine ticking over. The English gardener in the French château; the English maid who went with her young mistress who had married

into a noble Italian family, taking with her a marriage contract including a stipulation that she be allowed to have a carpet on the marble floor of her bedroom; the English groom who looked after the Hungarian stables; the English Nanny in the aristocratic Austrian nursery; the English governess in the Russian household: not always, but often, such people maintained the idea that in England there was a tradition of decent behaviour that served continuity.

V

Only one Englishman abroad—and he was a Scotsman—saw from the beginning what the new German people were at; and, oddly enough, Thomas Carlyle liked what he saw and recommended it. The other Englishmen abroad, such as Matthew Arnold, were deluded by the blonde placidity of the nation into believing it an antidote to modern violence. So there was war in 1914, and no Englishman abroad, save those who wore khaki, for a matter of four years. Thereafter Europe returned to a situation which was again not quite salutary for England. The English Protestant system that had opposed the Continental Catholic system was too tight, from one point of view, and not tight enough from another. It restricted power not so much to certain classes as to certain ages: England was an old man's country. Also it perpetuated an ancient economic dispensation: there was no thrilling novelty in capitalism or even in socialism. It did not thrill by demanding sacrifice and obedience, for these it did not need. It seemed as if the foundations of society were so soundly laid there was no need to tear them up; the need was for steady building. The English had no faith to defend. The Continent held up to them no faith to adopt or to attack. There was again international stagnation.

There was an immense amount of movement across frontiers which was not travel. People went through foreign countries as blindly as the Romantics, but for a different reason. Shelley and Byron saw little of the life around them because they were doing so much with their minds. These men and women were preoccupied because they did so much with their bodies. They swam at Cannes, they golfed at Le Touquet, they motor-raced in Savoy, they ski-ed and skated above any snow-line they could find. In these winter sports there was a powerful indication of the deintellectualization of life which was in progress. Mountaineering

had been an adventure which referred to courage and beauty and terror. It was specially the sport of Victorian scientists and philosophers who had challenged orthodox belief and who seemed to think that if they went up to the peaks they showed how men without faith could still bear pain and know exalted emotion. These emotions were undoubtedly present in the companies which filled the hotels of Zermatt and St. Moritz, but in such an extremely diluted and inarticulate form that they might as well have been absent.

There was more intellectual travel of a sort. Among the fewer brains there was a close sympathy with France, and journeys were made to Paris which were almost as ecstatic as those of Mrs. Montagu and Horace Walpole and David Hume. But there was a peculiar choice of the admired society. When our eighteenth-century wits and philosophers went to visit Diderot and D'Alembert and Madame du DefFand, they did not also fall upon the neck of Madame Rose Bertin, who was Marie Antoinette's dressmaker. But Monsieur Cocteau and Mdlle Chanel were names that would be side by side in the diary of the Englishman abroad in Paris in the twenties and thirties. Among visitors to Germany also, as Mr. Isherwood's stories showed, there was an even odder breadth of interest; people who had the capacity and education to admire Leonardo and Greek archaic art found almost as much entertainment in night-clubs. This same breadth of interest lifted the Order of Vagabonds to an importance they had never had before, and destroyed their last traces of cheerfulness. There were now innumerable novels written about British expatriates of alcoholic habit and perverted proclivities, in a style which suggested that they were persons of authentic importance, while at the same time their lack of moral code destroyed all their pretensions. For it was Medora Leigh's distinction that she was the child of incest and herself an incestuous lover; but as these novelists had abandoned all moral prejudices they did not recognize incest as anything remarkable. In exchange for the system of values on which all previous imaginative literature and practice of society was based, the age introduced the Englishman abroad to the sunbath.

It might have seemed that Europe was falling into dissolution; but on the contrary it was nerving itself to a new effort at cohesion. Those who turned their eyes to Italy saw that Manso's hand was in the air, describing a most graceless salute. Certainly Milton would now have refused to grasp it. In Germany, too, strange

things ware happening. The education which Matthew Arnold had assured us we English must imitate if we were not to fall into barbarism, had created a new and unpleasing army, in which the new and gloomy Order of Vagabonds was concerned. The peculiar regime to which Manso was consenting laid tyrannous hands on national economics which disrupted the organization of Europe. So to the inconvenience of passports, which in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were necessary only for travellers into Russia and Turkey but were made obligatory everywhere after 1914, was added the active annoyance of currency regulations. In despair England took to the sea, and there was initiated that last stage in the de-intellectualization of travel, the cruise.

The regimes uttered threats till they had at last to put them into action. England was for six years isolated from the Continent and knew, in its sickness for the sun, and hunger to see different earth and hear different languages and experience different cultures, that the Englishman abroad had been his country's physician, giving it the necessary medicine to relieve its congestion. The healing wells he had drawn from France, Germany, Italy, were muddied or had run dry. But another country that had seemed far away, that had been visited only by exceptional travellers, now seemed very near. Russian imaginative literature had been working on us powerfully for the last seventy years, its political literature for the last thirty. Now Russia seemed as deeply interesting to us as any European power had ever been. The Englishman abroad was to become yet another person. We were to know again the conflict of continental faith and local genius: there came back into life something of a Tudor strength and richness: the hammer was striking on the anvil again.

XXV

ENGLAND AND THE SEA

By J. A. WILLIAMSON

I

UNLIKE some other factors, the sea has been an influence on the people of this country from their very beginnings. It was indeed the dominating factor in the process of their arrival here and of becoming inhabitants of England. An attempt to assess its share in creating the England of to-day must therefore be historical, for the sea has never intermitted its effect on England's fortunes from the earliest times to the present.

From pre-history to the eleventh century the sea was the pathway of the invaders of our land and the builders of our nation. It was no easy path in the conditions that prevailed. The primitive emigrants embarked on some continental shore in a little ship, open and shallow like the bowl of a spoon. She had thwarts for rowers to sit upon, a mast and a yard with a square sail made perhaps of skins, and nothing much in the way of storage for water and victuals. She probably leaked copiously and needed constant bailing, and if it was rough she took in a lot of water over the gunwales. In the age when the neolithic subsidence had not long (geologically speaking) created the North Sea and the Channel, there were no metal tools and no metal fastenings with which to build a ship. Enormous labour and cunning went into her making, and no less courage into her use. When the wind came fair the expedition started, to arrive, if the wind freshened during the passage, on a perilous lee shore without much choice of a landing-place. If, after all, the invaders safely disembarked with their women and children, they had still to establish their prehistoric title as colonists against men of a yet prior history who conceived themselves the owners of the island. This went on, century after century, millennium after millennium, until the process became historic with the Saxons and the Danes, and the national stock was fully established. Were not these foundation-immigrants, these pioneers of successive waves of islanders, a somewhat select set of prehistoric men, superior perhaps in enterprise and ability to the common run who milled about France and Germany and Spain in the age before history's dawn? If their

sea-advertture left any permanent mark upon them, they must have been.

The building of a population by successive sea-borne immigrations produced a very mixed stock, and by the time the last great element was added in the Danish settlement the ancestral make-up was extremely complicated. Pressure of circumstance and reaction against it made the agglomeration into a nation, environment, that is to say, rather than heredity, playing the greatest part. But ancestral tradition may be credited with one factor common to all the racial elements. All had come across the sea, all had known the experience which that implied, and all lived in the consciousness that danger lurked beneath the horizon and that new bands of seafarers might come to challenge possession in their turn. Gradually the menace produced a change of outlook, and the sea, from being accepted as an open road into the land, came to be regarded as a zone of defence. The progress of the idea was intermittent, active under great leaders like Alfred, dormant under others not so great.

With the settlement of the Danelaw the large immigrations ended. The Norman Conquest had great political and social consequences, but did not add any great new stock to the population. It produced Norman lords of manors but not Norman villages, much less any Norman area comparable to the Danelaw. Thenceforward for some four centuries the invasion peril eased. The English Crown controlled the northern coast of France, and many more invaders crossed from England to the Continent than in the contrary direction. The Norman kings made (or extended) the Crowds contract with the Cinque Ports, which agreed to serve with ships and men in return for immunities and privileges. The Cinque Ports' fleet was not often required for defence. It was generally a ferry service transporting the king and his armies to France.

Meanwhile the sea was the road to other things than war and invasion. From pre-history there had been trade between the island and the Continent. It would seem that in the earliest times the initiative was with the Continent, which came to seek the island products, while there is less evidence of the islanders going abroad to vend them. Until the end of the Middle Ages the foreign element in our commerce remained strong, although the native element contested its domination. The island sold its produce of tin and wool, and bought luxuries from abroad, wines, spices, and fine

raiment. The trade was necessarily sea-borne. It employed ships and seamen, shipwrights, ropemakers, foresters, growers of flax, and weavers of canvas, a host of interlocked employments all maintained by the use of the sea. All these employments converged on the creation of sea power.

The idea of sea power developed in the late Middle Ages. It was something more than the sea defence which Alfred used against the Danes. Such defence was never absolute and was hardly to be trusted in times when seamen had little mastery over bad weather, and victualling for long periods was almost impossible. Sea power, as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries worked out the idea, transcended sea defence. Its master element was control of the traffic between England and foreign lands and insistence that it should be carried on by English seamen in English ships. Ships of war were hardly yet differentiated from ships of trade, and so the engrossing of sea trade would mean not only the strengthening of sea defence but the weakening of prospective aggressors. It would mean more also: the accumulation of wealth, the increase of national comfort, the employment of population surplus to the land in all those interacting crafts and trades that went to the making of ships. The founders of the doctrine of sea power did not think solely in terms of profit. They felt in their souls that it was degrading for their countrymen to be regarded as a tribe of natives, visited for their raw materials by superior people from the Continent, and beguiled into handing over the precious wool and tin which the Continent knew better how to utilize. And they were right. An island people devoid of sea power were the passive recipients of mercantile enterprise from without, of colonies of foreigners in their seaports, alien careerists seeking openings in the English Church, claimants to the throne arriving with foreign mercenaries in foreign ships. Only through sea power could a smallish island near a great continent enjoy independence and self-respect.

Up to the mid-fourteenth century there was a considerable English marine. It served Edward III in his earlier wars and gave him occasion to style himself Lord of the Sea. But in his later years there was a sad decline which continued long. Not only did French and Spanish enemies ravage the coasts, but the Hanseatic League established a monopolistic grip upon trade between England and the countries bordering the North Sea. In the fifteenth century there were brief moments of promise, as

when Henry IV reorganized his merchants and Henry V created a short-lived fighting Navy. But in general the time was black, and under Henry VI the complaints of decay were loud and continuous, while the loss of the French conquests made invasion from across the Channel more possible than it had been for centuries.

It was in this bad period that an English author wrote a short rhymed essay on sea power which was to have much influence in the better times to come. He was Adam de Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, and he called his work *The Libelle of English Policy.*[1] *Libellus* means a little book or pamphlet, but it may also mean a programme, and both senses are covered by the bishop's *Libelle.* It was a proposal for the stimulation of English commerce by the State and for the maintenance of sufficient naval force to control the flow of trade past the English coasts and particularly through the Straits of Dover:

> Cherish merchandise, keep the Admiraltie,
> That we be masters of the Narrow Sea.

The *Libelle* has little on direct sea defence against invasion. Its whole burden is that if sea power in its twin aspects of merchant wealth and a numerous shipping be well maintained, England has no fear of being the victim of aggression, but may herself be the arbiter of maritime Europe. These ideas constituted the famous mercantile policy, already ineffectively sketched in the legislation of Richard II, now enunciated in this programme of the bad years of Henry VI, but never put into operation until the age of the Tudors.

For half a century after the writing of the *Libelle* the neglect of its policies continued. In all directions English trade suffered from foreign aggression—the connexion with Germany and the Baltic, the Iceland fishery, the Bordeaux wine trade, the cloth export to the Netherlands, all were increasingly diverted from English to foreign control. The ministers of Henry VI ceased to maintain his father's Navy. Even the occupancy of the throne was changed by foreign power when Edward IV, evicted by the Lancastrians, came back in ships supplied by Burgundy and the Hanseatic League. For the League it was a profitable investment, since Edward had to sign a treaty conferring on his benefactor great privileges in England, and a virtual monopoly of England's North Sea trade. Edward IV himself, and his brother Richard

[1] **Its date is about 1436.**

III, strove to atone for this feebleness by aiding their 'merchants in other directions, and public opinion grew ripe to welcome a statesman with a strong maritime policy.

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At length there came with Henry VII not only a king but a dynasty which satisfied the sea ambitions of the people. Henry indeed arrived, like other adventurers of his anarchic century, in foreign ships with foreign troops. But, having gained the throne with such aid, he held it against other practitioners of the same methods. The Hanseatic League, fearing for its treaty, threw in German mercenaries in support of Lambert Simnel, Burgundy made a similar move with Perkin Warbeck. These investments turned out badly, and the invaders were routed. But they had not been foiled by sea power, and the fact that they could land at will stimulated both king and people to make their defenceless England invulnerable. With a man of genius to direct a willing nation, the mercantile-maritime policy became an accomplished aspiration.

The Tudor policy fired the national imagination. Henry VII made sea-borne commerce his chief care, with diplomacy to recover lost markets and open new ones, and Navigation Acts to ensure the employment of English shipping. He waged economic war on the Hanseatic League, but gained his successes without combatant warfare with anyone. The community supported him, for there were few who would have denied the thesis of the *Libelle*:

> For if merchants were cherished to their speed,
> We were not like to fail in any need.
> If they be rich, then in prosperity
> Shall be our land, lordës and commonalty.

The first Tudor also founded English oceanic enterprise with his expeditions to North America under the leadership of the Cabots and the merchants of Bristol. But here, it must be admitted, the national imagination did not take fire. Although a fishery on the Newfoundland banks was gradually established, the profits of these discoveries were not immediate. Half a century of education in world-outlook was to be necessary before England would take to the ocean with enthusiasm.

Meanwhile Henry VIII followed his father in appealing to English interest in the local sea. The sea power of Henry VIFs kingdom had flourished by his able diplomacy, the astute playing-

off of the surrounding knaves and fools against one another; and the king had maintained the nucleus of an efficient fleet, but had not needed a great one. Henry VIII was not a diplomatist in his father's class. He was fully imbued with the doctrine of sea power, but he gave it a more combatant emphasis and created a great fighting fleet. He was the founder of the Royal Navy as a service with a continuous tradition and an unbroken succession of ships and men, administration and command. He made the Navy the chief fighting service, a position from which it did not afterwards recede. It had its periods of excellence and decline, at times incomparably efficient, at others under some blight of corruption or spiritual decay. But, in good times or bad, it has always been the index of the State's prestige, in a way that the military power has not always been. In the crisis of 1545, the first of many such, it justified its author by foiling a serious French invasion, which was allowed no chance to land.

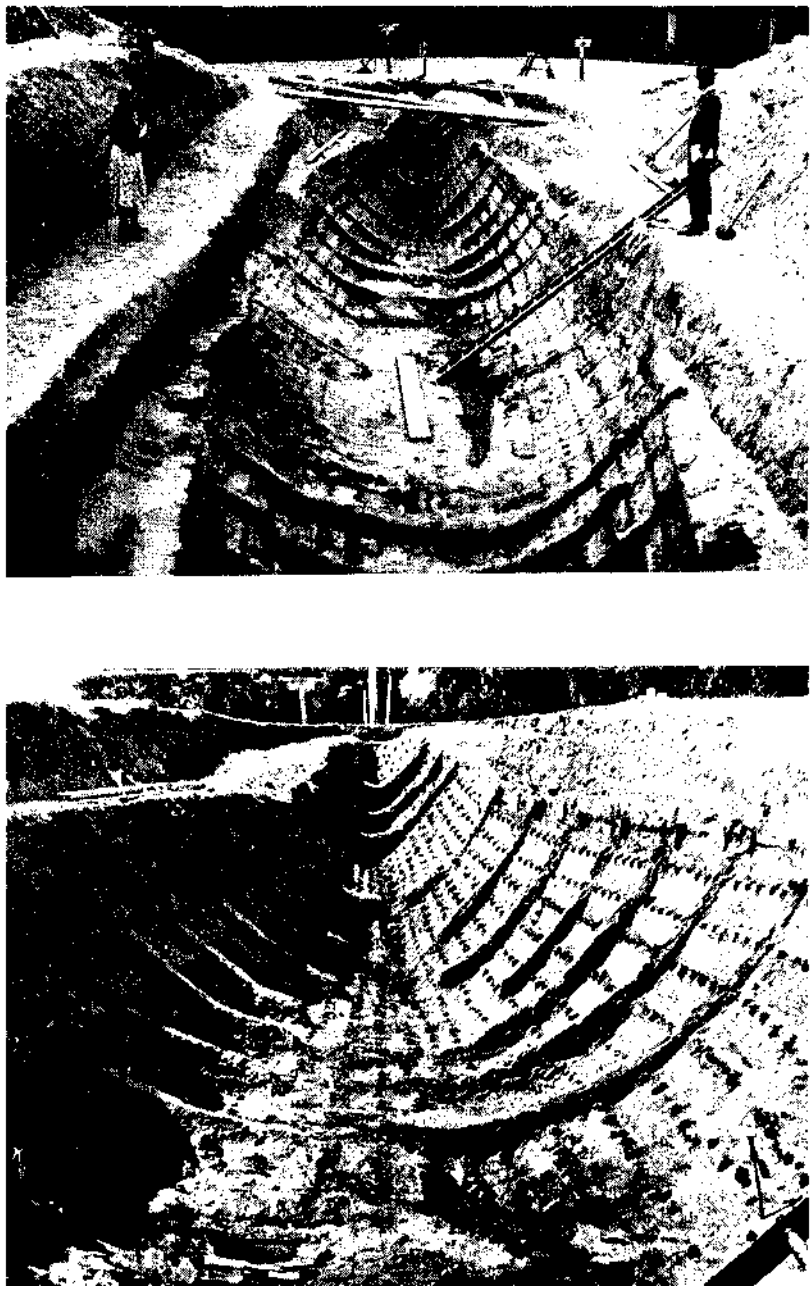
After Henry's death his three children reigned in succession. Edward VI and Mary divided only eleven years between them. Elizabeth reigned for forty-five. The eleven years were a discouraging time, with the Navy falling into decay and the country sinking to be a pawn instead of an arbiter in the struggles of the continental powers. The Tudor State was at a low ebb between its powerful early and later periods. Yet in this time, curiously enough, there began the oceanic stage of English sea power. The merchants of London were losing ground to old rivals and were eager to find new markets in regions untried. Edward's minister Northumberland desired outlets for English cloth in order to allay unemployment and discontent. Men of learning were at length turning their attention to geographical discovery. The time was ripe for oceanic enterprise, as it had not been under Henry VII. The councillors of Edward VI invited Sebastian Cabot to return to England. He had long been in Spanish service and was now a venerable figure, who had seen his father discover North America fifty years before, and had since accumulated a reputation for knowing all that was to be known about ocean trade and discovery. Cabot did know a great deal, and important results followed. A London company sent out an expedition to find the North-East Passage to Asia, and discovered instead the White Sea and access to Russia, an entirely new market for English cloth. At the same time other Londoners went south to Morocco and thence pushed on to the Gold Coast and

the Niger delta. The oceanic interest was established *by* the time Elizabeth came to the throne.

