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COLLEGE READINGS
FOR
INDUCTIVE STUDY

REVISED EDITION

THE REVISED EDITION

COLLEGE READINGS FOR

Inductive Study

ARWARD STARBUCK · IOWA STATE COLLEGE

NOTLEY S. MADDOX · MONTICELLO COLLEGE

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Preface to the Revised Edition

THE PRINCIPLES and the procedures which controlled the first edition of this book are stated in the section "To the Teacher" reprinted in this edition. Since the experience of many teachers has shown those principles and procedures to be sound, it is necessary here only to add a brief comment.

For young men and young women the horizon of life has in recent years expanded tremendously. More vividly than ever before, they have lived and are living the vital experiences out of which a new world is forming Because they only in part understand the significance of these experiences, they are ready to have them supplemented and enriched by the experiences of those more mature than themselves And teachers are increasingly convinced that the broadening of direct personal experience through reading offers the best stimulus to student interest.

As in the first edition, the questions and suggestions at the end of each article attempt to center attention on the broad problem involved The intention is to challenge the student's interest in the problem rather than merely to quiz him on the facts of the article. Thus what the author says becomes not the be-all of an assignment but just one contribution—though an important one—to the discussion of a problem the understanding of which will make for intelligent citizenship This approach encourages a more active class discussion and at the same time a greater interest in assigned readings The discussion is of the problem, with incidental, though frequent, reference to the views of the author With a confidence in this approach which comes from the general satisfaction with it the editors commend to their colleagues the second edition of *College Readings for Inductive Study.*

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TO THE STUDENT

Everything in this book is addressed to you—except the brief remarks To THE TEACHER on the next few pages. And even those pages were written with your problems chiefly in mind. If you care to read the first three paragraphs you will know by your instructor's use of this book which of the two approaches to reading and writing there outlined seems wise to him.

COLLEGE READINGS
FOR
INDUCTIVE STUDY

REVISED EDITION

To the Teacher

IN A BOOK OF READINGS three things are vital: the nature of the selections, the editorial machinery provided for study, and the resultant student writing. With reference to these three aspects teachers of composition have differed, indeed they still differ, fundamentally. There has, on the one hand, largely prevailed in the past the view that normal undergraduate activities tend to accentuate the narrowness of student life and that the consequent duty of the teacher is wherever possible to invite the attention of the student to a body of ideas in sharp contrast with those which usually engross him. The exponent of this view believes that if the student is transported for his English work into a field beyond the horizon of his everyday experiences he will find the same intellectual, aesthetic, or emotional stimulus which the teacher has himself found there.

Over against this view there has arisen in recent years an increasing challenge. The objectors are convinced that much of the pleasure the teacher finds in what he reads is due to an intellectual maturity or to natural interests foreign to most students, and they question the advisability in most cases of attempting to uproot the undergraduate and to transport him mentally into a radically different environment. With complete allegiance to the principle of broadening the interests of the student, they believe this objective can best be attained not by attempting to carry him beyond the horizon but by expanding the horizon. Specifically, in a book of readings these teachers look for selections which present new and fresh aspects of ideas hitherto seen by the student in narrow perspective. They look for a study machinery which emphasizes ideas close to student experience and qualities of style applicable to the improvement of ability to communicate ideas. And they look for writing assignments calculated to challenge both the logical and the imaginative qualities of the student's mind by putting his own narrow experiences into relationship with the broader experiences encountered in his readings. For Plato's opinion as to the invention of the alphabet they would, to stimulate student ideas, substitute Walter Lippmann's opinion of the New Deal; for a study of chiasmus in the style of Edmund Burke they would, to

improve student writing, substitute a study of transition in the writing of Hugh Walpole; and for "contrast between the devout, scholarly monk of the medieval monastery and the worldly parson of eighteenth century England" they would, as a topic of writing, substitute a contrast between scholarship and campus activities. They would, in short, invite the undergraduate not to abandon his experiences but to enrich them by reading.