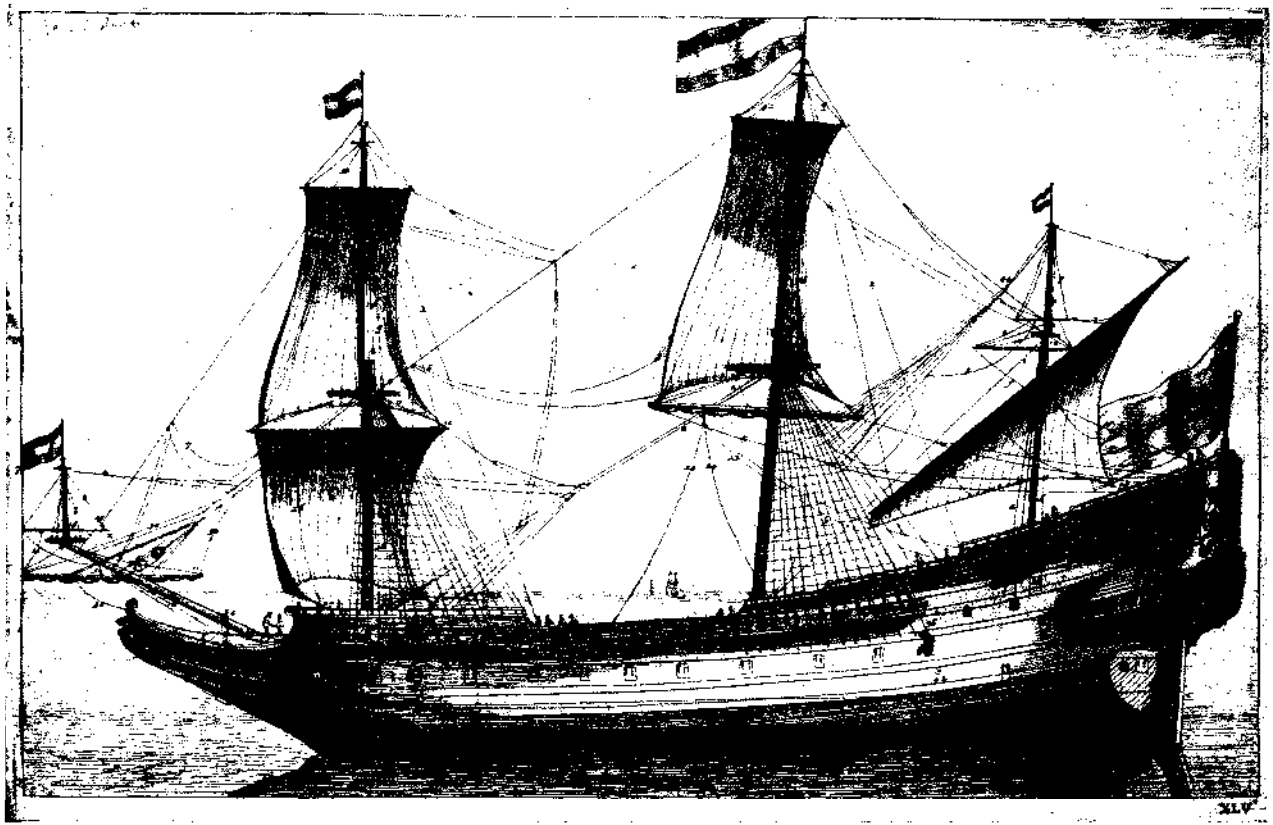
Under Elizabeth it expanded mightily. The English outlook embraced the whole fascinating world, enough of it known to stimulate even the cautious, so much more unknown to spur the adventurous. Merchants, seamen, nobles, statesmen, scholars, all played their parts. The lure of wealth won by daring gave zest to a determination based on a deeper motive, the love of freedom and the sense that freedom was in danger. For England and Europe were threatened by the hegemony of Philip I I , whose Spanish empire was huge and strong to contemporary observers. The threat was religious and political. Only by taking the lead of the Protestants could England herself remain free, and only by striking at the roots of Philip's power across the tropic seas could she achieve her victory: It is his Indian gold', wrote Ralegh, 'that endangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe/ Such were the inspirations that founded our oceanic power.

How it was done can be touched on only by allusion here. In the earlier stage enterprise was the major factor, in the later national danger. The dividing line is about 1580, when Philip absorbed Portugal with her Eastern wealth and Drake came home with his *Golden Hind* full of Spanish treasure. The first was a warning that might would not spare right, the second ensured that England would not shirk her decision. The queen did not fix her purpose and declare it in ringing words. That was not her way. She hated the prospect of fighting and talked appeasement to the last. But she did knight Drake instead of hanging him. Meanwhile Hawkins was rebuilding the fleet and doubling its strength, so that appeasement had its uses.

It was thirty years after the queen's accession that the Armada was launched and battle fairly joined. In that generation the face of English sea power had changed. Bold, forcible trade in the Caribbean and on the African coast, armed reprisals when the traders were attacked, and Drake's superlative reprisal in the inviolate South Sea had constituted the tropical record. Projects for new routes to the Indies, the North-West Passage, the North-East Passage, had been tried again and again, and always the report was that success would crown one more effort. 'The passage is most probable, the execution easy', wrote John Davis after his third attempt, foiled, as he claimed, only by lack of means. Gilbert had written cogently of the Passage, Dee the man of science was



THE LINES OF THE GREAT OPEN ROWING-BOAT OF SUTTON HOO, SUFFOLK. Sixth-seventh century



TYPICAL MERCHANTMAN OF THE 17TH CENTURY

certain of It, and Hakluyt the publicist held it so much a public interest that he spent time and money in collecting and printing its evidences* The far South had appealed to empire-builders, and Grenville and the magnates of Devon had sought a patent to possess in the queen's name Terra Australis Incognita, or, as they put it, all unknown countries having the Pole Antarctic elevate'. More feasible for colonization appeared Atlantic North America. Gilbert died in the attempt to settle Nova Scotia, and Ralegh sent hi§ expeditions to the Virginia venture, which Hakluyt expounded to the queen in his *Discourse of the Western Planting.* Under Burghley's statecraft the old short-distance trades, the solid foundation of the national wealth, were recovering, and the Muscovy, Eastland, and Turkey Companies, medium-distance and newer, were making profits to finance the ocean experiments.

In those thirty years the trial of strength with Spain and the Counter Reformation drew slowly nearer. Elizabeth would have avoided it, and Philip long clung to the idea that his purpose could be gained by fomenting plots and revolution and without a stand-up fight. Like his successors in military dictatorship—including himself there have been five major dictators in less than four centuries—he would much have preferred to complete his continental domination without tackling England, reserving her for separate treatment afterwards. It has never worked out in that way, and one and all have been naively indignant at England's aggressiveness in refusing to await her turn for destruction. They all desired to suppress the independence of European states, and generally also the liberty of individuals to choose their gods and live their lives as men. Every one of these attempts at enslaving mankind has been defeated under the leadership of England. She has been always inferior to her opponent in weight of population and military numbers, but always the unsparing fighter with no thought of yielding, the inspirer of resistance, the refuge of the vanquished, the spirit which will not let the unfortunate give in, and which, in the only sense in which Rousseau's phrase has any meaning, will 'compel men to be free'. The reasons for these successive victories of the apparently weak over the apparently strong are not readily definable, but they lie in the circumstances of which this chapter treats. Character, instinct, policy, and destiny are different aspects of the same indefinable collocation of facts. Sea power was a builder of them all from the days of the Tudors to our own.

In the Tudor crisis the principles of the employment of sea power in a struggle against a despot stood out clearly and their perception laid the foundation of a tradition. England supported the Dutch patriots and the French Huguenots whose common enemy was Philip IL After long campaigns it became clear to him that he could never subdue resistance so long as the island remained in action. He was therefore compelled to alter his plan and attack England out of her turn. The events of the Armada year completed the hold of the doctrine of sea power upon the English mind. Armed force upon the sea could not only nourish resistance to the tyrant on the Continent, but could prevent him from invading England as a counterstroke. This became not only a principle of national strategy but an influence on religion, for the fact that the tyrant was Catholic and the resisters mainly Protestant linked Protestantism with sea power and liberty.

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The nineteen years of the Spanish War emphasized the combatant aspect of sea power and gave check to most of the plans for oceanic expansion. But the old writer of the fifteenth century and the wise king Henry V I I had urged the mercantile aspect. 'Cherish merchandise' had been their word, as well as 'keep the Admiralty', and the Elizabethans did not forget that the war was merely an interruption. The seventeenth century, the Stuart century, restored the emphasis to commerce, and especially to commerce of the new oceanic kind with colonial empire as its outgrowth. In the early Stuart period mercantile sea power, again allied in some aspects with militant Protestantism, created transatlantic plantations in one direction and an East Indian trade in the other.

For the first time a stream of emigrants from England crossed the ocean to settle in New England, Virginia, Bermuda, and the islands of the Caribbean. Most of them became colonists for life and the parents of a new colonial-born stock, ultimately to be the American nation. A few came back to tell of their experiences, and some of them produced interesting writings such as John Smith's *True Travels* and John Ligon's *History of Barbados.* Under James I there were press controversies about Virginia and under Charles I about New England, while the Restoration period witnessed a boom in books and pamphlets on the West Indies. John Scott, a Caribbean adventurer, became a hanger-on of the

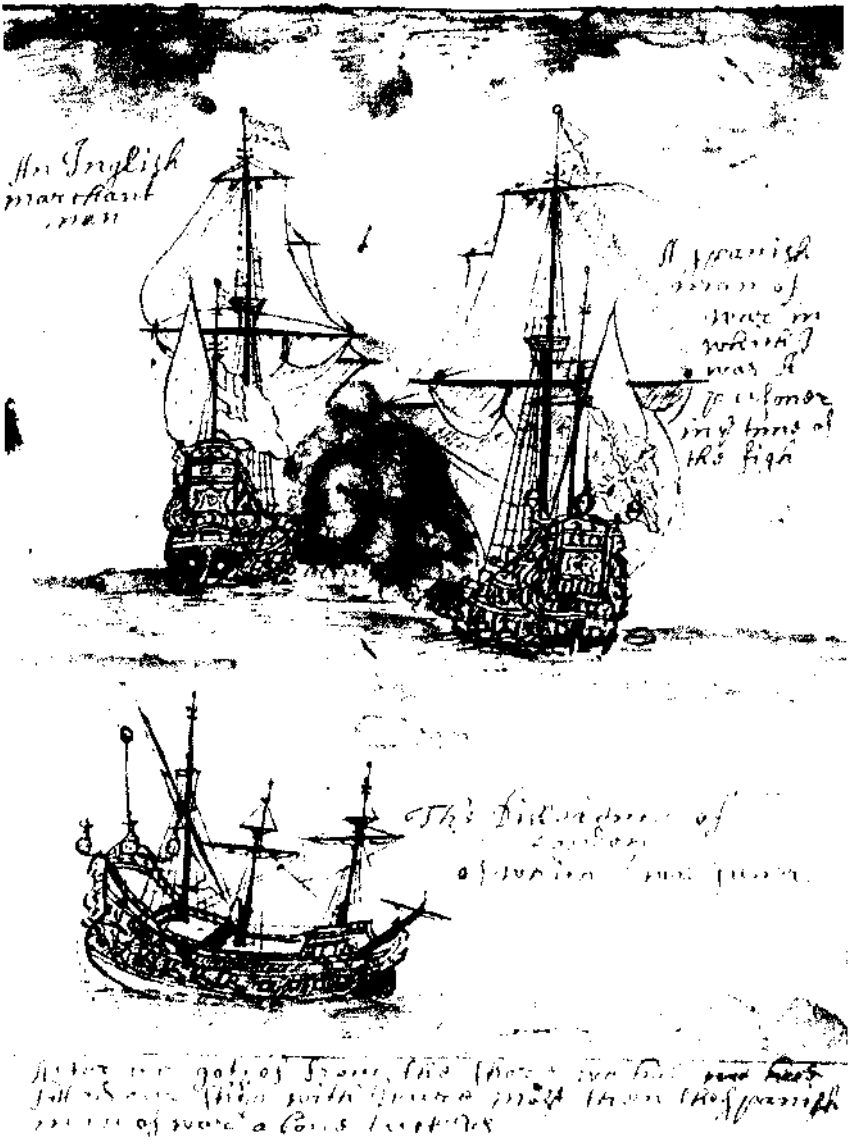
court of Charles I I , where his loose character must have been congenial, and got the office of Geographer Royal created for him on the strength of his West Indian information. True to type, he planned and never wrote a large-scale comprehensive history of the West Indies, but he did leave some manuscript notes, now in the Bodleian and the British Museum. Their tone and substance convey vividly the mentality of the Restoration adventurer, so different from that of the Elizabethans and of the Puritan emigrants of the previous generation.

In the other direction, round the Cape to the East, the Stuart century founded the great Anglo-Indian connexion. In good times the Company dispatched its squadrons and acquired its factories, and in bad the interlopers trespassed while its own factors deserted to become private traders. The London waterside heard talk of Gombroon, the Swally Roads, and Fort St. George, merchant firms opened dealings behind the Company's back in India and China, and rich gentlemen came home from the East and built luxurious houses in the outskirts of London. As yet they were only a trickle, not the nabob flood of the eighteenth century; but they made their contribution to the change of interests that transformed the England of Shakespeare into the England of Queen Anne. In contemporary economics, politics, and pamphleteering, the East Indies were probably more important than America and the West. That huge book *Purchas his Pilgrims,* which runs to twenty volumes in its modern reprint, is largely of eastern voyages and travels, although published as early as 1625. The controversy between the Company and the interlopers was perennial. It produced floods of economic argument and influenced the national politics so far as to become a major issue at the century's close.

James I neglected the Navy and allowed corrupt courtiers to degrade it rapidly from its high Elizabethan standards. Charles I meant it well, but in practice was as incompetent in naval affairs as in other departments of kingship. There was a moment at the opening of his reign when he might have become one of the leaders of our sea tradition, in the line of Elizabeth and Henry VIII. For again there was war with Spain, and on the Continent there were Protestants oppressed by Spain, and the Dutch were in the field again on the side of liberty. If Charles had had it in him he might have rescued the Navy from mismanagement and played the old game of Protestant sea power and blockade to all

tyrants. But he was not such a man. His ill-led Navy Was humiliated, and he quarrelled more zestfully with his own subjects than with their enemies. The seamen never forgave him. Spaniards had foiled them at Cadiz and Frenchmen at Rochelle, and their sick had been turned out to die in the streets as the broken expeditions straggled home. The Spanish Wars had made English seamen ultra-Protestant. At length the contest between king and Parliament became a civil war between Puritans and bishops; and the Navy sided with the Puritans and thereby lost Charles his head. The sword of Cromwell is generally credited with winning the Civil War, but in truth he would have had no sword if the Navy had backed the king. For London gave the Puritans the country's administrative machine, and it was also their arsenal, their treasure-house and one of their best recruiting grounds. The wealth of London depended on its foreign trade, and the city's power to wage war would have collapsed under a blockade of the Thames estuary. Sea power decided the Civil War.

The Dutch Wars followed, much more fierce and bloody than the Spanish War, but of brief duration, three two-year bouts spread over a space of twenty-two years. They arose from the shift of power between the maritime nations, and by the same process they were ended. The English, with the Dutch as junior allies, had brought about the decline of Spain. But England had herself declined under the appalling corruption and incompetence of the early Stuarts. The Dutch took the place of both, flourishing in their renewed war with feeble Spain and mounting on the crest of the wave to the position of the world's greatest sea power. In Europe they were the carriers of all peoples' goods, in the Far East they trampled down the English Company and mastered the spice trade. More Dutch ships than English sailed to Barbados and Virginia, and Amsterdam drew greater profit than London from all the English plantations. The parliamentary leaders endured in silence until they had conquered the king, and then they sought their remedy. They put sound officers in charge of the Navy and built new ships at an unexampled rate—a 'war effort' comparable with those of the twentieth century. They passed the first of a new series of oceanic Navigation Acts, different in scope from those of the Tudors, and designed to ensure that the nascent British Empire should play its part in the mercantile policy of wealth and sea power. The Dutch Wars were not all victory, and there was a black day when Lojidon heard the enemy bombarding



A PAGE FROM THE DIARY OF EDWARD COXERE, SAILOR, ADVENTURER (1633-94)

CARGOES of the WALPOLE, STRETHAM, FRANCES, AYSLABIE, and JAMES AND MARY, from *Port St. George* and *Bengal*; and the SUNDERLAND from *China*: Arrived on Account of the United Company of Merchants of *England* Trading to the *East-Indies*: VIZ.

	Pieces
Atchabannies	911
Addatties	2153
Allaballies	575
Baftaes	7449
Bettellees	5160
Ditto Oringal	300
Ditto Policate	200
Cattarys	199
Carridarries	1179
Cherconnaes	140
Cheſmas Strip'd	200
Chints Bengal	19990
Ditto Madraſs	697
Chillaes	4551
Coffaes	63854
Ditto Flower'd	1302
Ditto Quilted	235
Coopees	1081
Chowtars	4729
Chucklaes	637
Curranees	624
Dimities	229
Ditto Flower'd	400
Diapers	200
Doſſooties	3900
Dorcas	8557
Elatches	478
Emerties	3200
Ginghams	6262
Ditto White	1200
Gorgorons	210
Ditto Strip'd and Flower'd	60
Gurrahs	43765
Ditto Long	12313
Gurrah Sheets	550
Handkerchiefs China	156
Ditto Bengal ſilk flow. ſingle	2109
Humhums	10851
Jamwars	1905
Jamdannies	162
Izzarees	180
Lacowries	4198
Longcloth	36030
Ditto Blue	2610
Lungees Herba	120
Moorees	2560
Mulmuls	57188
Ditto Flower'd	2033
Nainſooks	650
Nillaes	10327
Peni-ſcoes	2279
Photaes	18545

	Pieces
Poiſes Strip'd and Sprig'd	72
Romalls	47917
Ditto ſilk Lungee	1768
Sallampores	48760
Ditto Blue	2000
Sannoes	4892
Sattins	46
Shalbafts	564
Seerbands	1918
Seerbenees	1465
Seerſuckers	3600
Seerbandcoonaes	360
Souſeys	12121
Succatums	50
Taffaties Bengal	6265
Ditto Strip'd	1735
Ditto Herba	1543
Ditto Plain China	1597
Taffa de Foolas	1600
Tanjebs	14464
Ditto Flower'd	358
Terrindams	7006
Tepoys	121

L.	
1800	Cotton-Yarn
110000	Cowries
18100	Pepper
21800	Quickſilver
67100	Raw Silk Bengal, *gr. l.*
218000	Redwood
631000	Saltpetre
48000	Shellack
185100	Tea Bohea
7500	ditto Bing
19300	ditto Congou
350	ditto Chulang
400	ditto Hue
3000	ditto Hyſon
7900	ditto Pekoe
85400	ditto Singlo
7200	Tincal
80400	Turmerick

China-ware — 150 Cheſts.
Gold — 1 Box

Beſides ſeveral Parcels of Goods, the Particulars whereof are not yet known.

Chatham "and destroying the fine ships which Charles II had laid up too soon in anticipation of an early peace. But in sum the Dutch supremacy was curbed and England recovered her position, at least to equality and perhaps to something more. Then it was time to reconsider policy, for another power, the France of Louis XIV, was growing great at the expense of both the combatants. Some in England had held from the beginning that the Dutch Wars were a mistake, and by the 1670*8 all were agreed upon it. They were ended with honours easy, not to be renewed, and the sea powers turned together in their ancient role to defend liberty against a second military dictatorship.

The new series of Navigation Acts that began in 1650 formed the permanent code on which rested, with all its strength and weakness, the mercantile sea power that was the essential England until the fall of Napoleon. They embodied the defence policy of an island adjacent to a continent, of a numerically weak people who had to make the surrounding sea take the place of a strong army. The Commonwealth which passed the Acts of 1650 and 1651 was beset with enemies and could discern no friend anywhere in Europe. Its remedy was to send out Blake for the immediate need and to found a long-term policy for the sea power of the future. The Act of 1651 declared that its purpose was 'the increase of the shipping and encouragement of the navigation of this nation, which, under the good providence and protection of God, is so great a means of the welfare and safety of this Commonwealth'. The substance of the Acts, revised and amended in a long series, was uncompromising and destructive to foreign interests which had become vested during the spineless early Stuart period. There was to be no foreign trade with the colonies and no foreign carrying of goods into English ports. Foreign ships might bring the produce of their own country, but not of other countries. English ships and seamen entered into the employments from which foreigners were thus displaced. Merchant seamen and fishermen formed the only personnel worth having for the manning of the fighting Navy in time of war, and thus it is arguable that the fleets that kept the soil of England inviolate for two hundred years owed their existence to the Navigation Acts. The material inferiority and the need for high quality in defence continued through that period, the period, roughly, of the French peril. Militarist France drew her armies from a population three times that of Great Britain, while she possessed also

the wealth and the seamen to create at least an eJjual fleet. Spanish resources, not to be despised, were generally also at French disposal. In the French wars the English were a people outnumbered and with all at stake. By the mid-nineteenth century, when the Navigation Acts were repealed, the conditions had changed. The population of Great Britain had risen to two-thirds that of France and her relative industrial strength was much increased. She supported with greater ease a paramount Navy, manned chiefly by permanent seamen of its own training, and not relying so much as in the past upon a mercantile marine fostered by trade monopolies.

IV

The tradition of sea power as conferring at once security and the means to pay for it was confirmed by the struggle against Louis XIV. Under William III and Marlborough the Army indeed played its part, brilliant although not massive. But it did so only by command of the sea, without which, as every man knew, the French would have fought in England and the Stuarts would have been reimposed on the people who had rejected them. Public opinion was always anti-military for two reasons, first, that any conceivable occupant of the throne might be suspected of intending a despotism and that an army would be his agent, and secondly, that the Army as an instrument of foreign war was very expensive and appeared to win victories more for the benefit of our continental allies than of ourselves. 'England a catspaw' was a favourite theme of the isolationists. Inspired by Swift and Bolingbroke, they were strong enough to reverse the policy of the State, treat Marlborough very ungratefully, and make a purely sea-power peace in 1713. As compared with the Army, the Navy was universally popular, and so continued throughout the eighteenth century. Experience showed that it was no danger to civil liberty, as the soldiers of Cromwell and James II had been. For seamen to fire upon their own people in support of an arbitrary power was unthinkable, and the popular songs and literature of the eighteenth century show that neither the Navy nor the public ever did think of it. The Navy also was inexpensive, or at least in some measure self-supporting by its captures of enemy ships and goods; and the expenditure that was incurred for it had a favourable reaction on the national economy. So long as ships-of-war were built and equipped with the same timber, cordage,

and canvas as the merchantmen, fashioned by the same shipwrights and manned by the same seamen, the State expenditure on the Navy vitalized the same trades, crafts, and callings that produced the mercantile marine and, by definition of 1651, 'the safety and welfare of this Commonwealth'. Sea power was both combatant and productive, and the two aspects were inseparable. Nine-tenths of the Navy's skill was in the seamanship equally required by the merchant service, and the weapon training of those days was simple. The men who fought the French in war carried the wares of England all over the world in peace. The eighteenth-century sea power was a veritable limb and member of the nation.

This is to speak collectively of a community and one of its institutions. Yet, with it all, there was little knowledge and understanding between seamen and landsmen. The seaman was generally born in a seaport and went to sea at the age of what we should now consider a small boy. He could know little or nothing of any way of life but his own. The landsman probably knew less than he does now about ships and their handling and the life of those who manned them. It is true that in the great port of London and other places the shipping was all on view in the stream instead of being hidden in docks barred to the public, as it is now. On the other hand few people travelled, and the number of those who had ever made even a short voyage was very small. A great many had never seen a ship or salt water. There were no illustrated papers or boys' adventure stories, and very little amateur sailing. The landsman on holiday did not go to the coast but to some inland resort. George I I I at Weymouth, with the band playing as he took his dip, was the forerunner of a new tradition not characteristic of the time. No one troubled about the Navy's living conditions until the mutinies of 1797. Even after that, when a humanitarian conscience did develop about various people's living conditions, the merchant seaman's case secured attention a very long time after those of the negro slave, the convicted criminal, and the factory operative. Samuel PlimsolPs *floruit* was seventy years after that of William Wilberforce.

It is therefore necessary to qualify the statement that the nation believed in sea power with the further statement that the nation knew very little about the details of its achievement. There is a radical difference in kind between a sea-power state and a military state, a difference which throws light on the fact that sea power is favourable to liberty while militarism is not. The military state

grabs every one of its citizens and makes him a soldier, so that the army is co-extensive with the nation and everyone knows the technical vocabulary and the elements of military training. In a state based upon sea power, on the other hand, only a small minority goes to sea, works the ships, and learns the technical language without which sea transactions cannot be expressed or understood. The majority never learn the language, and so cannot understand the movements of ships; and they have no incentive to study even the geography of the sea, its currents, and its winds. This was true in the great maritime age of Elizabeth, and is only a little less true now for reasons arising out of our modern wars. In Elizabeth's time not even the statesmen had any comprehension of what went on at sea. There are no accurate and professionally written dispatches on the Armada fighting. They would have been written in language which the recipients would not have understood, and there were no sea officers of any standing left in London to interpret them. The government was regaled instead with suitable metaphors like 'wrestling a pull with them' and 'plucking their feathers one by one', while the squadrons manoeuvred and the long culverins did their work in a battle-cloud that has never been lifted to this day. So it is that no one knows what really happened in those Channel fights from Plymouth up to Gravelines.[1]

The nation at large, then, accepted the doctrine of sea power while knowing very little of the details of seafaring. The implications of sea power were wide and deep. There was no need for a large army, and political liberty was secure from despotic encroachment. There were no fortified cities as on the Continent. Our towns could expand as need required, their traffic pass freely in and out, their local government function for civic ends, untrammelled by the overriding demands of the builders of batteries and bastions. Private property and personal liberty (two aspects of the same condition) were not subject to the relentless pressure which we know so well to-day in modern war, the requisitioning,

[1] It may be answered that this vagueness was the common fault of Tudor English, which was not in any case a language capable of technical precision. But read for comparison the account by W. Patten, published in 1548-9 (reprinted in A. F. Pollard's *Tudor Tracts,* London, 1903) of Protector Somerset's invasion of Scotland and victory at Pinkie. It shows that the language of the period was adequate to the recording of a military campaign with almost the precision of a modern textbook. It would be absurd to doubt that Tudor seamen also could clearly indicate the movements of their ships, although they did not do so in addressing **the queen** or **her** council.

the forbidden areas, the sentry who will shoot if you trespass, the proximity of men and authorities who say, 'Your law is not ours'. All this was common over the Continent from the age of Louis XIV to the twentieth century, but was unknown in England before the present generation.

Sea power promoted liberty by rendering unnecessary a large military power, the foe of liberty. As we look back, it may seem that our forefathers were hypersensitive on that point, although in principle their attitude was sound. The rule of Cromwell's Major-Generals reads mildly to us who know what 'the military* can do nowadays, but to seventeenth-century England it was the height of tyranny. When James II raised unnecessary regiments and camped them near London, the whole people, Tory squires and rustics as well as Whig nobles and merchants, united to resist before it should be too late; and the soldiers themselves were half-hearted for their master. By general consent he was hustled out, to be barred from return by the Navy whose friend in his better days he had been. The 'free-born Englishman' of the eighteenth century thus secured his freedom, and he knew that it rested on sea power; for defence there had to be, and if not by sailors, then by soldiers, with all which that entailed. This conviction was cast into immortal phrases in the eighteenth century's *Rule Britannia.* in which, for once, a great poem enshrined a great political truth. Before the century ended 'the nations not so blessed as thee' were indeed seen in their sorry contrast, overrun by tyrant soldiers. Napoleon's invasion threat and the Navy's defeat of it clinched the lesson, and nineteenth-century England from first to last was saturated in the doctrine of sea power and liberty.

In that hopeful nineteenth century sea power was so secure that liberty expanded like a growing tree. For a hundred years after Trafalgar the Navy was almost unchallenged. By a change characteristic of British methods the mercantile system was regarded no longer as the indispensable basis of sea power, and the Navigation Acts, maintained during two centuries, were discarded in 1849 like outworn shoes. Circumstances were now different; and British policy, which is reaction to circumstances, became diametrically opposite to what it had been. The Industrial Revolution had made the country the workshop of the world. Unlimited transport was its need, and restrictions had to go. In the subsequent increase of tonnage British shipping had more than its share by reason of experience in management, excellence

of seamanship, and the country's specialities of iron and engines replacing timber and canvas. From that time to the end of the century the British shipping interest supported free trade, for free trade supported it. One more liberty was added to the benefits conferred by sea power.

The greatest of all those benefits remained the small voluntary army that coexisted with the great conscript forces of England's neighbours. Freedom from compulsory service was a fundamental differentiation between English and continental mankind. With it went public-spirited effort of all kinds, many works performed by unpaid councils, committees, and associations, much spontaneous generosity taking the place of the State's command. It all stood ultimately on volunteering for defence, whose continuance rested on faith in sea power. That faith survived the moderate-sized South African War at the turn of the century, when there was no question of the Navy's ability to hold off continental ill-wishers and volunteering produced a military effort unequalled in the past. It did not survive the first German War of 1914. We did not then, as in past struggles with continental despotism, rely on sea defence, giving aid and comfort to resisters, and landing perhaps a small high-performance army when the time should be ripe. We took the view that if the Germans should overrun France sea power would not save us, and so we conscripted every fit man and more, and endured over two million casualties to keep the enemy away from the coast of France. The object would have justified no such sacrifice if it had not been held essential to the survival of England. British statesmanship had lost its old faith in sea power. It no longer held, as in Nelson's time, that England's frontier is the enemy's coast, but that the frontier lies up-country and must be held by a conscript army.

It was the presage of far-reaching change, inevitable but deplorable. The relationship of England to the Continent was modified to our disadvantage. Fast ships, aircraft, and submarines were making the Channel less a barrier to invasion and less tenable by British fleets than it had been in Napoleon's time. The British strategy of the old wars was less likely to find scope in another respect, that of stimulating and assisting an inevitable revolt against the tyrant. For the modern resources of a ruthless government in power enable it to stifle revolt with certainty. Underground resistance there may be, but it cannot take the field in the guise of regular armies with organized states behind them, as

Napoleoif s enemies did until they brought him down. These things were seen in the war against Hitler's Germany. At the outset the policy of 1914 was adopted, of building up in France a British army of maximum size. There was a significant military development. Volunteering, which had created the armies of the first German war and maintained them through half its course, was not allowed. The military power decided to call up men as it wanted them, not to avail itself of their initiative and public spirit. The events of 1940 forced the Army out of France and restored in some respects the pattern of the old sea-power wars, with a greatly diminished casualty list compared with that of 1914-18. But in addition to sea power a huge military, air, and industrial effort was required for victory, and achieved it after six years only just in time. Superficially it looks like a modern version of the Marlborough and Wellington wars. But the proportions were changed. Sea-power, indispensable though it was, no longer dominated the war effort. The military, air, and industrial aspects involved a regimentation of individuals and subordination to the State calculated to endure for many years after the passing of the crisis, and even to produce a permanent change in English life. The twentieth century has not been one of sea power and liberty. They have declined together.

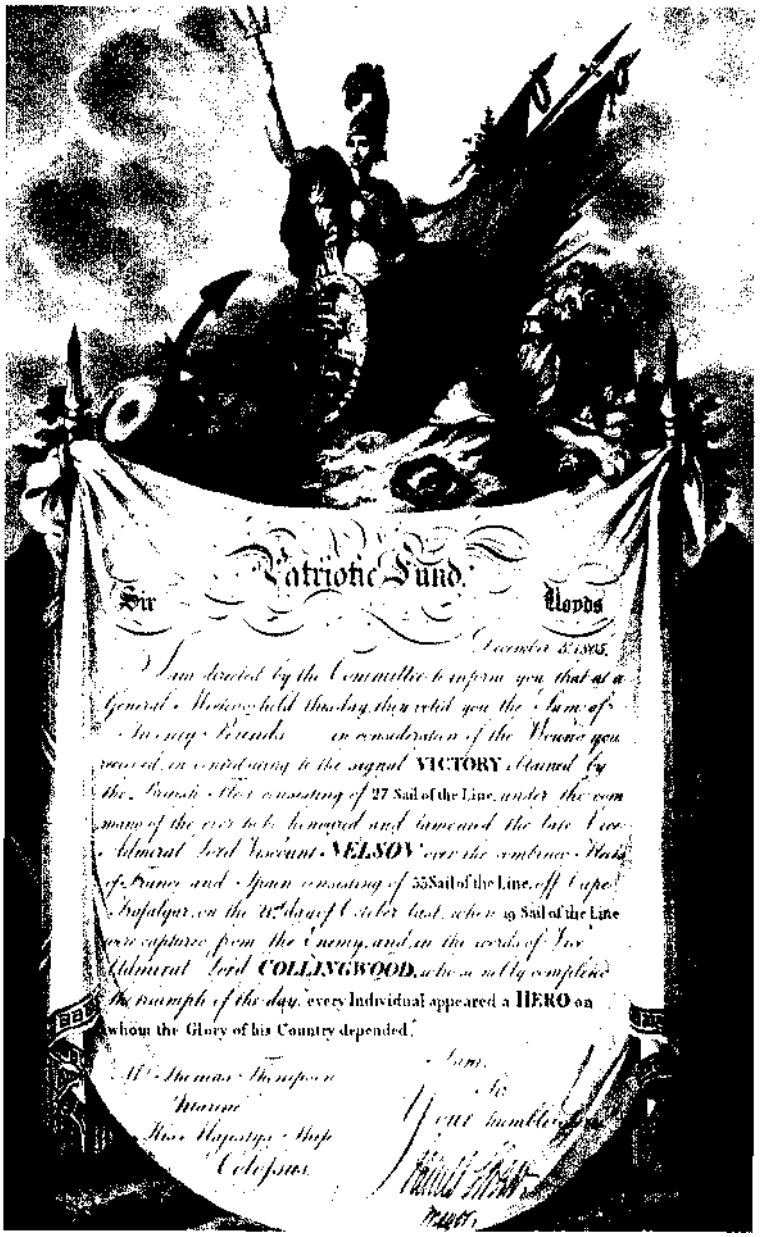
So it would seem from the present standpoint. But that is the middle of the twentieth century, and the perspective may be false. The nineteenth, however, is seen in truer proportion as it recedes. It was an age in which the world was the Englishman's to travel over, adventure, and seek his fortune. He did it with zest, and in the main with humanity and justice, so that the world was the better for his doings. It was all 'overseas', the emigration, the services, the commerce, missions, exploration: the sea was the path to all. Wherever water flowed the British seaman carried his cargoes, while behind him the Navy patrolled the world and guarded the peace that is now lost. The awareness of all that oversea enterprise was part of the nation's life. The dreams of generous youth were of service in the outer parts; and youth came back as experienced men, steadying society by their code and traditions.

v

The past half-century, apparently the declining phase of sea power, is the time in which England has understood it best and has shown more interest in its record #than in the days when it was the

sole defence. The Royal Navy has never produced a naval historian of the first rank, but the lack was to some extent supplied by the American Admiral Mahan, whose writings were largely on the doings of British fleets. His *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, published in 1890, opened a new era of naval historiography. In England the response has been mainly amateur, in the sense that the writers have not been sailors. There are obvious reasons why few seamen have written sea history. History demands research in archives and libraries, impossible to a man who is serving afloat, and uncongenial to one who has retired from such service. It may also be that the two callings foster widely different mentalities, the one demanding quick thinking, unhesitating decision, unquestioning performance, the other favouring leisured apprehension, postponement of decision, deference to the views of others, readiness to reconsider. If this be the tendency, there have been exceptions, as instanced in the writings of Sir J. K. Laughton and Sir Herbert Richmond. Our maritime history has nevertheless been mostly the work of landsmen, and its quality and scope have not been commensurate with the importance of the subject. There is no history of the Royal Navy, much less of British sea power in the larger sense, comparable to Fortescue's *History of the British Army*. Yet there have been many writings, notably Sir Julian Corbett's succession of strategical studies, that have made sea history appeal to a growing minority of the educated. The universities have scarcely responded to the interest, and in their schemes of study the subject has remained insignificant; and so long as they remain inert, there will be little movement in the schools.

The non-professional element has always been prominent and accepted in English sea affairs. In Tudor times, in the more distant and hazardous trades, the merchant often personally accompanied his goods and was described as captain of the ship which carried them. He controlled the general conduct of the voyage and commanded his men in a fight, although the handling of the ship was the duty of the master. Henry VIII stands forth as the first great amateur of the sea, the king whose blood was salt and who loved his ships as other kings loved their palaces. He entered into details, mastered things that ordinary landsmen do not comprehend, and laid foundations of gunnery, dockyards, administration, and strategy, that long continued to be used. His daughter Elizabeth was insensitive to these interests. The maritime glory of her



THE WOUNDED OF TRAFALGAR



TRAWLER AT SEA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

reign flourished under her general success but owed little to her good will and comprehension. She could command and dominate soldiers and statesmen, but sometimes seemed uneasy when her admirals were at sea, not lest they should be beaten but lest they should succeed too well. She tried to keep Drake as the ace of trumps in hand, but Drake more than once contrived to play himself and take the current trick.

Her reign witnessed the labours of a sea-amateur of a new type, Richard Hakluyt, without whom the sea-story of the Elizabethans would have had a smaller effect on their posterity. Hakluyt[1] was the first great English writer on the sea, by some standards indeed the greatest there has been. Policy, commerce, geography were his interests, but the chief of all was adventure, the characters and the deeds of men, 'the worthy acts of our nation'. He collected his records from many sources, edited and polished them with masterly control, arranged them to present a coherent story, and prefaced each volume with essays on sea power and empire-building which forced every thinking reader to admit their national importance. Such is the general nature of his *Principal Navigations of the English Nation* (commonly known as *Hakluyt's Voyages*), issued in one massive volume in 1589 and enlarged to three in 1598-1600. It was not his only contribution to the cause of maritime expansion. His whole life was devoted to it, and many other books published on his initiative showed England what foreigners had done and what was yet to be done in exploration.