This volume was prepared for those who hold the second of the two views outlined above. The student who uses it is challenged to a three-fold objective:

(1) through reading, to discover that life today involves much beyond the prospects for the New Year's Rose Bowl game, the merits of the orchestra at the last big dance, and the issues in the coming all-college election;

(2) through study of well-written articles, to familiarize himself with simple devices which he has heretofore not realized he could easily apply to an improvement of his own technique of communication;

(3) through a combination of (1) and (2), to reinterpret his own outlook on life by expressing his broadened views in a series of papers growing out of the selections read.

With these objectives it necessarily follows that the material of the volume comes chiefly from current sources. But when a writer of the past has expressed himself with conspicuous force on some issue vital for today, the editors have not hesitated to give him place.

The method of the volume is inductive. The editors assume that the authoritative pronouncement of truth, with whatever charm of personality, can not provoke maximum growth of the mind, and that increasingly as a teaching procedure it is being rejected. They assume, too, that a mere request to the student to read a given article for class discussion will often result in vague impressions and in lack of concentration on significant aspects of the reading. With these considerations in mind they have provided very specific questions intended to bring out not only the important ideas of the selections but also significant techniques of communication. A question seldom calls merely for information. For the most part the answer requires either the formation of an opinion based on the passage referred to or a judgment requiring a comparison of the passage with ideas expressed elsewhere in the essay or in the volume. In conformity with the third purpose indicated above, the editors have also provided generous suggestions for writing which will develop either the student's critical

reaction to various ideas in the selections or his original ideas in related fields.

As aids to the student in the analytical work called for in connection with most of the selections several brief appendices have been provided:

Appendix A: a study of organization and of the methods of transition which make organization clear.

Appendix B: a study of paragraph structure through graphic and verbal analysis.

Appendix C: several good and poor précis of a typical paragraph.

Appendix D: a very brief study of sentence maturity.

A number of the articles here reprinted contained in the original certain parts which with the passage of time have lost their appropriateness or which digress so extensively as to draw attention away from the steady development of the author's theme. Such parts have been freely omitted. In a few cases, the extent and character of the omissions are indicated. In general, however, it has seemed both unnecessary and undesirable to insert distracting signs of omission, especially since the more than usually complete reference to sources makes comparison with the original easy for those who wish it. Every omission has been carefully considered with a view toward improving the essential unity of the article for present-day undergraduates.

Aside from these omissions and the few slight changes in wording which have occasionally been necessitated by them, the selections in this volume are reprinted as originally published. Punctuation, spelling, and similar matters of form are here normally reproduced just as they are in the original text. The editors believe that there is substantial value in the opportunities thus provided for comparisons of the practices of authors representing different periods and different levels of culture. A comparison, for example, of Matthew Arnold's use of commas with the use of commas in articles from contemporary magazines should afford a useful basis for realistic discussion of punctuation as a plastic phase of written language—subject, like other phases, to continuous processes of evolution.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to state that the editors do not offer all of the selections in this volume as specimens of fine prose. In a book of readings organized about questions of contemporary interest, the affording of representation to typical views upon those questions has appropriately involved the inclusion of material representative not only of the thought but of the style characteristic of those

who hold the views under consideration. The result is a collection of essays for the most part exemplifying the virtues of composition which students should imitate, but also containing occasional illustrations of bad taste, loose thinking, and other qualities which students should learn to abhor and renounce. The editors believe that the limited amount of such material here included will be found to have added appreciably to the means provided for the development of critical standards.

Classroom experimentation since 1932 has amply demonstrated that students enjoy the enrichment of their experience through the kind of selections included in this volume. It has shown, too, that they take an active interest in the study of an author's style when they understand that the devices he has used for clear and effective expression can in a very direct and easily observable way be applied to the improvement of their own style. And finally it has shown that writing ceases to be merely a chore when it involves the reinterpretation of *experience enriched by reading.*

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To THE MANY AUTHORS and publishers whose generous permission to use copyrighted material has made this volume possible the editors extend grateful thanks. At appropriate places in the text they have made specific acknowledgment of their indebtedness.