Seventeenth-century sea power had its great amateur in the person of Samuel Pepys. He was an amateur in the sense of being a landsman concerned with sea affairs, a professional civil servant with a seat on the Navy Board and later the Board of Admiralty. In these capacities he worked manfully through the Restoration period to secure the material efficiency of the fleet and the dockyards in an age when the encroachments of corruption were shameless and tireless. But all the while, inspiring his office work, Pepys felt the zest of the amateur, the lover of ships and their lore. In his long service he accumulated knowledge and wisdom and helped to carry the Navy interest to an inner place in the counsels of the great. He wrote valuable memoranda and hoped

[1] **The family belonged to the Anglo-Welsh border, and John Leland thought that the name was a corruption of ApCluyd; although the form 'Haklitel' is found as early as the thirteenth century. Richard Hakluyt was all English by birth and upbringing, and probably called himself 'Hacklit' if we may judge from contemporary renderings.**

that he would some day be free to write a full history of the Navy; but this he never achieved. The documents which he collected to that end are now in the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Pepys collected manuscripts on anything that interested him, from disgusting criminal trials to the delinquencies of John Scott, the West Indian adventurer already mentioned, a man for whom he had a vehement aversion.

VI

Incidentally, Pepys was a pioneer yachtsman. Sailing for pleasure began, so far as we know, with the Restoration, when Charles II and his brother owned a series of yachts and cruised in the Thames estuary. Courtiers went with them, and Pepys was sometimes of the party. The royal sailing was in one respect not free cruising of the modern sort, for there was no cooking on board. Food was prepared in a cookboat sailing in company, and it may be imagined that there were occasional disappointments. From then onwards through the eighteenth century wealthy men owned yachts, larger than the common run nowadays, until in the early nineteenth century some of them compared in size and even armament with the minor vessels of the Navy. This was the period when the senior yacht clubs of the present day were founded. All this was in effect more like owning a private passenger vessel than sailing in the modern sense of the word. The rich man was conveyed whither he willed, but by a ship's company of professional seamen. Lord Cardigan, who led the charge of the Light Brigade, had his yacht anchored handy to the siege of Sebastopol and used to live on board, being accused thereby of neglecting his military duties.

Modern amateur sailing had a different origin, among men of no great wealth. In the 1850*8 R. T. McMullen began a forty years' sailing career in which he was the first to demonstrate that a man might sail alone in a small boat and keep the sea in all weathers. It seems likely that small-boat cruising would not have been possible much before his time. In the great days of smuggling a cruising amateur could hardly have avoided being mixed up in the struggles between the law and some very desperate criminals. As an old man McMullen died peacefully at the helm of his boat while making a lone passage down Channel. Already a host of others had extended his practice and were sailing small vessels across all the seas of the world. Yacht racing also expanded

from a sport of the few in such glorious vessels as *Satanita* and *Britannia* to one pursued in many small 'one-design' classes, and in sailing dinghies wherein the calculation of risk and instant decision were faculties essential to success. The numbers grew until the first German war, and still more after it, and they formed the core of the great expansions of the Navy from 1914 and 1939. By the latter year sailing had reached a height of popularity. The tendency has long been for it to cost less and be practised by more, and for the professional element to be replaced by amateurs who make themselves competent in the maintenance and handling of their boats. The 'Cowes' side of modern yachting should not of course be left out of account. It monopolizes press publicity, but it concerns a comparative handful of yachtsmen. It is the small men in their thousands who make an appreciable contribution to the national outlook and the national defence. The framers of the Navigation Acts would have approved of their activities.

VII

The fishermen were almost as important as the merchant seamen among the builders of England's sea power and all that depended on it. They were seamen and craftsmen, and their labour provided the material for a good deal of trade. Much of the early traffic with western Europe was in fish and the salt for preserving it. Less is known about early fishing than about commerce because, being untaxed, coastal fishing escaped official documentation; and fishing vessels also were for the most part too small for naval service. Consequently we know very little about their design or rig or methods of fishing before the seventeenth century. But on general grounds it is evident that the medieval herring fishery was of the first importance, directly nourishing the population, and indirectly enriching it by providing a valuable export. No less important nationally was the white fish of the north. Here again the earliest records are lacking, but from the fourteenth century onwards we hear of ships from London and all the east-coast ports, and from Bristol and the west, making their way to the Iceland fishery in the summer months. They brought back stockfish and also the salted cod which made its reappearance as an English dish in 1940 after long disuse. Stockfish (dried cod, later known as poor John), salt cod, and red herring were the backbone of English feeding in the winter scarcity that culminated in Lent, and the causes of vast English drinking. The Iceland fishery was a long-distance

venture more exacting to seamanship than the crossing of the Atlantic. It led to continual skirmishing and often serious warfare with rivals from Scotland, Denmark, and the Hanseatic League, and played its substantial part in founding the sea tradition. It was a hard trade, as let one sidelight suggest: the Duke of Norfolk, writing to the Council of Henry VIII on some proposal to ship soldiers in the returned Iceland fishing fleet, remarked that after discharge the vessels stank so horribly that no man not bred to the trade could endure it.

When John Cabot led a Bristol crew to the New Found Land in 1497, and they observed that they were in the shallow water of the great banks, they got out their lines and tried for cod. They found cod in such convincing quantity that thenceforward Bristol and all the west-country ports abandoned Iceland and worked the western fishery instead. By so doing they started a trade that lasted as an English enterprise well into the nineteenth century and is still of great importance in British North American hands. The Newfoundland fishery became the supreme 'nursery of seamen', indispensable to the manning of the Navy in time of war. In its prime, in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, the fishery employed ten thousand men, all home in England in the winter and available to be pressed for the fleet. Spain and Portugal and France sought to share the advantage, but only France stayed in the running. In eighteenth-century strategy the great fishery ranked parallel with Gibraltar and Minorca. 'Donnez-nous de Ia pêche/ said Choiseul, negotiating with Pitt to stop the Seven Years War, 'donnez-nous de Ia pêche, et Ia paix est faite.' But Pitt, bent on crushing French sea power, would consent to no French fishing, and the talks broke down. Two years later Pitt's successors yielded the point, and peace was made.

Modern conditions have transferred the great fishery to the colonists of Newfoundland and their neighbours, while the large-scale English enterprise has extended to trawling in the Iceland region, in the north European waters, and to the west of Ireland. Beside it there has always subsisted the inshore fishery of the smaller men along the English coasts, an industry long dying but never quite dead, revived by war, and to be given, one hopes, fair play and sympathy in peace. For the services of these fishermen to their country, as the world knows, have been even greater in our days than in the days of old.

XXVI

THE ENGLISH AT WAR

By E. L. WOODWARD

IT is well to begin with an English defeat; the battle of Hastings. There were elements of bad luck in this defeat. The arrows which killed the English king and two of his brothers might well have hit lesser marks. Nevertheless these flights of arrows were not chance tactics on the attackers' side; they were the correct military answer to the closely packed English shield-wall. The English lost at Hastings because they were backward in the art of war; even more serious than their neglect of archery was the failure to adopt the new continental plan of fighting on horseback.

Furthermore the English defeat was not due only to backwardness in methods of combat. Harold set out too soon from London to meet William. If he had waited a few days longer, his messengers might have brought in a larger host than the 7,000 men (including peasants armed with stones) who fought at Hastings on the English side. Above all, William might have landed on English soil not as the leader of an army but as a prisoner of war if for reasons of economy the naval defence of the country had not been cut down. On the night of Wednesday, 27 September 1066, William's transports sailed from the estuary of the Somme. Their course was set for them by a lantern on the masthead of the duke's own ship. In the darkness this ship outsailed the more heavily burdened fleet and at dawn William found himself alone in the Channel.

The English fleet which might have captured this great prize was far away in the Thames, and the chance was missed for a reason all too familiar in the later wars of England. Fifteen or sixteen years before 1066 the dangers of invasion by the Northmen seemed over, and, in order to save money, King Edward the Confessor decided to disperse the standing force of warships which he had inherited from his predecessors. It is true that he made special arrangements with certain seaports to provide ships and crews for his service, and that in time of danger he could use the old right of requisitioning ships and impressing crews. A fleet collected in this way was at sea during the early

autumn of 1066; about a fortnight before William ^sailed the crews put back to London. They were tired of their long patrol and short of food because there were no properly organized plans for supplying them.

11

Since Hastings England has never been conquered by a foreign army. There have been civil wars in England. Foreigners have fought in these wars; indeed in the thirteenth century it might almost be said that one set of aliens defeated another set of aliens. In 1688 Dutch William landed with a foreign army, but he came at English invitation, and in England at least there was no armed resistance to him. In other words, from 1066 until the German air attacks in the Great War of 1914-18 the English have fought their foreign enemies outside English territory.[1] Englishmen have 'gone to the wars' on land or at sea and, although some of the sea battles have taken place within sight of our coasts, the continuity of life at home has never been broken.

This freedom from foreign conquest since the Norman age has given to English history a quality not shared by the history of any other European people. At some time or other in the last 500 years every great capital city in the western world except London has been occupied by an enemy, and non-combatants of every European nation except the English have seen their fellow countrymen engaged on land against a foreign invader. The vapour trails high in the air over London during the autumn of 1940 may have marked the beginning of a new and far more dangerous epoch in English history. At all events hitherto the attitude of the English people towards war had been determined by factors other than the visible presence of an enemy.

It is also of importance that in their civil wars the English have fought not to acquire but to preserve their liberties. The Wars of the Roses were large-scale brawls of great magnates from whose feuds ordinary men did their best to keep away. In the Civil War of the seventeenth century each side appealed to precedent. The king asked, at least formally, for nothing new; the Parliament claimed to be defending rights which the commons

[1] **There have been minor raids, but no large engagements. It may perhaps not be counted as arrogance on the part of an English writer if he regards the Anglo-Scottish wars and the conquest of Wales as civil and not as foreign wars. The tragic history of the Anglo-Norman and English wars in Ireland—something less than foreign and worse than civil war—falls outside the subject of this essay.**

of the realm had long possessed. The historical and legal validity of these claims matters little. In fact, English liberties have been based to a very considerable extent upon a misreading of medieval terms by seventeenth-century lawyers, but the result of this bad scholarship has been politically fortunate. No one, not even Cromwell himself, supposed that the New Model Army was creating the liberties which it defended.

Within a short time this army was itself discredited as an instrument for upholding the rule of law, yet once again the turn of events was fortunate for Englishmen. Charles II loved enjoyment too much to stray far away from it in search of power. The indictment against his brother James was that he had subverted existing rights and overstepped well-known and established limits. William of Orange was watched almost too narrowly in case he might trespass upon these treasured rights.

In their foreign wars also the English have fought mainly to defend liberties and titles which already belonged to them. Even in the futile Hundred Years War against France the kings of England put forward—not entirely as a pretence—claims to be recovering lost dominion. The Dutch wars of the seventeenth century are an exception, although even in these wars there was a defensive element. The wars igainst Spain and against Louis XIV, the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, were defensive in the real sense that they were fought to hold and not to conquer. The American War of Independence can hardly be put down to English military aggression; the short American War of 1812-14 was a by-product of the war against Napoleon. It is an irony of history that the great wars of defence against Spain and France ended in making England the centre of an empire, but English expansion overseas, however acquisitive and high-handed in method, had as its purpose trade and colonization, not military dominion. Critics of England may be exasperated by our bland acceptance of empire and repudiation of imperialism; nevertheless the significant fact is that this immense extension of their political sovereignty did not give the English a military turn of mind and that the English tradition, the 'deposit* of all these wars, has been one of defence against tyranny and aggression.

Shakespeare's lines about the 'moat defensive of a house' thus express something more than a geographical fact. Immunity from attack as long as England controlled the Narrow Seas has shaped the English character. The military conservatism which

was one cause of the defeat at Hastings could assert itself again and again without final disaster. Only an island power could afford to lose every battle except the last. There have been times indeed on land, and more often at sea, when English innovations in fighting have had far-reaching results and have changed the art of war in Europe. Such an innovation has been seen in our own day. The successful development, on a very large scale, of combined sea, land, and air operations—for which England and the United States share the credit—is the most outstanding military fact of the second German War. Centuries earlier the use of the long-bow against the French feudal cavalry had been more than a tactical novelty, since in the last resort the combination of these bowmen with dismounted men-at-arms represented the ideas of a society less bound than that of France by class distinction and disdain.

In general, however, behind the protection of their moat the English could afford to allow other nations to spend their treasure upon the development of military power. It is worth remembering that the case can be put in another way. In 1520, when the armies of France and Spain had a powerful field artillery, Henry VIII paraded before the French king at the Field of the Cloth of Gold neither guns nor pikemen but a company of archers. Henry VIII was not uninterested in guns; he was also fond of displaying the monarchical power of England embodied in himself, yet he could not have afforded and English resources could not have sustained an up-to-date army on the French or Spanish scale. England was growing yearly more powerful, but the balance of land power did not move to her advantage during Elizabeth's reign. The Elizabethan age would look very different, and indeed the course of world history might have been changed, if the Spanish galleons in 1588 had been able to cover the landing of Parma's army from the Low Countries.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada was not just a piece of luck; the winds scattered the Spanish fleet only after the fighting had gone in favour of the English. The total tonnage of the two fleets was about equal, but the English ships were faster, easier to handle, and more heavily armed. The English had learned the art of seamanship and had grasped the difference between a battle of ships and a battle of land armies. Their victory in 1588 was complete; the Spaniards lost nearly one half of their fleet; the English did not lose even a pinnace. Nevertheless this victory

had little 'effect upon the temper of the English people. They did not and could not strike directly at Spanish power. They made no attempt to build up an army. The defeat of the Armada was a great victory in the sense that it was a great deliverance, and not at all in the sense that it marked the beginning of a counter-offensive. The memory of this deliverance remained and became strengthened by the continued failure of Spain or France to cross the 'moat defensive'. In 1628, when there was some danger of a French invasion, Sir Edward Cecil wrote these words: 'The danger of all is that a people not used to war believeth that no enemy dare venture upon them. . . . We think if we have men and ships, our kingdom is safe as if men were born soldiers.' Cecil had in mind that a 'born soldier' made preparations in time; others waited until it was too late.[1] The English were apt to contrast their own peaceful life with the continual wars of foreign nations; 'our people do apprehend too much the hardships and miseries of soldiers in these times'.

Cecil's complaints did not imply that the English were poor fighters; their apprehension of the hardships of soldiers came from the experience of their own countrymen who had 'gone to the wars' in the Low Countries. These English soldiers gained a name for themselves; a foreign commander said of them that they possessed 'one singular virtue beyond any other nation, for they are always willing to go on'. Moreover they fought best as their descendants have fought in our time. At the siege of Ypres in 1658 the commander of the English force was sure that he could take the place by storm even when the great Turenne believed that an assault would fail. Before they went into attack the English asked: 'Shall we fall on in order or "happy-go-lucky?"' Their captain answered: 'In the name of God, go at it happy-go-lucky.' So they went, and took the town, just as three centuries later the small ships, setting out happy-go-lucky, saved an army at Dunkirk.

There is, however, a dark side to this sensible dislike of war. Cecil himself complained of the difficulty of getting volunteers when the country actually needed them: 'We disburthen the prisons of thieves, we rob the taverns and alehouses of tosspots and ruffians, we scour both towns and country of rogues and

[1] Forty years earlier, during the threat of invasion by Parma, Sir John Norris, who knew the continental armies of his day, had wondered, after seeing the English levies, why 'no one in the kingdom was afeared but himself'.

vagabonds/[1] At a later time Wellington showed what* could be made out of misfits and ne'er-do-wells, but in an age when there was no means of enforcing discipline at home these soldiers had a bad name among their fellow countrymen. Furthermore, their commanders were often very far from being 'born soldiers'; the military expeditions of James I and Charles I were shamefully organized and badly led, and there is little wonder that the subjects of these kings had no wish to embark overseas on foreign war. 'Happy-go-lucky' might be the cause of tragedy.

This amateur attitude of the English in the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods can be seen in odd ways. Nearly all the common military terms in the English language have a foreign origin: the designation of officers, tactical terms, and the names of weapons are borrowed from every country in Europe: infantry, colonel, carbine and musket, grenade and parade, hussar, pistol, howitzer, and so on through all the equipment and array of an army. It is interesting to notice that the representation of war in Shakespeare's plays is old-fashioned and haphazard. 'Birnam wood going to Dunsinane' may be in fact no more than the wearing by one side of a particular sign to distinguish them from their opponents, but Macbeth as a military commander is a mere swashbuckler. Shakespeare himself, as the chorus to *Henry V* shows, thought little of these impressionist scenes; they satisfied an audience which, happily for itself, did not know the difference between a free fight for all and a battle fought by professional armies.

Within two generations there is a change. Milton's readers understood that battles were not won merely by running around with drawn swords.

> Far otherwise th' inviolable saints
> In cubic phalanx, firm advanced line.

If Satan's army at the last broke in disorder, they did so 'by sin of disobedience'. Miltonic cavalry, whether on the side of God or of the angelic rebels, does not rush pell-mell into battle:

> . . . See how in warlike muster they appear
> In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons and wings.

Into the 'calm world' and 'long peace'[2] of the English country-

[1] Sir John Falstaff explains how the business of getting volunteers was done. *King Henry IV, Part I,* iv. ii.

[2] 'The cankers of a calm world and a long peace/ Falstaff's view of the men left to him after he had 'misused the King's press damnably'.

side there* had come Prince Rupert's cavalry and, above all, Cromwell's New Model Army. The historian may take as the symbol the red tunic which now took the place of the green or white of Tudor England and the St. George's Cross of the medieval surcoat. By contemporaries, however, the lesson of the New Model was slowly understood and quickly forgotten. It is, indeed, a foreshadowing of events three centuries later that, although the Civil War began in August 1642, Parliament did not decide to create a 'Committee of both Kingdoms' to consider the remodelling of the militia until October 1644, and the New Model Army was not established until February 1645. At the beginning of the war each side seems to have thought vaguely that matters would be settled after a single battle. After this forecast had been proved wrong, neither party had any plan for winning outright. It is typical, again, of later English history that one man, after the first battle (Edgehill, October 1642), had seen at once what should be done. Oliver Cromwell said to John Hampden:

'Your troops are most of them old, decayed serving-men and tapsters' (so far almost the words of Cecil and, indeed, of Falstaff), 'theirs are gentlemen's sons. . .. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have courage, honour, and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or you will be beaten still.'

The New Model, drilled on the Dutch plan by officers who had seen service abroad, was the foundation of the British Regular Army, but so far from awakening in English minds any large military ambitions, the experience of army rule turned or rather confirmed opinion in the other direction. Cromwell's own definition of the New Model carried with it, for all its fineness of spirit, a tinge of contempt for the commons of England, and something of an oligarchic, interfering turn of mind which the English people disliked. This people, in fact, did not need the rule of the saints or of any other strong authority; their calm world—calm by the standards of contemporary Europe—had already enabled them to live by a sufficient measure of common sense and restraint. The Civil War, which the king's folly had made inevitable, did not bring cruelty and devastation comparable with the Thirty Years' War in Germany. On the king's side and also against the king there were many men who felt always, like Falkland, that things ought never to have come to

fighting; that there were no deep and irreconcilable principles at stake, and that common ground existed for agreement. The fighting itself was intermittent, and lightened by acts which belong less to the observance of ancient military etiquette than to the firmly rooted belief of a peaceful country that war is a nuisance. Sir Charles Firth, in his book on Cromwell's Army, tells of a trumpeter[1] sent into Bristol by Prince Rupert to request the return of the dead bodies of two royalists. The trumpeter also brought with him a message from the earl of Cleveland (of the king's party) to an officer of the parliamentary garrison asking for a pound of tobacco. The officer was away at the time, but two of his colleagues each gave the earl what he wanted.

The political rule of the army lasted only ten years. A generation later the English had forgotten everything about it except that a standing army interfered with private and public liberties. The English people gained by a return to political 'happy-go-lucky'; the English soldier lost by it. On the military side, after this interlude of discipline there was a reversion to the neglect of the profession of arms by the most solid elements of English society. The officers came from the upper class and, in an age when status counted above efficiency and Cromwell's bleak sense of duty had become unfashionable, the common soldier suffered from gross and almost savage maladministration. In a sense the process of degrading the army was cumulative. It is doubtful whether there were many promotions from the ranks after 1660. Such promotions were hardly possible when the ranks were filled largely from the types of whom Cecil had complained earlier in the century, and, with the general view about the military profession, recruits were unlikely to be drawn to any great extent from other classes of society. Similarly for many years the fear of military despotism made parliament suspicious of proposals for establishing barracks throughout the country; soldiers were scattered in small detachments, billeted in public houses, and regarded as among the lowest of the low. Little wonder that they behaved as outcasts and sometimes even as enemies of society.

Out of this unpromising material Marlborough and Wellington won their victories. Marlborough respected his men; Wellington also respected them after a fashion, but thought coldly of them.

[1] **For obvious reasons the duties of a trumpeter included the delivery of any message* or demands to the enemy.**

They cotmted for very little in the public sympathy and have left practically no written records of their achievements or their sufferings. Sir John Fortescue has stated that in all the books which he read on the wars of Marlborough he found only one man under commissioned rank—a Sergeant Littler—mentioned by name. Thus the English still went away to the wars; when they were out of sight no one cared overmuch what happened to them. They had no spokesmen of their own, and civilian politicians were concerned with other matters than the fate of these men who saved the sum of things for them. At the beginning of almost every war there is the same tale of expeditions hastily sent out, badly equipped, poorly led, and often serving no wide strategic purpose. The case of the small colonial garrisons was no better. The land defence of the colonies was secured at first mainly by transportation—so little did the English think about acquiring empire—and the idea of permanent garrisons remained even when troops were sent out only for a limited time. The arrangements for relief were never adequate and there are cases where the home Government refused, owing to lack of money, to pay for the passage home of invalided soldiers.

It would be unfair to consider the plight of the common soldier without any reference to the conditions of the age. The scandals of war contractors, the graver scandals whereby at every stage in the payment or equipment of a regiment some official had a slice for himself, all these administrative shortcomings belong to a time when the Civil Service had rudimentary standards of efficiency and even of honesty. The system of commission by purchase, for example, had arisen out of the historical circumstances under which the army had developed; the immense gulf between officers and men could be paralleled everywhere in the civilian order, or for that matter, in the church. Furthermore, neglect and suspicion of the regular army could long continue because at least in time of peace the militia might be regarded as the force which would defend English soil. In the year 1732 a member of Parliament, who had been Secretary at War, said in the House of Commons: 'I hope, Sir, that we have men enough in Great Britain who have resolution enough to defend themselves against any invasion whatever, though there were not so much as one red coat in the whole kingdom/ This boast was not quite as foolish as it might sound. Anyhow it was good in law. The ancient duty of the English to defend the kingdom if called

upon to do so had survived the feudal age and found new expression in Tudor statutes. In this long tradition the trained bands of Elizabeth's reign were the predecessors of the regiment of Hampshire Grenadiers which numbered Gibbon among its officers. These grenadiers, in turn, were succeeded by the regiments of Fencibles and other fancifully named units ready, or at any rate confident, to take the field against the armies of revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Captain Gibbon found that his military service 'was of use to the historian of the Roman Empire'. He expressed no view about the value of the Hampshire militia as an instrument in real war. Where Gibbon was silent it would be rash to dogmatize, but it may be said that at least from the time of Mr. Pitt to the formation of the Home Guard, the function of these second-line troops would have been to assist and not to take the place of a regular army. They were Englishmen, and, as such, possessed the 'singular virtue' of their Elizabethan forefathers. With their local knowledge they could have delayed and hampered an enemy at every point, and therefore compelled him to deploy larger forces. The enemy would thus have been forced to increase the size of his expedition and the number of his transports (whether by sea or, in our day, also by air). His preparations would take a longer time, and at every stage he would be more vulnerable to attack, and above all to attack at sea.

III

Upon this control of the sea every argument about British defences ultimately turns. This fact has never been forgotten—indeed it has been too obvious to be ignored. Moreover, from the middle of the seventeenth century, and still more clearly from the Treaty of Utrecht, British statesmen have learned to include the Mediterranean as well as home waters in their strategic calculations. The importance of this wider conception of seapower cannot be exaggerated. It is likely that future historians will regard Mr. Churchill's bold adherence to it in the latter half of the year 1940 as one of the great decisions in world history. The matter is important enough to deserve further analysis. Mr. Churchill's administration could not have diverted forces to the Mediterranean from an uncovered home front unless British opinion had supported the taking of such enormous risks. The reasons for this support are not easy to define. They belonged to

TEN GUINEAS BOUNTY!

VOLUNTEERS

FOR

His Majesty's Royal Regiment

OF

DRAGOONS,

Late the EARL of PEMBROKE's

COMMANDED BY

Major GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY.

ALL YOUNG MEN, willing to serve in the above-named Regiment, shall immediately enter into present Pay & good Quarters, by applying to the COMMANDING OFFICER, at the *Head Quarters* in DORCHESTER, BLANDFORD and WIMBORNE or with the RECRUITING PARTIES stationed at WARMINSTER, TROWBRIDGE, DEVIZES and YEOVIL, where each Volunteer will receive

The King's full Bounty of Ten Guineas

WITH AN

INCREASE of PAY;

ALSO, A GOOD

HORSE, ARMS, CLOATHS, ACCOUTREMENTS,

And every Thing necessary to complete a Gentleman Dragoon.

Young Men willing to be entertained as ROYAL DRAGOONS, must be well made, and well looking, perfectly sound and healthy, having no bodily Infirmity whatever, from the Age of Sixteen to Twenty-Six Years, and from Five Feet Seven Inches, to Six Feet high. Growing handsome Lads, of Sixteen, if full Five Feet Six Inches and Three Quarters high, will not be rejected.

No SEAFARING MEN can apply, nor any MILITIA MEN not having served their Time, or any APPRENTICES whose Indentures are not given up; as it is the Intention of the Regiment to inlist none but HONEST FELLOWS, that wish to serve their KING and COUNTRY with Honesty and Fidelity.

Bringers of *good Recruits* shall receive *Two Guineas* for each Man approved of.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

DORCHESTER: Printed by LOCKEY I. 179

PLAN.

SECOND HEAD.

Bearing Arms and engaging to assemble when an Enemy has landed.

THE Greatest danger to which an Enemy is exposed who dares to invade these Kingdoms, arises out of the native Valour, Energy, and Patriotism, which have at all times distinguished the British character. However important the discipline of Regular Troops may be towards the overthrow of a powerful Army, which may have landed, it ought nevertheless to be impressed upon the mind of every one, that by individually taking up Arms, and agreeing to act in a desultory warfare in aid of the Regular Force, it is in his power to contribute to the more speedy destruction of the Enemy, and, by his personal exertion, to be highly instrumental to the safety of his Country.

In order that the services of those who voluntarily agree to appear in Arms for the defence of their Country, Families, and Property, *when an Invasion has actually taken place*, may be rendered as useful as possible, it is proposed, that such persons should class themselves into bodies, in number from nearly *twenty-five* to *thirty-five* men, and that they should select *one* from amongst themselves as their Lieutenant or Leader, but who, notwithstanding such selection, cannot be allowed so to act, unless intermediately recommended by the Lord Lieutenant, and finally approved by the King.

The pay of such Leader to be the same as that of a Lieutenant of Yeomanry, should his corps be mounted, and the same as a Lieutenant of Volunteer Infantry, if the service is on foot.

The pay of the Privates, if mounted, to be the same as Yeomanry, if on foot, as Volunteer Infantry.

To commence the day they take the field.

It is strongly recommended to persons of this description to bring with them provisions, and (when mounted) forage, for at least one day; after which they will be entitled to draw one pound and a half of bread per day, gratis, from the King's Magazine, and one ration of forage, the same as delivered to the Yeomanry.

With a view to obtain the necessary information, and to ensure regularity in an object of such high importance, Schedule No. 3 has been framed, to which a Pay-List is added.

PART OF A PLAN TO COUNTER THE EXPECTED INVASION BY NAPOLEON

the *arcana imperi* of a free people and were not consciously expressed. The English remember very few details of their military history; yet this unmilitary people, with their government of civilians, accepted without question and at a time of fearful danger a strategic view far wiser than that of the professional soldiers of Germany.

Almost 300 years separate the expedition of Blake to the western Mediterranean from the battle of Cape Matapan and the defence of Malta. During this time the Royal Navy attained its professional status and established a separate tradition. It is, however, unwise to attempt to fix any dates or to draw too hard a line between the different elements constituting English sea power. A naval officer in the seventeenth century could say that merchantmen were 'disrespectful' of the royal ships; yet a hundred years later there was still a distinction between the 'tarpaulins', or officers of the Royal Navy who lived by their profession and never expected to rise above the rank of lieutenant, and those of a higher social class. In time of peace and half-pay, officers of the Royal Navy might take service as captains of merchant ships; in time of war, and to some considerable extent at all times, the crews of the king's ships came from the merchant fleets, and, although in the course of time the Royal Navy drew even more consciously apart, there has never been a great English war at sea in which ships of the Merchant Navy have not fought naval actions.

It is a simpler matter to mark the divergence between the two services in the sphere of naval construction. At a time when the high seas were sailed by pirates, as well as by the king's enemies of state, every ship sailing out of convoy was more or less a ship of war. Hence in the Elizabethan age it was neither difficult nor unusual for a private venturer to own a 'specialized' warship. The *Ark*, in which the Lord High Admiral sailed to meet the Spanish Armada, had been built for Sir Walter Raleigh and was sold by him to the queen. With the progress of shipbuilding and the increase in cost of a ship designed for fighting, the Government alone could afford to construct the main units of a fleet.

The cost was heavy, and the total expenditure on building amounted to a very large sum because the rate of loss was high. At the death of Queen Anne the Royal Navy possessed under 200 ships of twenty-four guns or over; 100 such ships had been lost during the previous twenty-five years. Thus the ships which

survived the chances of battle and storm had to last a* long time and could not be rashly used. As late as 1745 it was considered unsafe to allow ships of the first or second rate (100 or 84 guns) to put to sea in winter. Between 1719 and 1755 the Navy Board fixed scales of dimensions and tonnage for each class of ship. These scales did not encourage improvement in design; they had to be abandoned owing to the increasing weight of armament and the obvious superiority of French naval construction. For a good part of the eighteenth century French ships were better built than those of the English Navy, Hence it cannot be said that the pre-eminence of England at sea was secured by a far-sighted attention to naval architecture.

Furthermore, in the eighteenth century and indeed down to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Navy suffered as much as the Army from the lack of administrative science (and standard of honesty) in all branches of supply and also from the indifference of the governing class to the hardships of the lower deck. The sailing ship, especially in the last stages of its development, was a thing of matchless beauty. It is difficult to-day not to think of such ships in terms of the *Fighting Temeraire* moving to its last moorings. In order to realize what life on board a three-decker really meant to her crew it is necessary to remember the close quarters and semi-darkness, the foul air below decks, the bad food and water, the infections which clung round a ship in tropical or even in Mediterranean waters and exacted a terrible death-rate on every long voyage.

The grievances of the common sailor met with as little imaginative response as those of the common soldier. For obvious reasons the public at large which disliked soldiers was inclined to sentimentalize over sailors, but this sentimentality which produced idealized ballads of life at sea was not of much help in the removal of abuses. The wonder is that these men who received so little achieved so much. There were times when the accumulation of their discontents resulted in mutiny. The mutinies at Spithead and the Nore in 1797 were not unique; they are remembered mainly because they might have caused complete disaster to the country. Yet even at this time the mutineers, in the words of a modern historian,[1] 'behaved more as strikers than as traitors'. Most of their demands were granted not out of panic but because the demands were reasonable, and within a very short time after

[1] Sir C. Grant Robertson.

the mutinies the crews concerned in them won, under bold captains, victories on the grand scale.

The greatest of these victories was the destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir Bay on 1 August 1798. The admiral in command, as the world knows, was Nelson. It is hard to exaggerate the significance of Nelson in the last century and a half of English naval history. There are strange inconsistencies, and worse, in Nelson's character; his part in Italian politics is very far from being a source of pride. Nelson in command at sea is an entirely different figure, although the quality of his genius cannot easily be defined or understood in our own age because it was in essence romantic; one might say that here the English romantic revival in its most lyrical form was translated into the action of war. Wellington enjoyed European greatness. His services to England were immeasurable; even in years of political unpopularity he was paid high respect, but his fellow officers and the men who served under him never regarded- him as Nelson's captains and the crews of their ships thought of their admiral. Under Nelson's example duty became loyalty, and the response to a situation of fact was touched with something personal and sympathetic, something which Vergil tried to express about Aeneas.

This sense of great achievement, almost of destiny, established itself in Nelson's time and has survived to this day. Except for minor actions the Royal Navy was not engaged in battle between 1815 and 1914. It is rare that a tradition of war, or rather that the influence and personality of one man, however remarkable, should survive a hundred years of peace, especially when these years included technical developments of the most far-reaching kind (Nelson's *Victory* was much more like the ships of Henry VIII than those of George VI). Yet the highest praise which could be given to any English sea-captain in our own time has been to say that he was not unworthy of this tradition.

IV

During the nineteenth century the results of the changes from sail to steam, from wood to iron, and iron to steel were greater than anything comparable in the sphere of warfare on land, but the results were not put to the test of battle between equally matched fleets. The reason was partly, though not solely, the use made by the British people of their maritime power. If this

power had been employed tyrannically, that is to say, if i't had been used to close rather than to keep open the routes of world commerce, a great maritime coalition would almost certainly have come into existence against Great Britain. No such coalition was ever formed, and, except for sudden fits of nervousness about the possibility of attack by France or, later, by France and Russia, three generations of Englishmen had little cause to doubt the safety of their island position. In the early years of the twentieth century a new challenge came from Germany. The reaction of the English to this challenge was, in a sense, over-simple. They regarded their own sea power as something necessary to their own existence; a precaution against disaster, not as an instrument to be used in support of aggressive diplomacy.

The full significance of the contrast between the English and the German views is a story to itself; the point to notice is that in this matter of supremacy at sea alone the English knew where they stood and thought in terms of power. The fact may be illustrated in a curious way. In 1906 the battleship *Dreadnought* was completed in Portsmouth yards. The *Dreadnought* was a new type of 'all big-gun' ship, much discussed about this time *in* naval circles everywhere, but first given actual form in this unit of the British fleet. One of the consequences of the building of the *Dreadnought* was to raise the level of naval competition and thus to depress the value of all existing capital ships, and, in so doing, to write down the existing British lead in *pre-Dreadnought* battleships. In other words, Germany and Great Britain were nearer, and now began a new competition in which British construction, as far as concerned the most powerful units of the fleet, was only a year or two in advance of that of Germany. The discovery in 1909 that the Germans were placing themselves in a position not merely to equal but even to outbuild Great Britain caused an outburst of popular feeling as a result of which a Liberal Government, otherwise anxious to spend money on social reform, was compelled to double its building programme.

It happened that in this same year the English channel was first crossed in an aeroplane. The German naval challenge was immediate; the military consequences of the aeroplane were still to be realized. Nevertheless the small beginnings of air power opened an epoch which would involve Great Britain in an entirely new and possibly most sinister situation. The English public, traditionally sensitive to the threat of a



TO THE

MINERS

OF

CORNWALL AND DEVON.

HER MAJESTY having been advised to call out the MILITIAS of the several Counties, She looks also to the "OLD CORNISH MINERS" to take their Share of Military Duty in protecting the Shores of Great Britain.—*An Appeal* then is made to the active and intelligent Miners of these two Counties, at once by voluntary Enlistment, instead of waiting for the more compulsory Measure of the *Ballot*, to enter the Ranks of the Regiment which, under the name of the CORNWALL and DEVON MINERS did themselves so much credit during the last War, and which was always one of the best disciplined and best conducted Regiments in the Service.—At that time they were trained to the Duty of Light Infantry—now, by the Direction of the Lord Warden of the Stannaries, they are selected for a higher service—they are to be formed into a *Corps of* ARTILLERY and to be trained to the GREAT GUNS. This Service is most peculiarly adapted to the Cornish Miner—who, from his youth, is acquainted with the use and power of Gunpowder.—Besides the Rank and Standing of *the* ARTILLERY, the Pay is considerably more than that of other Forces, and the Service has at all times been considered of a Superior Character.

As a very large proportion of the Agents of the several mines in the Counties have undertaken to promote the Enlistment of men working in the several mines under their direction, those *Miners* who are desirous of offering their services should do so without delay. The number at present required being not more than 250, a Total which may therefore be expected to fill up rapidly.—To this end Volunteers are desired at once to enter their names in a list, which is in the hands of the several Agents of the Mines, and steps will thenceforward be taken to complete the Enrolment.

The Terms are a Service of five years, for which a Bounty of £6 is given; but the length of permanent Duty, in ordinary cases, will be only twenty-one days,—a period so short that men working in a "pitch" would run no risk of *losing their take.*

A non-commissioned Officer will, with the permission of the Agents, visit many of the Mines in the ensuing week.—He will also attend at Redruth and other Towns, on Market Days.

E. W. W. PENDARVES,

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL COMMANDANT.

Truro, September 22, 1852.

MEM.—Every person bringing a Volunteer will, on his Enrolment, be entitled to receive a Bonus of Five Shillings.

HEARD AND SONS, PRINTERS AND BOOKBINDERS, BOSCAWEN STREET, TRURO.

CALLING UP THE MILITIA IN 1852

hostile fleet, took no account whatever of this potential instrument of war.

The sequel is even stranger. Before the end of the Great War of 1914-18 the English had learned to use the instrument of air power more effectively than their enemies. After the war, although it was impossible entirely to ignore a situation in which the fleet alone could not save the country from starvation, there was little imaginative recognition of the facts. Moreover, there came a time when once again the menace of German aggression became a reality to be faced. At this time it was clear that the German challenge was being made mainly through air power. There was disquiet in England and a certain effort not to be outdistanced by German construction of aircraft, yet until the last months of immediate crisis the English people as a whole were almost fantastically indifferent to the danger in which they stood.[1] Cecil's words were true in a new sense: 'We think that, if we have men and ships, our kingdom is safe'.

The kingdom was not safe, but it was saved. The record of the men who saved it, above all, the record of that small company of fighter pilots who held the air against the German *Luftwaffe* in the autumn of 1940, will be told to generation after generation. These pilots had the 'singular virtue' of their ancestors; they were 'always willing to go on'. We, their countrymen, thinking of the 'great deliverance' of our own time and the meaning of it in terms of our history, must notice that, as always in accounting for our victories, we are brought to consider the general structure of English society, and, indeed, of those newer societies of men from Great Britain across the seas. It is rarely possible to separate the history of armed men from the history of the instruments which they use. The *Spitfire* aeroplane, prepared just in time and almost too late, was above all the instrument of a nation of highly skilled craftsmen. The tactics of individual daring, surprise, mastery of the weapon, and concentrated fire were those which defeated the Armada and, earlier, won the battles of Crecy and Agincourt. The men were an e*lite*, chosen for their skill and courage, and with little reference to any one social class. An historian, remembering the longbowmen, will be impressed not with the novelty but with the continuity of a force of men drawn for the

[1] **The full story would shew indifference even to safety at sea against the German *guerre de course*. English seamen, once again with tragically insufficient resources, upheld the victory won in the air in 1940.**

most part neither from the very rich nor from the very poor but from the middle ranks of English society.