The editors are grateful to various colleagues and former colleagues, at The Ohio State University, Iowa State College, and Monticello College, who have contributed useful criticisms and suggestions. At Iowa State College, valuable suggestions as to material have come from Professors Charles Bell, Elizabeth Fuller, Buell Lipa, Albert Walker, and Richard Wendell.

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1

How Strenuously Do You Propose to Live?

Your life—at least the greater part of it—lies before you. According to what pattern do you intend to shape it? Do you, with Wells, Huxley, and Wells, recognize "submissiveness to limited education, underdevelopment, and under-employment of one's faculties as a cardinal sin"? Do you agree with Carlyle's vigorous assertion that "a man perfects himself by working"? Or does Stevenson's picture of wise and happy idleness appeal to you as success in life? Do you share Pater's "sense of the splendor of our experience and of its awful brevity," and his conclusion that "our one chance lies in expanding that interval, in getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time"? Or do you, like Gissing's Henry Ryecroft, feel that you are "made for the life of tranquillity and meditation"? What inspiration or guidance applicable to modern problems, can be drawn from the life and death of Socrates, whom a disciple twenty-five centuries ago called "the wisest, and justest, and best of all the men whom I have ever known"?

The Modern Idea of Conduct

H. G. WELLS, JULIAN HUXLEY, AND G. P. WELLS

The senior author of the brief excerpt here reprinted, Herbert George Wells (1866–), having published more than sixty books, has in his own life exemplified the point of view here advocated. He is commonly thought of as a literary rather than a scientific man. It is nevertheless true that after being graduated with first class honors from the University of London he was for a time a teacher of science to private pupils and that such of his early stories as *The Time Machine* and *The War of the Worlds* grew out of his knowledge of science. One of his collaborators in *The Science of Life* is his nephew and the other a grandson of Thomas Henry Huxley; both of them are scientists and authors in their own right. [*The Science of Life*, 1931, Volume II, pp. 1408-1410. By permission of Mr. H. G. Wells.]

1. BEFORE WE CONCLUDE this very general review of modern ideas about conduct, we must direct attention to a group of phenomena which have this in common, that they concern a recoil from activity, a certain paralysis of will. In the Catholic system, based on a very huge amount of searching experience, there is, among the list of the seven deadly sins, accidie or sloth. It is the inability to live, as St. John put it, "abundantly."

2. In the contemporary civilized community there is a very large number of people who display this weak disinclination for life, who live by habit, who react feebly to stimulation, who seem to be inattentive, spiritless, and joyless. They are what are often called "devitalized" individuals. They may have lost physical health, or that state of mental health, that confidence in things and themselves being "all right," which is called "faith." Effort never seems to be worth while to them. They accept second-rate things, are content to do things in a second-rate fashion, and to be second-rate people. Rodents and other creatures, when their population numbers have passed a periodic minimum and selection is not pressing them too hard, may display parallel types of listlessness, but most living species are too close to death to carry many

such slack individuals. If most creatures do not want to live very strenuously, nature sees to it that they do not live at all. Natural selection does not generally tolerate the second rate. But, compared with all other animals, mankind is hardly subjected at all now to even the shadow of selective killing. There is a kind of lowgrade security for nearly everyone. People are indeed enslaved, sweated, fed on broken crusts, but they drag on, and they can procreate. Humanity is certainly accumulating a substratum of these dull unkilled.

3. But it is not to be too readily assumed that all people who submit to lead dreary, unventilated, uneventful lives are inferior and unnecessary people in their essential quality. If individuals inheriting the best genes in the world are born into grey conditions and ill-nourished and discouraged, they may never get stimulation early enough, or of the right quality, to develop their faculties fully. They may be caught early and cowed by pain before their courage develops; they may be trained to humiliations and submission. All conscious living is a balance of impulse and inhibition, and the balance may easily acquire a permanent tilt towards inhibition. Life can scorch and sting those who challenge it rashly, but, from the modern point of view, it is better to be scorched and stung, and searched to the core of one's being, than to stand aside and watch the world go by.

4. These people whose hearts fail them may, and do, find consolation and compensation in a multitude of self-protective mental complexes. They represent their slackness as commonsense, as quiet modesty, as a mysterious subtle refinement that keeps them aloof from the brawling strain of vigorous vulgar life. They thank the gods they are not "pushers," not "highbrows," not the mad, restless followers of every novelty. They like to do things in their own quiet, unobtrusive way. They cannot but be amused at the exertions and the so-called knowledge of those they do not understand. There is much quiet laughter of a really malicious sort among the victims of accidie. They have a sociability of their own and are capable of immense passive obstructions in a progressive world. They line the streets for any passing show, and rather hate it as it passes. Then home to the den that is never lit by strenuous effort or any sense of the purpose that may lie before mankind.

5. There can be little doubt that in the new clearness that is coming to mankind, it will be realized that submissiveness to limited education, under-development, and under-employment of one's faculties, will be recognized as a cardinal sin. This cowering into ignoble but apparently safe niches in the social fabric, this burial of one's talent, this refusal to

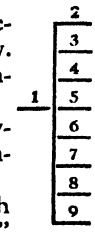
learn and understand and serve and live to the uttermost, this suicide of most of one's individuality in order to keep the rest of the body alive, is even less tolerable to the new morality than it was, in theory, to the old. The world is passing into a new self-conscious phase of economic and social organization, which has little use for acquiescent drudges, and may develop an active impatience with merely consuming parasites and commensals. Modern thought calls to everyone who discerns himself or herself to be cramped and restrained from vigorous self-expression to struggle out of that net, play a part, and live.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. In paragraph 1 there is a word which you may never have seen before; yet you do not need the dictionary to learn its meaning. What important by-product of reading does this suggest?
2. List half a dozen words which are likely to be of more use to you than is "accidie" and whose meaning the article has made clearer to you. If you do not thoroughly understand the following words, look up their meanings and derivations in your dictionary:

   phenomena (l. 2)
   complexes (l. 42)
   subtle (l. 44)
   vulgar (l. 45)
   unobtrusive (l. 47)
   malicious (l. 50)
   cardinal (l. 59)
   niches (l. 60)
   acquiescent (l. 65)
   parasites (l. 66)
   commensals (l. 67)

3. In the first sentence of paragraph 2 note the parallel structure of the series. What grammatical form does the series take? Within the last element of the series, what is the grammatical form of the smaller series?
4. In the second sentence of paragraph 4 what grammatical form does the series take? Is there any punctuation before the first element of the series? Note also the series in the third, fourth, and fifth sentences. If the "and" between "exertions" and "knowledge" were placed instead between "quiet" and "unobtrusive," what changes in punctuation would follow?
5. In the third sentence of paragraph 3 if the two main clauses were connected by "and," what mark of punctuation might be substituted for the semicolon? In the fourth sentence if the "and" were omitted between the main clauses, what change in punctuation would be required?
6. If you think the graph at the right gives a good representation of the structure of paragraph 4, tell why. If not, draw another and tell why you prefer it. Consult Appendix B-I.



7. Under what conditions would "a recoil from activity," as indicated in paragraph 1, not involve an "inability to live . . . 'abundantly' "?
8. What seems to be the authors' attitude in paragraph 2 toward "lowgrade security" for the "dull unkilled" of society? Can you from this paragraph draw any conclusions as to what the authors think of old age pensions, unem-

ployment compensation, and similar aids for those with a "weak disinclination for life"? In this connection see paragraph 3.

9. Can you justify any of the "mental complexes" condemned in paragraph 4? Is the paragraph entirely fair to those who prefer not to live the strenuous life?
10. If the "active impatience with merely consuming parasites" suggested in paragraph 5 should arise, what would society do about it? How far does this paragraph suggest an unsympathetic attitude toward the unfortunate, and how far a desire for a scientific improvement of the race?