There is, however, a novelty in the fact that the Royal Air Force, like its predecessor, the Royal Flying Corps, has known nothing of the tragic administrative failures and harshness of treatment from which the sailor and the common soldier suffered for so long. The reason is obvious. This new service came into existence at a time of high administrative standards and after a change in the popular attitude towards the soldier. Public expression was given to this change most clearly during the Boer War, partly as a reaction to the insults thrown at the British Army by the continental press, partly because the facts of war brought the Army and its achievements directly before public opinion. The change had begun much earlier. The turning-point can be seen in two reforms of the middle years of the nineteenth century; the abolition in 1868 of the punishment of flogging in the Army during peace-time,[1] and in 1871 the end of the system of purchasing commissions or promotion.

The first of these reforms made it possible for the soldier to regard himself with proper dignity; the second reform changed the character of the military profession. Other administrative changes, such as the attachment of regiments of the line to particular counties after which they were named, contributed to the general rise in status of the Army, but here the argument comes back once again to the general transformation of English life, to the improvements in public health, the rise in standards of living, the spread of education and to the disappearance, or relative disappearance, of the submerged and rascally elements bred in the squalor of earlier centuries.

There was nothing 'militarist' about this change. English imperialism, for example, remained civilian in character; Kipling, the interpreter of imperialist thought, never talked of war in terms used by Treitschke, just as there is a whole world of difference between the spirit of the *Sieges-Allde* and that of the *Recessional.* The English people had long distrusted a standing army because they were afraid that it might become an instrument of despotism; they would never allow a General Staff to have the last word in questions of policy. The two great military reformers in England between 1815 and 1914 were the lawyers Cardwell and Haldane, neither of whom ever served in the armed forces,

[1] **Flogging was abolished altogether in 1880.**

These unmilitary characteristics of a nation of great potential military strength can be seen from the beginning to the end of the Great War of 1914-18 and in the attitude of the English towards the peace settlement after the war. To the English people this war was not fought to destroy the armed power of Germany and to substitute that of England as the dominant force in Europe or throughout the world. It was fought in self-defence against the German threat to English sea power, and, as the war continued, it was fought against 'militarism' and as a 'war to end war'. There appeared to be reason for hoping on 11 November 1918 that this latter aim might have been achieved. The hope was vain, but the main reason why the English held on to it for so long after the revival of German militarism after 1930 was that they could not imagine any people to be foolish enough to start another world war. Nearly all the popular songs of the English in the war of 1914-18 were about coming home when the war should be over and, meanwhile, of enduring with a good heart that which had to be endured. In the second German War even more than in the first this endurance was required of the whole nation. The response was new in the sense that at last after many centuries the English people were exposed over wide areas and long periods of time to immediate physical danger. Their behaviour is a matter of pride for all time. Three facts stood out in this time of passive endurance. There was the formation of local defence units. This move, like the sailing of the small boats to Dunkirk, was almost spontaneous. There was direction from above, but the men came together of themselves. Large numbers of them were veterans from the war of 1914-18. These veterans had given up their military interests when they handed in their arms in 1918. Indeed it could be said of the greater part of them that they had never had military interests. They had fought in this first war 'to end war*. They came back, as middle-aged civilians, with no change of purpose, but at once they resumed the habits of military discipline, quiet order, and readiness 'to go on\

Even more remarkable is the behaviour of the civilians for whom at first there was little or no relief of action. The first air raids on London were directed against the poorer parts of the city and its suburbs. There is world-wide significance in the fact that the women in the mean streets of east and south London did not give way to panic during the months of August and September 1940. Panic once started could not have been checked; the

resistance of the armed forces could not have been maintained and the war would have been lost.

The third feature of the English response to danger is their astonishing confidence in victory. Here the history of the people, their long peace, their belief in the safety of the 'moat defensive' stood them well. Because they had not been defeated, they did not believe that they could be defeated. Because they believed that they could not be defeated they were not defeated.

V

Thus the history of the English at war once again broadens out into the whole history of the English people, and the question what manner of men were the soldiers of England leads to another question: what manner of people are the English?

This last question is not easy to answer. There is perhaps only one Englishman who has the full right of genius to answer it. Fortunately this one man has answered the question. If any one wishes now or a thousand years hence to discover what English soldiers were like, he should turn to the plays of Shakespeare. There are the scrimshankers, the bullies, the boasters: Corporal Nym and Lieutenant Bardolph hanged for stealing. There is the Ancient Pistol:

I shall sutler be
About the camp, and profits will accrue.

These types remain, although in a less flamboyant age they are less open in their villainy, and in more organized times they are mostly outside and not inside the army. There are the clever shifters, the nimble-witted men, like:

a certain lord, neat and trimly dressed,
Fresh as a bridegroom . . . perfumed like a milliner

who came up after the fight at Holmeden and, to Hotspur's great anger, talked and talked, and said that

but for these vile guns
He would himself have been a soldier.

Every nation has these types; to-day their talk is a little more guarded, and they choose less open and obvious ways of avoiding the Vile guns'. It would be absurd to suppose that such men, if ever they had gone to the wars, would have made the name of England feared by her enemies.

Those who go from England to the wars also talk of what is happening, but their talk is not lifce that of the Ancient Pistol or

of that 'certain lord\ What do they say? Consider John Bates, Alexander Court, and Michael Williams on the morning of 25 October 1415.

Court. Brother John Bates, Is not that the morning which breaks yonder ?

Bates. I think it be, but we have no great cause to desire the approach of day.

Williams. We see yonder the beginning of the day, but I think we shall never see the end of it.

Then, in disguise, the king comes to them, and leads them on in their talk. They grumble, as every soldier in Kitchener's army grumbled, and as every man grumbles to-day. They reason, slowly and sensibly, just as they reason to-day. Williams says that his officer is a good man. The king talks of his cause. He says that his cause is just and honourable. Williams answers: 'That's more than we know*. (Again the question of the common soldier: 'What is it all about?' And again, the feeling of the officer, the privileged, better educated man: Ts the scheme of things right that these men's acquiescence should be accepted?') John Bates then answers Williams: 'Ay, or more than we should seek after; for we know enough, if we know we are the king's subjects; if his cause be wrong, our obedience to the king wipes the crime of it out of us'. They argue about this point. Court says nothing. Bates says: 'I do not desire that (the king) should answer for me, and yet I determine to fight lustily for him'. Williams cannot stand for this. He loses his temper and quarrels with the king. Bates tells the two men: 'Be friends, you English fools, be friends; we have French quarrels enough, if you could tell how to reckon'. After the battle Williams comes back, a good fighter as he was a good grouser, to discover with whom he has quarrelled. Neither Bates nor Court appears again. Who, after reading these matchless lines, has not lain awake at night wondering whether Court saw evening as well as morning on that day, and whether John Bates ever ploughed or reaped again in some field of southern England ?

If he survived that one St. Crispin's day, John Bates would have been dead long before Shakespeare wrote of him. The soldiers through whose living images Shakespeare saw him were men who had fought a different enemy. Nevertheless, John Bates, Alexander Court, and Michael Williams are known to every one who has been with an English army, whatever the time, wherever the battle. The nearest modern equivalent, the best memorial

of John Bates, is the soldier standing on the plinth at Paddington railway station. This soldier is a man of the first World War. Between the wars he was almost forgotten—even in a short peace—by the English, although he was there all the time, and although he commemorated their own acts. In 1939 and for the next six years, day after day from morning until midnight and long after, hundreds upon hundreds of Englishmen like him passed in and out of Paddington Station on their way to or from the wars. As they passed, they grumbled and argued, and laughed or swore, or just 'went on'. If they noticed him at all, they thought of him as one of themselves. They did not think of him or of themselves as among Milton's 'inviolable saints', accomplishing *novagesta Dei per Anglos,* or even as deserving the special regard of their countrymen. Least of all did they think of themselves as bearing the burden of the English State. Yet, without John Bates, without those unwarlike soldiers and sailors and airmen, whose thoughts have been not of conquests but of their homes, English liberty would not exist.

XXVII

AN ATTEMPT AT PERSPECTIVE

I

WHEN an Englishman begins to think about the character of England, he cannot but feel, with some alarm, that he is falling into a trick of self-consciousness and indulging in introspection. We like to take ourselves for granted: *Excudent alii*—others shall chisel our features, in some 'breathing bronze' on which we may cast a shy and fugitive look. Others *have* done so—Austrians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Netherlanders, Czechs, and Germans—but perhaps there is also a point in self-portraiture. Self-portraiture means self-consciousness; but there are, after all, two kinds of self-consciousness. There is the self-consciousness of egoism, preening itself before the mirror: there is also the self-consciousness of what may be called stock-taking, anxious to cast up a balance between assets and liabilities, and to put the account for the future on a better and sounder basis. The self-consciousness of egoism is a dead end and a desolation. The self-consciousness which looks to the future has something of a grace.

At any rate there have been periods of introspection in the long and continuous process of English history. They have come in the course of, or immediately after, great periods of war and national tension. Shakespeare looked back on the English past in his historical plays, and, looking forward also to the future, bade England 'to herself be true'. Wordsworth, during an age of great wars, looked back on the dark antiquity from which the flood of our freedom had flowed, and then, looking forward also to the future, with fears ('unfilial fears', he once called them, but he did himself an injustice)—fears and warnings and the sound of a trumpet—he summoned his country on to 'manners, virtue, freedom, power'. On the lower plane of prose—but prose may be an even better guide than poetry to the feelings of ordinary men—there was a publishing enterprise of the eighteenth century which deserves to be mentioned. This was the *British Plutarch*, of which a new and enlarged edition appeared in 1776, at the beginning of one of the many wars which vexed the century. It contained the lives, in some six volumes, of 'the most eminent statesmen, patriots, divines, warriors, philosophers, poets, and

artists ... from the accession of Henry VIII to the present time'. The purpose of the enterprise is explained in the introduction. 'We should be in danger of forgetting our national character . . . if one powerful check on the licentiousness of the times was not to be found, even among its fashionable amusements.' The fashionable amusement, it appears, is reading: the check to be found in reading is a study of the lives of great and good men. 'By having before our eyes the principles of men of honour and probity, enforced by example, we shall be animated to fix upon some great model to be the rule of our conduct/

The *British Plutarch* may serve as an example of the English treatment of history, which has often been pragmatical and didactic. It also suggests another reflection. The publishers went to Greece for their model. In this they were acting like many other Englishmen, before and after 1776, from Sir Thomas North, who translated Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* for the edification of his countrymen, to the scholars of our own time who still love to celebrate the parallel of England and ancient Greece. It might well appear to be a vanity of Englishmen to unite the Greeks with themselves in the capacity, as it were, of 'honorary Englishmen'; and a critic might pungently suggest that the only justification for the parallel is that Englishmen are what the Egyptian priest told the Greeks that they were—'for ever children'. But an American professor, George Santayana, has used some words in the prologue to his *Soliloquies on England* which it may be permissible to quote. Speaking of the images and passion which were in his mind when he wrote, he says 'the images were English images, the passion was the love of England —and behind England, of Greece. What I love *in* Greece and in England is contentment in finitude, fair outward ways, manly perfection and simplicity.' The great compliment has a courtly and sweeping grace; and if we should be vain to accept it, to refuse it would be ungrateful. There is, after all, some inner affinity between the spirit of England and the spirit of Athens. The idea may be largely a vision of the student, nurtured on the history and philosophy of the Greeks in the cloisters of an old University. It may even be merely a dream of the few, of a little clique, of the handful of Englishmen who have gone to old schools and followed an old curriculum. But Aristotle (with his love of the mean, his sense of the value of habit, and his political preference for the mixed constitution) has been domiciled among

us since the Middle Ages; and are not most of us natural Aristotelians, with a 'contentment in finitude' and a general belief in the guiding star of experience? On the other hand—and this is an even greater thing—our people (the people at large) has also followed the Hebrew tradition of the Psalms and the Book of Job, ever since the beginning of the seventeenth century, and even earlier: for there is also Jerusalem, as well as Greece, in this 'green and pleasant land'. Nor must Rome be forgotten—least of all in a country which for more than three centuries was ruled by Rome. The scholar himself may reflect that more than half of the English words which he uses are of Latin origin; and if Virgil celebrated the Roman arts of bearing dominion over peoples and imposing the habit of peace, English statesmen (not always applauded, either by others or even by their own countrymen) have followed similar arts—just as English lawyers have also built a body of law which has spread over the world like the law of Rome.

Indeed we are mixed in our culture and the content of our minds, just as we are also mixed in our stock and the blood in our veins. If we are 'Saxon and Norman and Dane' (and many other stocks besides, which go back far into pre-history), we are also Greek and Hebrew and Roman. Our one gift, or at any rate our best gift, has been the gift of domestication. We have been a hospitable country, perhaps without wishing to be so or knowing that we were. Our very landscape is domesticated; and in this domesticated landscape we have set domesticated versions of Byzantine or Italian architecture—the Norman parish-church or the country-house of the eighteenth century. In much the same way we have taken into our stock, and accepted into our minds, many strains and many treasures. Yet there is an identity behind the mixture, which has made the mixture possible. We are more than an amalgam, and more than a crucible. What is the identity which has made the mixture, or at any rate made it possible?

II

Ecologists speak of 'habitats'. They define a habitat as 'a place, or type of place, with its peculiar conditions of climate, soil, and other factors (such as human activities like grazing, mowing, or coppicing), where a plant or animal community finds a natural home'. There is a sense in which men themselves are parts of a habitat—conscious, indeed, and consciously acting (more and more in the course of time), but none the less parts, and parts

which are*subject to the action of the whole to which they belong. We are companions of trees and grasses and plants, and of birds and animals; and we are companions with them in a way of life which is generally harmonious. We are companions, too, of sky and clouds, of wind and rain, of airs and waters. The pageant of the clouds, as it rises above the English landscape (and as it figures in our landscape painting), may well appear to be the greatest pageant of England. We look at the earth: we shall also do well to look at the skies. (Perhaps that is easiest in East Anglia; and perhaps that is why some of our greatest painters have come from East Anglia.) Along with the character of the English skies—their sweeping clouds, often big with rain coming from the Atlantic—• there goes a certain quality of light. The light has generally a haze: it is a wet light rather than a dry: it is grey, or blue-grey, rather than white: it has 'a margin of imprecision'. A friend who came from the other side of the world to England notes, 'I thought first of the thin film of indistinct grey which on most days takes off the sharp edge of the English landscape. To a New Zealander or Australian—indeed to most strangers—this softening of sharp edges is something new. It seems to have its parallel in English thought, which allows a margin of imprecision where accommodation and compromise are possible.* Santayana has made almost the same observation: 'the conflict between light and darkness, like all other conflicts, ends in a compromise; . . . everything lingers on and is modified; all is luminous, and all is grey'. We see what we see in terms of the quality of English light: and perhaps we also think in the same terms, and under the same control. It is a matter of the westerly winds, now splendidly gusty, and now dropping small rain from greyish clouds:

O western wind, when wilt thou blow
That the small rain down can rain?

Not only the temper of compromise, but also the habit of 'muddling through', is a part and parcel of the English habitat. Those who farmed the land, from early days, had to tack and turn under shifting skies and changing weather; and when England became industrial she recruited her workers from the men of the country-side who already had in their bones a tentative habit of life and a way of making things 'do' or 'go' by tinkering and experimentation. The habit of muddling through is not itself a defect, though to be conscious of it, and then, in your conscious-

ness, to rely upon it, as if it were some saviour outside yourself, is an induced defect of the very first order. In itself it may well be counted a quality rather than a defect; for in itself it is really a mode and an expression of self-reliance. It means that all sorts of men—each in his own way, and each on his own account—are tackling the problems of the moment with every appearance of confusion (so that an onlooker sighs, unreflectively, for co-ordination and a central plan), and yet achieving results which the planner and systematizer might miss. It is a thing connected with the mass of individual skills so richly scattered among working men—and working women—in all our occupations. It goes with an experimental habit of mind, which will mend anything, from a 'sick warp' to a reaping machine, and will somehow coax anything to work. It is an essence of English politics, which also depends on a mass of skills and understandings, and has for its motto, 'Make do'. How this temper and habit developed—whether it dropped from the skies with the western winds and the changing weather, or just grew in the habitat—it is probably vain to inquire. Anyhow it is there. If we sought to express it in Latin terms, we might use the words *interim* and *pedetemptim—interim* for the temporary solution, which we 'make do' for the time being: *pedetemptim* for the groping with tentative feet, over ground we can hardly see, by which we somehow arrive.

Some will say (and their saying must be heard), 'Have we not abandoned these Latinisms, and sloughed the old habits which they denote? Was not the war won by central planning, the calculated preparation of each phase and part, and the systematic execution of the whole design; and is not peace being organized now by a government of planning and pre-meditation? Times change, and we change with them.' It is wise to pay heed to such sayings and questions; and it would be a folly to forget the present, or to fail to note the changes it has brought and is bringing still. But it is perhaps an illusion of the modern mind to magnify change, and to think with too ready a facility in terms of 'a changing world'. The life of a nation may be compared to an iceberg: a great part of it is under water; and if the visible part is melting or crumbling, the unseen part has a quality of constancy. The unseen part of English life is a mass of individual skills, which find a harmony by their own gift of adaptability, and find it in a temper of equanimity and phlegm. There is a nervous tension in planning—a nervous strain on the planner, and a nervous tug at his followers



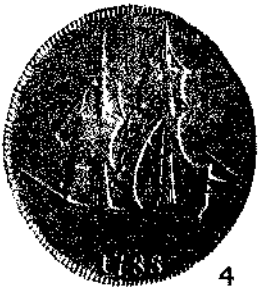
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5

(1) Gold noble of King Henry VI (1422-61) showing a medieval one-masted ship

(2) Gold rose noble of Queen Klizabeth (1585) illustrating the type of galleon which fought against the Armada

(3) The pattern for Charles II's copper farthing of 1665 showing a portrait of the 'Sovereign of the Seas' (100 guns)

(4) Warwickshire halfpenny token of 1788 illustrating the type of coal brig which worked coal from Newcastle to London in the 18th century

(5) Lincolnshire (Spalding) halfpenny token of 1794



SALISBURY CATHEDRAL
Mezzotint by DAVID LUCAS *after Constable*

—which hardly accords with our instincts or the general tradition of our life. An equable climate, which has become in the course of time a climate of the mind, or opinion, as well as a physical climate, is better suited to equanimity, or even phlegm, than to nervous tension. It is indeed a climate that is always changing, but only with minor variations. The barometer is never steady, but it is never cataclysmic. It suggests a spontaneous adaptability: you never know the variation which may be coming from the west—or even the east. But it also suggests a quiet equability. What is coming will not, after all, be very different from what you have now. Wear your old coat, and face the weather.