An Apology for Idlers

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

The generous references to truantry in the article here reprinted are not the result merely of a good imagination or of the experiences of others, for Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894) was himself at times a truant from school. He nevertheless pursued actively whatever interested him, and he was at one time as a student of engineering awarded a medal for a paper on lighthouse equipment. In spite of ill health from his earliest years he maintained a lightness of spirit toward his personal life which is less reflected in such stories as "Markheim" or "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" than in "A Child's Garden of Verses" or "An Apology for Idlers." [From *Virginibus Puerisque.*]

1. Just now, when every one is bound, under pain of a decree in absence convicting them of lèse-respectability, to enter on some lucrative profession, and labor therein with something not far short of enthusiasm, a cry from the opposite party who are content when they have enough, and like to look on and enjoy in the meanwhile, savors a little of bravado and gasconade. And yet this should not be. Idleness, so-called, which does not consist in doing nothing, but in doing a great deal not recognized in the dogmatic formularies of the ruling class, has as good a right to state its position as industry itself. It is admitted that the presence of people who refuse to enter in the great handicap race for six-penny pieces, is at once an insult and a disenchantment for those who do. A fine fellow (as we see so many) takes his determination, votes for the sixpences, and in the emphatic Americanism, "goes for" them. And while such an one is plowing distressfully up the road, it is not hard to understand his resentment, when he perceives cool persons in the meadows by the wayside, lying with a handkerchief over their ears and a glass at their elbow.

2. It is surely beyond a doubt that people should be a good deal idle in youth. For though here and there a Lord Macaulay may escape from school honors with all his wits about him, most boys pay so dear for their medals that they never afterwards have a shot in their locker, and begin the world bankrupt. And the same holds true during all

the time a lad is educating himself, or suffers others to educate him. It must have been a very foolish old gentleman who addressed Johnson at Oxford in these words: "Young man, ply your book diligently now, and acquire a stock of knowledge; for when years come upon you, you will find that poring upon books will be but an irksome task." The old gentleman seems to have been unaware that many other things besides reading grow irksome, and not a few become impossible by the time a man has to use spectacles and cannot walk without a stick. Books are good enough in their own way, but they are a mighty bloodless substitute for life. It seems a pity to sit, like the Lady of Shalott, peering into a mirror, with your back turned on all the bustle and glamor of reality. And if a man reads very hard, as the old anecdote reminds us, he will have little time for thought.

3. If you look back on your own education, I am sure it will not be the full, vivid, instructive hours of truantry that you regret; you would rather cancel some lack-luster periods between sleep and waking in the class. For my own part, I have attended a good many lectures in my time. I still remember that the spinning of a top is a case of Kinetic Stability. I still remember that Emphyteusis is not a disease, nor Stillicide a crime. But though I would not willingly part with such scraps of science, I do not set the same store by them as by certain other odds and ends that I came by in the open street while I was playing truant. This is not the moment to dilate on that mighty place of education which was the favorite school of Dickens, and of Balzac, and turns out yearly many inglorious masters in the Science of the Aspects of Life. Suffice it to say this: if a lad does not learn in the streets, it is because he has no faculty of learning. Nor is the truant always in the streets; for if he prefers, he may go out by the gardened suburbs into the country. He may pitch on some tuft of lilacs over a burn, and smoke innumerable pipes to the tune of the water on the stones. A bird will sing in the thicket. And there he may fall into a vein of kindly thought, and see things in a new perspective. Why, if this be not education, what is?

4. As a matter of fact, an intelligent person, looking out of his eyes and hearkening in his ears, with a smile on his face all the time, will get more true education than many another in a life of heroic vigils. There is certainly some chill and arid knowledge to be found upon the summits of formal and laborious science; but it is all round about you, and for the trouble of looking, that you will acquire the warm and palpitating facts of life. While others are filling their memory with a lumber of words, one-half of which they will forget before the week