Habitat, clouds, and climate—margin of imprecision, compromise, and the adaptability and equability of individual skills—round all these there flows the sea, and these, in their measure, all flow from the sea. There are no points in England which are more than seventy miles from sea-water; there are few Englishmen who have not been in it, or on it, or somehow affected by it. It has given us, and it gives us, food: it has given us a herring fleet, a merchant fleet, a navy: it has sent us trading and settling in many lands over the world: it has made our very warfare an amphibious sort of warfare—with the navy there, in the last resort (at Corunna or Dunkirk), to cover its hazards and retrieve its losses. Ships have figured on English coinage since the fourteenth century; and there was an English awkwardness, or unconscious humour, in the policy of the Mint when it issued the first copper penny, with Britannia and her ship and lighthouse, in the year of the Mutiny at the Nore, 1797. This sense of the sea, wherever it be found, on coins or in men's minds, is another link between the English and the Greeks; and as it made Magna Graecia, so it also made Greater Britain. It is a sense which issues in liberty as well as expansion over wide waters: the voice of the sea is 'a mighty voice' in which liberty rejoices. Life at sea, a philosopher has said, is favourable to the empire of personal liberty. It is indeed that, as all travellers who have made a long sea-voyage will readily acknowledge; but it is also favourable, among the crew, to the growth of individual skills, to their spontaneous adaptation, to the sense of being a ship's 'company', and to the desire of having (or being) *a happy ship'. What we owe to the sea, and to sailors (of the merchant fleet as well as the navy), in the gradual growth of our national habits, is an incalculable debt. Perhaps we knew the debt better in the

days of sailing vessels and hearts of oak: the old can remember hearing in their boyhood songs of the sea and of Nelson which are now forgotten. But there is still something 'poluphlois-boisterous' about the Englishman, and he still hears the surge and thunder of the sea, and tastes its savour, however far inland he may be.

III

Besides the permanencies which come, or seem to come, from nature herself there are other permanencies, deeply engrained, which seem to have been bred in the mind, or by the mind, but are constant through all the generations. One of the notes of English literature, from the days of the Old English (perhaps better so called than 'Anglo-Saxons'), is the note of the trumpet for the last stand, the fight against odds, the dogged retreat, death in the last ditch. It is a note which has been heard in other lands: it sounded at Roncesvalles. But it has been a steady note of English literature for a thousand years. To face the facts, at their very worst, and to ask of your leader, 'Tell us the worst', this is the ethic and the expectation. It was there in 991, at the Battle of Maldon:

> Mind must the harder be, heart the keener,
> Mood the more, as our might lessens.

It was there again in 1940, in actual life, in the London streets; and it has been there in our literature all the time. It is there in *Samson Agonistes*; in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound;* in Tennyson's *Ballad of the Revenge*; in Chesterton's *Ballad of the White Horse.*

> I tell you naught for your comfort,
> Yea, naught for your desire,
> Save that the sky grows darker yet
> And the sea rises higher.

The note, in these expressions, sounds grave and even sombre; but it would be an error to hear it only as a note of unredeemed gravity. That, to the balance of the inner sense, would seem too solemn; too tense; too much, even, of a pose. Fun and jesting are added: when the worst comes, you must grin and bear it—but grin as well as bear. There can be a humour in fortitude': indeed humour can be a part and an expression of fortitude. The old Norsemen jested, sometimes grimly, in their darkest hours: the Old English, and their descendants, have done the like. Darkness and danger give humour an edge: humour, in turn, throws into

relief, and brings into perspective, the figures that stand in darkness and danger. Perhaps this was the origin of that mixture of tragedy and comedy which marks English drama, as it also marks the English mood.

But this graver note, even with its relief, is only one note in the continuous music of English literature. There are also others, and they too are old—at any rate as old as the Middle English poems of the fourteenth century. In *Mum and the Soothsegger,* for instance, one finds that feeling for the English landscape, and that power of painting its features (woods and waters, green trees and flowers, rabbits and hares,

> The sheep from the sun shading themselves,
> While the lambs laikid (gambolled) a-long by the hedges),

which are still there to-day in Mr. Brett-Young's poem *The Island.* In *Pearl,* and still more in the literature of *The Plowman,*[1] one finds that sense of pity, and that depth of feeling for all who are desolate and oppressed, or in suffering, which was later to inspire *King Lear.* Indeed this sense of pity, if it may properly be so called, is deep in our life as well as in our literature. A Norwegian poet has said, 'When you come near New York, you see the Statue of Liberty; when you come near the cliffs of Dover, you see an old blind man standing upon them.' Perhaps, too, this sense of pity has inspired Englishmen with that feeling towards a fallen foe which is something more, or less, than chivalry, or the mere play of a sporting instinct, and which has sometimes involved them in criticism, or at any rate misunderstanding, at the hands of other nations who have been their allies in war. 'The English nation', Scott wrote in *Peverilof the Peak,* 'differ from all others, indeed even from those of the sister kingdoms, in being

[1] **A fourteenth-century portrait of the ploughman and his family has been rendered *in* modern English by the late Professor York Powell.**

> **He went wading in mud, almost up to the ankles,**
> **And before him four oxen, so weary and feeble,**
> **One could reckon their ribs, so rueful were they.**
> **His wife walked beside him, with a long ox-goad,**
> **In a clouted coat cut short to the knee,**
> **Wrapped in a winnowing-sheet to keep out the weather,**
> **Her bare feet on the bleak ice bled as she went.**
> **At one end of the acre, in a crumb-bowl so small,**
> **A little babe lay, lapped up in rags,**
> **And twins, two years old, tumbled beside it,**
> **All singing one song that was sorrowful hearing,**
> **For they all cried one cry, a sad note of care.**

very easily sated with punishment, even when they sTuppose it most merited/

Neither the theme of the fight against odds, nor the note of pity, is calculated to make literature a gaiety and a romance. Even fairy-lands can be 'forlorn'; and ballads can be of a sombre tragedy. The note is elegiac, but it is not a note of self-pity: there is little sentimentality, and if there is a feeling for the still sad music of humanity, there is no indulgence in *Weltschmerz.* It has been said that there is a poet in every Englishman; and certainly the volume of English poetry is a rich and notable volume. Not all of it is elegiac, and there is much that does not belong to the country churchyard: there is also the lark, and a lark-like genius for the lyric. In any case the tradition of literature, and especially of poetry, is a tradition of long and continuous development perhaps unparalleled in other countries. We sometimes forget this continuity. Some of our Universities will set their students to begin the study of English literature with Chaucer. Great as he was, he was not the beginning. There are moods and themes (and these some of the deepest)—methods and skills and techniques (assonances and alliterations, rhythms and the overtones of words)—which are Middle, or even Old, English. And as Chaucer was not a break or a new beginning in literature, so '1066 and all that' was not a break or a new beginning in the sphere of law and government. To begin the study of English history in the middle of the eleventh century has little, if any, more justification than to begin the study of English literature in the latter half of the fourteenth. The armoury in our halls is older; and the continuity, in both fields alike, runs farther back.

But is national character, either in life or in the mirror of literature, a constant, or does it undergo change? We were flamboyant and exuberant in the days of Elizabeth: we were hodden grey afterwards. Puritanism checked the exuberance, and if it ran to initial excesses of its own it ultimately restored moderation and balance. Was it a Venetian ambassador who noted as characteristic of the English in the sixteenth century a combination of low morals and excellent cooking, and would not the English of a later age have pleaded for an inverse combination? The argument may be carried further, and pushed to still higher consequences. There was a divided England in Tudor times, in spite of the iron pressure of the Crown; and the division cut down to the fundamentals of national life, and arranged thinking men in two

hostile camps which saw church and State, and the nature of ultimate authority, with different eyes and in different lights. The division persisted, and was even accentuated, during much of the seventeenth century, in spite of the rally of unity during the later years of Elizabeth: matters were pushed *a l'outrance,* and men fought to the death about fundamentals. Then there came a change —one of the greatest changes in English history—in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Many of us would date it about 1688: we should find its philosophy in Halifax's *Character of a Trimmer*: we should find its historical expression in the agreement then made to try the way of toleration in matters of religion, and the way of debate and compromise between parties in matters of politics. It is as if men had stood still, collected their thoughts, and argued with themselves: 'Fundamentals are dangerous: there are some issues in life which are better left sleeping: we will raise only the issues on which we may disagree without imperilling our country; and even on them we will disagree with buttons on the foils/ This, in effect, is what Halifax said, and the Whigs and the Tories both agreed. 'Our Government is like our Climate' (the words are the words of Halifax): it must have a margin of imprecision, which permits accommodation and compromise.

This was, in some sense, a great repentance—a *conversio morum.* There have also been other conversions. Take the eighteenth century, for instance. You look at one page and you see the savagery of gin-drinking and the brutality of the Lord George Gordon riots: you see the cruelty of the criminal law, the ferocity of sports, the misery of the slave-trade. Something happens; it is called, in brief, the evangelical revival (but it had many facets); the page is turned; and you see a change to the kindly England which you may have imagined was always there. The slave-trade goes in 1807, and slavery in 1833: the criminal law is humanized; and a humaner England *emollit mores, nee sinit esse feros.* In the same way and on the same scale—but in the political rather than in the social sphere—one may notice another conversion or repentance in the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria. The first empire had been lost, in 1783, because the government in London had sought to retain executive control of the North American Colonies in the teeth of the growing power of their colonial assemblies. The lesson was taken to heart; and a political repentance followed. In little more than half a century, by 1839, the Durham report appeared; and a system of complete self-govern-

ment, which included executive control, by cabinets of *heir own choice, in addition to their own assemblies or parliaments, soon began to permeate the 'colonies by settlement' from Canada to Australia and New Zealand.

But the question may be raised whether the repentances of the English (if that phrase may be used) are really conversions in the sense of changes. It is possible to argue that they rather suggest an inner stability, and proceed from the depth of an experimental temper constantly present, and constantly ready to learn from the process of trial and error. A flowing stream is fluid, but it is constant as well as fluid. It is also possible to argue that some of the conversions were recoveries rather than changes—recoveries of an old inheritance, and returns to an ancient trend, which had been temporarily forgotten or overlaid but was always there in the depths. The humanitarianism of the end of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century was not entirely new. The sense of pity had always been there; and it came back readily when time gave the cue. We may perhaps admit that it came back with a passion, and in a form of self-consciousness, which was something new. The pity for everything animate—

He prayeth well, who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast—

had in it a new touch of self-consciousness or what may be called self-projection. Men—and women—pitied and petted because they had projected themselves into what they pitied or petted; and what was 'protected' might sometimes be the projected self. That was natural in an age of greater self-consciousness; but the new humanitarianism was also a reassertion of an older and more objective trend. The old blood-sports had been linked—and so far as they survive are perhaps still linked—with a curious understanding of the object of the sport. Men study and like what they hunt for sport: they even get under the skin, by a sort of process of 'gentleman into fox\ It is not altogether a paradox that a hunting and shooting people should also be a people of pity.

IV

There is one great change in the workaday life of Englishmen—the life lived in the sweat of the face, subduing the nature of **the** mind

To what it works in, like the dyer's hand,

which may well be argued to have affected and altered the character of England greatly. This was the Industrial Revolution, which began in the middle of the eighteenth century (or even earlier), and is still with us. For one thing, and externally, it was largely responsible for a new growth of empire and a great expansion of the English overseas. The goods which it produced so abundantly meant trade; trade meant trading stations; and trading stations had a way of becoming something more than stations. Nor was that all. The Industrial Revolution produced men, as well as goods, in a great abundance; it quadrupled the population in the course of a century; and the increased population went overseas, in their thousands and hundreds of thousands, to settle under other skies. England was carried out into the world; and the world was carried back into England, affecting its life and its character. This, in itself, was only a phase (but a far greater phase) of an old movement-—the movement of action and reaction between England at home and England overseas—the movement which had once brought West Indian planters and East Indian nabobs into English life, and now brought still greater figures and forces. But there was also a second thing which the Industrial Revolution brought. This was a change within England itself—an internal change. The Revolution made England, or much of England, unlovely as a country, and it made it, for many years, unhappy as a nation—unhappy because, as Disraeli said, it became for a time 'Two Nations'. An industrialized England became an urbanized England; and an urbanized England—superficially at any rate, if not fundamentally—was something new.

The type and structure of its towns and cities are a particular and peculiar expression of the life of a nation. English towns may be roughly divided into two types. There is the old type, which may be seen in Bath, Cambridge, Chester, Oxford, and York—partly a market town, and partly a town of fashion or a town of education. There is the new type—Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds—which is a mastodon of industrial aggregation. The first type is not to be forgotten (any more than are the thousands of villages and village greens and parish churches and country chapels), but it is the second type which sets thought busy. What is the ethic, and what is the character, of the urban crowd? It is easy—but it is also untrue—to answer the question in a couple of words, the words 'gregariousness' and 'nervousness'. There *is*

gregariousness and there *is* nervousness. One may sometimes think of the running of ants to and fro, endlessly, restlessly; one may sometimes deplore some loss of human dignity, when one sees a mass of intent faces focused on the movements of a ball; one may sometimes grieve at the loss (perhaps an imagined loss) of the individual shrewdness of the countryman, or again—and this more justly—at the loss of that biological harmony with mother earth which is brought by the touch of the soil on the fingers and seems essential to man's satisfaction. But is this the whole of the matter ? And is there not a whole other side ?

An urban crowd has nimble wits and a ready resource—not only a gift of repartee, but also a capacity for threading a way through a multitude of situations. Its members are not lost in the mass: they polish, through constant attrition, new facets of individuality. The English urban crowd, in particular, may justly be said to have developed, from its own experience and its own good sense, a species of self-discipline and a tactic of 'fitting in* neatly on a little space. You seldom feel unsafe in a London crowd: you know in your heart that it is experienced—experienced in situations. A new situation will find a new response: queues will form, and will show some sense of discipline and tactics; there will be some bad manners and a little thrusting; but the institution (for the queue is of that order) will be made to work. It is curious, too, to observe how the policeman, as a factor of legal discipline, melts easily into the general system of voluntary tactics. The members of the crowd not only fit into one another: they also fit into the policeman, and he fits into them. Indeed the English policeman is something of an exemplar of his countrymen, experienced, equable, human, jocular—uniformed, but unarmed, and not swelled into self-importance by his uniform. If we ever thought of exporting a sample of ourselves, he would deserve consideration, and in fact he has been exported latterly.

Mention was made, a moment ago, of the 'institution* of the queue. The word institution suggests a reflection. May it be said that it is a part of the character of Englishmen—and not least of urban Englishmen—that they 'institutionalize* (if the word may be permitted) whatever they can ? Perhaps they do so because they like to run easily in some harness of habit. Many new things (for instance air-raid wardens' posts) were readily institutionalized during the late war; and rationing has perhaps run easily because it has been made an institution. But the habit is old and inveterate.

We have long institutionalized games—fox-hunting, cricket, and football—under standing orders or rules of the game. Three hundred years ago, or more, we institutionalized political disputes, which had lately been a subject of war, into a system of party. If you institutionalize anything, you domesticate it: you adjust it to the genius of a country which has a habit of domestication. If it does not become a pet, at any rate it becomes a part of your life and a parcel of your habits. So you make a familiar world, in which you are readily at home. Or, to alter the metaphor, you put on an old coat, which frees you from worry. It fits your body, and it leaves play for your arms in a multitude of situations.

V

Perhaps enough homage has been paid to change (though even in speaking of change we have seen that the more the Englishman changes, the more he remains the same); and we may now turn back to some constants. It may not be foolish to list some half dozen (rather as examples than as a complete list), and, in doing so, to give each of them some single name.

1. The name of the first (one might wish that it were simpler) is *social homogeneity*. England has had little class-feeling—and that though, down to our own days, it has had, and has even cherished, a whole ladder of class-differences. The habitat has somehow produced understanding and even fusion. One reflects on the difference between Norman and Saxon, after 1066; and then one remembers that a sober treasury official could write, within a century of 1066, that, 'with Saxons and Normans living together *(cohabitantibus)* and intermarrying, the stocks are so mixed that you can hardly distinguish to-day who is Saxon, and who Norman, by birth'. Or again one reflects on the difference between the feudal noble and the man of business in the age of medieval chivalry: and then one reflects that the noble's younger sons become commoners by English usage, and that in English practice Michael atte Pool, the son of a merchant of Hull, could become de Ia Pole and first Earl of Suffolk as early as the reign of Richard II. So it has gone through the centuries—the blood and the profits of business families flowing into the families of the land, and enabling them to keep their landed estates; the blood and the brains of the younger sons of the families of the land running into trade, overseas commerce, adventure, and settlement.

But this tendency to social homogeneity is qualified by, or

combined with, an English doctrine and practice of vrhat may be called 'position*. England has always been full of positions, or what Shakespeare calls 'degrees' and the Catechism calls 'states of life\ She has run through the ages into a graded hierarchy, with men taking positions, and holding stations, on this rung and that of a very long ladder. But there has always been a mutual respect between different positions; and the ladder has always been a ladder of possible ascent. No sentence in the language has been more often or more sadly misquoted than the sentence in the Catechism which speaks of man's doing his duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call him. 'Shall please' *(not* 'hath pleased') is a beckoning finger to change and advancement. There *are* states, degrees, positions, stations—so the suggestion runs—but the world is a moving world, and there is nothing to keep a man fixed 'in the trade of his parent's vocation'. It is in this way that English life has long been a pageant of positions—positions based on capacity—with men respecting positions because they respect capacity. There is no reason in the nature of things why this fashion of life should alter. In a new age of equality it may well become more elastic and fluid. If it does so, it will still remain the same, and even more the same. A system of positions based on capacities, if it has grown under individualism, may also grow, and grow even higher, under socialism.

At the same time a system of positions, even if the positions are mutually respected and even if they become increasingly fluid, has its motes and shadows. One of these shadows is snobbery. Snobbery is an appetite for false position: it is the desire to enjoy in the estimation of others a position which is not enjoyed in fact. At its best it may be, as a friendly critic has called it, 'an honest expression of social idealism': a longing to rise and to be translated, in a friendly society which is none the less a society of degrees, to a higher range and an ampler air. From that point of view we may regard it as a tension, or rather the result of a tension—a tension between the two poles of a sense of social homogeneity and a sense of the difference of social positions. But this is perhaps only a gloss; and snobbery in general, as the same friendly critic has also said, 'is really a vice: it tempts us to neglect and despise our proper virtues in aping those of other people'. Is it a modern English vice, and was it the invention, or discovery, of Thackeray; or is it an ancient English sin, as ancient as Ancient Pistol? At any rate it is there, an offence against

honesty knd a breach of the commandment, 'To thine own self be true\ The pity is that it is not the only offence against honesty. Snobbery has a companion, of even greater dimensions, which goes by the name of hypocrisy; and indeed it may even be said that snobbery is only a form or species of the genus hypocrisy. The English hypocrite cannot be said to have been invented or discovered by Dickens. He is the creature of a disjunction to which our stock seems sadly prone—the disjunction between profession and practice. We may seek to explain the disjunction historically as another form or expression of tension—the tension, in this case, between the exuberant Elizabethan, still within us, with all his full-blooded activity, and the grey inhibited Puritan, still present too with his brooding sense of duty. We may even seek to excuse as well as to explain: we may plead that there is a time for all things—a time to pray and a time to be up and doing—and that 'your prayers are not necessarily insincere because you pray only in church'. But the reproach remains. Not in vain, and not without reason, have other nations made the reproach, looking particularly at our public professions of policy and the practice we actually follow. The Puritan within us will not leave us; but he is not the only thing within us. And we have anyhow something of a tendency to live in a make-believe world. The very continuity of our constitutional development, preserving antiquities which have become formalities, encourages the tendency. When you preserve so much of the past in the present you are apt to get mixed between shadow and substance.

2. Another constant in the character of England is the vogue of the *amateur.* Here again a paradox emerges. England is the home of professions—organized professions; barristers, doctors, architects, teachers, civil servants, and the rest—and she may even be said to have built up, during the nineteenth century, a new 'professional aristocracy' which is an even greater power in the land than the old aristocracy. But England is also anti-professional. She has always cultivated an amateur quality—in sports; in politics; in the management of agriculture; and even in the private and family concerns which are still a large part of her industry. This amateur quality has its defects; and the defects become all the more apparent as the world grows more aggregated and complicated. But it has also its merits. It prevents life from being too hugely serious, leaving a space for the fun (the humours and even the whims) which the boy in most Englishmen craves.

It also fosters a multiplication of free individual initiatives: it takes away strain, and distributes the demands upon nervous energy. A society with an amateur quality is a society with a good circulation, less liable to clots and seizures. English scholarship has benefited from its self-trained historians and self-trained scientists—Gibbon and Macaulay, Cavendish and Darwin; and even English typography has benefited from amateur printers. In politics the amateur may be ignorant; but he pays a rich compensation by being also disinterested. In any case, and whatever his merits or defects, the amateur has long been with us, and is likely to remain. Raleigh and Sidney were of that strain: Cromwell was an amateur who learned as he went, in war and politics: the eighteenth century was an age of amateurs *domiatque militiae*; even Bentham, in his own field of law, belongs to the company. Our very statesmen have often been amateurs of scholarship (as well as of politics): Mr. Gladstone and Lord Derby both surrendered their affections to Homer; and Mr. Winston Churchill—amateur in many fields, full of the amateur's defects and merits, and a professional only in the rare and generous profession of patriotism—has been a notable amateur of history. It may be a pity that we have not offered a greater sacrifice on the altar of competence and efficiency. But it is perhaps a true economy of effort which has inspired us to be the lovers of activity (for the amateur is by definition a lover) rather than its servants.

3. Another constant in English character is the figure and idea of the *gentleman.* The idea of the gentleman is not a class idea (it was ceasing to be that even in the sixteenth century): it is the idea of a type of character. It is an idea which has had its mutations. In the eighteenth century a gentleman knew his tenants, his fields, and his foxes: he helped to govern his country, and might sit in parliament at Westminster; he might even be interested in architecture and painting, and indulge himself in music. He was an amateur furnished with ability—the apotheosis of the amateur. But the essence was a code of conduct—good form: the not doing of the things which are not done: reserve: a habit of understatement. The code became disengaged, and explicit, with the spread of boarding or 'public* schools during the nineteenth century. It was in many ways a curious code. It was hardly based on religion, though it might be instilled in sermons: it was a mixture of stoicism with medieval lay chivalry, and of both with unconscious national ideals half Puritan and half secular. Yet if it

contained such national ideals, it was not a national code, in the sense that it embraced the nation: it was the code of an *elite* (from whatever classes the *elite* was drawn) rather than a code of the nation at large. On the other hand *elites* will always count; and 'social idealism', or snobbery at its best, made the code of the gentleman pervasive. It is impossible to think of the character of England without thinking also of the character of the gentleman. But it is also impossible to think of the character of the gentleman clearly. It has an English haze. The gentleman is shy, yet also self-confident. He is the refinement of manliness; but the manliness is sometimes more obvious than the refinement. He is disquieted by men's eyes; but he is also a cynosure. He does gentlemanly things; but he seems to be even more marked by the things which he does not do. Yet a pattern of behaviour, however hazy, remains a pattern; and whether you love it or laugh at it, this English pattern spreads more and more as more and more schools set themselves to the work of forming and strengthening character. The Englishman's clothes—like English sport (or at any rate English football)—are something of a general mode. His pattern of behaviour matters as much or even more.

4. Another of the constants in this summary list is the *voluntary habit.* It is an old tradition of Englishmen to do things for themselves, on a voluntary basis, in free association with others; not to expect all things from 'the State', or remit all things to the government. It has shown itself in many fields—education; the service of health in hospitals; the improvement of the condition of the working classes by their own Trade Unions; missionary societies, Bible societies; societies for the protection of aborigines. It has created a general distinction, in our thinking and our action, between state and society; and John Stuart Mill could still write in his *Autobiography,* some seventy-five years ago, that among us 'nine-tenths of the internal business which elsewhere devolves on the government is transacted by agencies independent of it'. But the distinction is far from absolute: the two elements interact, and they may even at times co-operate in an amicable dyarchy.' We developed, for instance, three centuries ago, a system of political parties—voluntary 'clubs' or associations—which have somehow got into the state and affect the government. We have kept party and government together, and yet kept each in its place—a delicate operation; indeed the most delicate and

difficult of all operations in politics. It is so easy to let«party become a devouring monster of totalitarianism: it is so easy, at the other end, to cry, 'a plague upon parties: let us all be for the state*. In a blended country of compromise—compromise and imprecision—we have hitherto managed to make the best of both worlds and to keep both balls in the air. The whole history of the British Commonwealth and Empire is a history of both balls—voluntary enterprise and the voluntary 'company* somehow interacting, and even co-operating, with state and government. It may be that things are changing: that we are beginning to be all for the state—and to give all things to the state. But perhaps it is at least as likely that old ways and habits of thought will show a persistent tenacity, and the submerged part of the iceberg will still float under the water. There is still a good deal in our life—Trade Unions, for instance—which belong to the sphere of society. England will not very readily say, *L'Etat, c'est moil* The *mot* is something larger.

5. Another constant which foreign observers have generally noted in the character of England is *eccentricity.* They have spoken of 'mad dogs and Englishmen'. One observer, speaking more gently, has said that the Englishman is governed by 'the weather in his soul'. Among ourselves we should hardly notice this idiosyncrasy, or detect much difference of the weather in our souls; but if all are eccentric, eccentricity will be so normal that it is commonplace. Far from noticing it ourselves, we may even be puzzled to find it noticed by others: and we may think it astonishing that men who have a horror of publicity, who like old grey clothes and dislike their houses or anything that is theirs to be conspicuous, who tune down their discourse and cultivate the idea of a level equanimity, should ever be thought to be curious. Yet there are men we know who seem to us 'characters' (though we generally lament that they are disappearing—and not least from our Universities, where they once had a way of flourishing): there are even some whom we are apt to call 'cranks'. Indeed there are societies of cranks; and our literature is full of pictures of oddities. When we go abroad we have small inclination, and still less skill, for the adoption of protective colouring: we go as we are; and many who have gone (William Beckford, for instance, or Lady Hester Stanhope, or Richard Burton) have gone *very* much as they were. There must be a certain truth behind this general rumour of English eccentricity. Are we a

country of humours, and of every man in his humour? Is our worship of form only a sort of insurance of an inner vitality, which can bubble all the more freely because it is thus insured and protected? Or may we say, less subtly, that most of us are mixtures, unreconciled mixtures, and that elements of freakishness, disconcertingly mixed with the element of form, can make disconcerting appearances? May it also be said of us that we have a would-be self-sufficiency, an individualism in the grain, which makes our eccentricity the assertion of a real, if often unconscious, egocentricity? It can hardly all be a myth. But it remains a puzzle to most of us that the country of 'good form* and plodding habit should also be counted a country of rebellion against conventions and canons.

6. A last constant which may be noted is the constant *oiyouthfulness.* This, as has already been mentioned, is a trait which the English share with the ancient Greeks. But their youthfulness has a quality of its own. They begin with a protracted period of growing up, and a deferred maturity, which is perhaps a good insurance for a later and longer development. Inured to sport, and practising a creed of keeping fit, they join in games and practise the play of the muscles till the evening of their days; and they may be seen engaged in lawn tennis, or golf, or even hunting, when they are septuagenarians. In this way they keep themselves young in spirit; and this, in turn, ensures an easy communication between the generations. Age escapes being crabbed, and can live with youth: the torch of tradition can be handed on readily to young colleagues and friends—in politics, or in scholarship, or in business. There is a general interest of the old in the young, with little trace of superiority or patronage: the generations are friendly, and equal. This may explain why there are English books which can be read by readers of the age of seven and readers of the age of seventy: it may explain the peculiar character of the English 'children's books'—*Alice in Wonderland, Wind in the Willows,* the books of Beatrix Potter, and many more—which unite the generations. It is true that a youth protracted into age may sometimes show a jarring incongruity: 'there is a grace in acknowledging age, and yielding quietly to nature. But it is also true that age has a subjective side, and that 'thinking makes it so'; and there is no great argument, after all, against a young spirit in an old body. We may be Methuselahs without becoming grey lobes of thinking matter*

Youthfulness has its companion in a general love of what we call 'nonsense': the worshipper of common sense is also a worshipper of the nonsense of limericks, clerihews, and the general play of the joke, 'practical* as well as verbal. At its best and purest the love of nonsense has no admixture of malice: it is simple play, even if the play is often clumsy and sometimes degenerates into horseplay. Often, it is true, the joke is mixed with a grumble; and this is that mixture of the comic and the tragic which has already been noticed. Alike in the north and the south this mixture of grumbling and joking is characteristic—wittier, perhaps, in the south, and in the quick quips of the Londoner; more humorous, perhaps, in the north. Sometimes, again, the joke is in the nature of chaffing; and this too is a general habit, sometimes with a dangerous edge, but more generally like the play of young animals tumbling and rolling one another over. It makes a sort of freemasonry: it is a habit of friends who know one another by sign and countersign. But generally the love of nonsense is a simple and unmixed play of the mind, free from the shadow of grumble and even from the thistledown of chaff. This is the essence of Edward Lear's *Book of Nonsense.* It is still the essence to-day of *1066 and All That*—the Englishman laughing at his own history. *Bis ridet qui sese irridet.*

VI

It may seem to be an English order which remits religion and thought to the end of a chapter on the character of England. It might also perhaps be English—a matter-of-fact sort of pragmatism—if one spoke of religion in England in terms of the English Sunday and the English weekly sermon. Santayana goes deeper when he notes that to the Englishman religion must be English; 'it is an axiom with him that nothing can be obligatory for a Christian which is unpalatable to an Englishman'. A shrewd thrust, but fundamentally true. Alike in Anglicanism and in Nonconformity religion has felt the English weather. Anglicanism has its hazy light, its compromise, its imprecision: Nonconformity has its voluntary habit, something of its eccentricity, something (and that in no mean sense) of its amateur quality, and a good deal of its experimentalism. Perhaps because they have both been weathered they have both affected English life in a larger measure that we generally realize. Religion has cut across class divisions and made its own social groupings: it might almost be

said that the division of Anglican and Nonconformist was long a substitute for, and then an antidote to, the division of opposing classes. Religion, again, in its English form of two almost equal bodies professing a reformed Christianity—two bodies united in a common feeling of the need of reform, but divided in their ideas of the method and the extent of reform—has largely created the type of mind and the ethics of action required by a system of parliamentary government: it has shown that there can be an agreement on the fundamentals which belong to the common interest, coupled with disagreement about the particular principles on which that interest should be promoted. It was in this way that religious feelings came to issue in political parties, the Tory and the Whig; and the struggle of those parties, in its turn, was long concerned with religious issues—issues of subscription to religious articles; of toleration; of emancipation; of the place of religion in State education. The whole growth of English liberty is bound up with English religious life. The English free churches have never been pietists, or churches of the catacomb: they have been involved, or have involved themselves, in the movement of national life and the general struggle for liberty.

If religion in England has felt English weather, may the same be said of English thought ? Thought is primarily an activity of the writer; but is it not also an activity of the reader? We may begin a consideration of English thought with writers: we shall be wise to end it with some consideration of readers, asking ourselves what they have mainly read and what they have made of their reading. The writers who have shaped English thought (or shall we be bold, and speak of 'philosophy' ?) have been often eclectics—masters of accommodation and compromise—as we might naturally expect. Hooker was of that order in the beginning of the seventeenth century: Paley—less profound, but still more widely diffused—was of the same order at the end of the eighteenth. But there have been some great original minds who have voyaged alone through strange seas of thought. We can hardly count Bacon (he stood on the shore and surveyed the seas); but we may certainly count Newton and Darwin, and perhaps the puckish and provocative Hobbes. Newton and Darwin, however, may justly be claimed by the muse of natural science; and in the realm of philosophy it may well be argued that Hobbes was the one original genius—but alas (and perhaps typically) also an eccentric. Locke was bred truer to the English strain: like Hooker

he was 'judicious', reasonable, and acclimatized to the English weather. Generally, however, English thought, in the realm of philosophy, would seem to have stopped short of the ultimate. It begins—and perhaps it ends—in a strong sense of the value of experience. *Experientia docet,* our thinkers have said: but they have not been very clear what it was that it taught. The result was that, in the nineteenth century, from Coleridge onwards, philosophers began to go abroad for a 'doctrine'; and the experimentalism or empiricism natural to English thought was curiously conjoined with German idealism. The nation's tree has failed to produce its own flowers and fruit. Or perhaps it may be more justly said that the native strain—Hobbes ('sport' as he was): the sober Locke; the racy Bentham—has been too little cultivated. *Omne alienum pro magnifico;* and in philosophy (as in music) it has perhaps been a tendency of 'those who know' to confess that the best was outside the reach of the native genius.

The confession may be true; and it may well be the case that the English mind has baulked and stumbled at the fence of philosophy. But it may also be true that English thought, with its hazes and margins and intuitive insights, has naturally run into another channel than that of prose philosophy. That channel has been the philosophy of English poetry. It is not absurd to count among the philosophers the Shakespeare of *Hamlet, Macbeth, King Lear,* and the *Tempest;* the Milton of *Paradise Lost* (and the early poems, such as the exquisite brief poem *On Time);* the Wordsworth of the *Prelude;* the Keats of the great odes (and also the letters); the Shelley of *Adonais;* the Browning of the *Ring and the Book.* English poetry (minor as well as major—Donne and Crashaw, Gray and Matthew Arnold, as well as the greater stars) is the great and perhaps the natural effort of English thought. It has a remarkable volume—you may count at least a dozen poets of power in the nineteenth century alone—and at its best it has a 'philosophy teaching by insight in music'. There is a compensation in things; and the genius which denied England any great philosophy in prose may be said to have atoned for that denial by another and greater gift.

But what of the readers—for they too matter as well as the writers? What is to be said of the nation's reading in the course of its history; what has it selected to read, and what does its selection prove? A nation at large reads all sorts of things at all sorts of hours—*Punchy* the *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes,* the

Daily Express^ and the novels of Edgar Wallace, as well as the World's Classics. But it is selective as well as diffused: it has its permanent channels as well as its mazy meanderings. The permanent channels of English reading may be traced, or at any rate suggested, if we imagine to ourselves the books on which we should draw—in allusion or quotation; in talk, or speech, or writing—with the hope and the expectation that we might safely assume some knowledge and acquaintance with their themes, and even with their phrases. They would include the Authorized Version of the Bible, and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* \ they would include some of Shakespeare's plays, and some of the novels of Dickens; they would include some of the poems (at least Gray's *Elegy* , but it would not be quite alone) in Palgrave's *Golden Treasury of English Poetry,* they would include the sayings and doings of Dr. Johnson (in Boswell's *Life),* and some of the sayings and doings of the figures in Anthony Trollope's Barsetshire novels; they would include some of the hymns of Isaac Watts and the Wesleys and Cowper: they might also include (if incongruously) some songs of Gilbert and Sullivan; and they would almost certainly include some of the quips and oddities in Lewis Carroll's books. It is a mixed sort of list—solemnity, fun, tragedy, comedy, religion, poetry, the novel. But English reading is a mixed sort of reading, and the character behind it is also mixed.

VII

At the end of such a review as this a shiver of doubt is inevitable. Is the review just, and are the lights and shadows rightly distributed? The reader will judge; and he will judge all the better, and the more severely, because he will already have seen the elements of the portrait assembled—line upon line; theme after theme; first from this angle, and then from that other—in the previous chapters. But that is not the only doubt which a writer may feel, or his only shiver of apprehension. There is also another issue. Even if the portrait be true, is it not a portrait of the character of England as it is to-day—or rather, perhaps, as it was yesterday—and is not England changing, and that at so smart a pace that to-morrow the portrait may be false ?

England has long been, at any rate in popular songs, a land of 'the home'. Each Englishman has long had his house, 'be it ever so humble' (and nothing can be more striking, to the traveller returning from abroad, than the little and low-pitched cottages

and villas of the 'tight little island*, which make it look like a miniature country dotted over with little boxes); and each house has been a castle of privacy, with its own heating, its own cooking, and its own general 'autarky*. Was this an expression of ourselves, growing out of ourselves in the same sort of way as many of our houses (especially when they were built of native stone) seemed to grow out of the soil and to fit and melt into the landscape? We have been accustomed to think that it was, and foreign observers have had the same thought. But what if the home, or the system of separate boxes, was really a cramp rather than an expression—something we had fastened down on ourselves, in another set of conditions, which is alien now to our needs and our temper? The suggestion may be made that to conserve space, and to secure an easier distribution of amenities and even decencies, we should do better to live more closely together in a more open or public life, with *syssitia* or common tables for meals and community centres for social intercourse. Would that do violence to nature as well as to ingrained habit, or would it, on the contrary, liberate powers which are in us but unused?

That way there may lie ahead one revolution. Another way, parallel in some respects but leading to larger consequences, is the way of the development of national life and national government. Will the nation at large change, as well as its members and the homes of its members; will it run less in the channel of society, and more—or even exclusively—in the channel of the state? We may seem to be tending to turn the state into 'a great industrial and financial corporation*, and to be moving towards a transfer of power to the executive directors and the administrative officials of this corporation. If this is the tendency of our times, we are facing a change greater than any revolution or reformation in our history; we are beginning to abandon the tentative and experimental method of the past—the accommodations and the compromises—the mass of individual skills, the amateur efforts, and the voluntary activities—the general structure of the English habitat and English weather; and we shall have to say to ourselves in the future (in words quoted by Robert Browning in the preface to his first poem)

Plus ne suis ce que j*ai e*te,*
Et ne le scaurois jamais Stre.

Are these changes upon us—the change of individuals from their separate boxes into an organized open and public life; the

change of the nation from its old mixed husbandry (part public, and part private; here society, and there the State; with a sovereign parliament as the general grand inquest in which 'the sense of the nation' on the reasonable proportions of the mixture is somehow explored and attained) into a planned and managed economy of the pure central reason? War is a violent teacher; and the lessons of two great wars may seem to suggest such changes. But experience is also a teacher; and one of the lessons of experience is that men are willing to accept in war what they are ready to refuse in peace. Nor are the habits of a nation, and its silent sense of its own way of life, so readily sloughed, even at the call of pure reason.

Reason has moons, but moons not hers
Lie mirror'd on her sea,
Confounding her astronomers,
But O! delighting me.

It is possible, easily possible, to be too historically minded. 'Every generation', as Tom Paine wrote, 'is, and must be, competent to all the purposes which its occasions require.' But this long slow movement of the character of England—has it not something enduring?

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