be out, your truant may learn some really useful art: to play the fiddle, to know a good cigar, or to speak with ease and opportunity to all varieties of man. Many who have "plied their book diligently," and know all about some one branch or another of accepted lore, come out of the study with an ancient and owl-like demeanor, and prove dry, stockish, and dyspeptic in all the better and brighter parts of life. Many make a large fortune, who remain underbred and pathetically stupid to the last. And meantime there goes the idler, who began life along with them—by your leave, a different picture. He has had time to take care of his health and his spirits; he has been a great deal in the open air, which is the most salutary of all things for both body and mind; and if he has never read the great Book in very recondite places, he has dipped into it and skimmed it over to excellent purpose. Might not the student afford some Hebrew roots, and the business man some of his half-crowns, for a share of the idler's knowledge of life at large, and Art of Living? Nay, and the idler has another and more important quality than these. I mean his wisdom. He who has much looked on at the childish satisfaction of other people in their hobbies, will regard his own with only a very ironical indulgence. He will not be heard among the dogmatists. He will have a great and cool allowance for all sorts of people and opinions. If he finds no out-of-the-way truths, he will identify himself with no very burning falsehood. His way takes him along a by-road, not much frequented, but very even and pleasant, which is called Commonplace Lane, and leads to the Belvedere of Common Sense. Thence he shall command an agreeable, if no very noble prospect; and while others behold the East and West, the Devil and the Sunrise, he will be contentedly aware of a sort of morning hour upon all sublunary things, with an army of shadows running speedily and in many different directions into the great daylight of Eternity. The shadows and the generations, the shrill doctors and the plangent wars, go by into ultimate silence and emptiness; but underneath all this, a man may see, out of the Belvedere windows, much green and peaceful landscape; many firelit parlors; good people laughing, drinking, and making love as they did before the Flood or the French Revolution; and the old shepherd telling his tale under the hawthorn.

5. Extreme *busyness*, whether at school or college, work or market, is a symptom of deficient vitality; and faculty for idleness implies a catholic appetite and a strong sense of personal identity. There is a sort of dead-alive, hackneyed people about, who are scarcely conscious of living except in the exercise of some conventional occupation. Bring these fellows into the country, or set them aboard ship, and you will

see how they pine for their desk or their study. They have no curiosity; they cannot give themselves over to random provocations; they do not take pleasure in the exercise of their faculties for its own sake; and unless Necessity lays about them with a stick, they will even stand still. It is no good speaking to such folk; they cannot be idle, their nature is not generous enough; and they pass those hours in a sort of coma, which are not dedicated to furious moiling in the gold-mill. When they do not require to go to the office, when they are not hungry, and have no mind to drink, the whole breathing world is a blank to them. If they have to wait an hour or so for a train, they fall into a stupid trance with their eyes open. To see them, you would suppose there was nothing to look at and no one to speak with; you would imagine they were paralyzed or alienated; and yet very possibly they are hard workers in their own way, and have good eyesight for a flaw in a deed or a turn of the market. They have been to school and college, but all the time they had their eye on the medal; they have gone about in the world and mixed with clever people, but all the time they were thinking of their own affairs. As if a man's soul were not too small to begin with, they have dwarfed and narrowed theirs by a life of all work and no play; until here they are at forty, with a listless attention, a mind vacant of all material of amusement, and not one thought to rub against another, while they wait for the train. Before he was breeched he might have clambered on the boxes; when he was twenty, he would have stared at the girls; but now the pipe is smoked out, the snuff-box empty, and my gentleman sits bolt upright upon a bench, with lamentable eyes. This does not appeal to me as being Success in Life.

6. But it is not only the person himself who suffers from his busy habits, but his wife and children, his friends and relations, and down to the very people he sits with in a railway carriage or an omnibus. Perpetual devotion to what a man calls his business is only to be sustained by perpetual neglect of many other things. And it is not by any means certain that a man's business is the most important thing he has to do. To an impartial estimate it will seem clear that many of the wisest, most virtuous, and most beneficent parts that are to be played upon the Theater of Life are filled by gratuitous performers, and pass, among the world at large, as phases of idleness. For in that Theater, not only the walking gentlemen, singing chambermaids, and diligent fiddlers in the orchestra, but those who look on and clap their hands from the benches, do really play a part and fulfill important offices towards the general result.

7. Consequently, if a person cannot be happy without remaining

idle, idle he should remain. It is a revolutionary precept; but, thanks to hunger and the workhouse, one not easily to be abused; and, within practical limits, it is one of the most incontestable truths in the whole Body of Morality. Look at one of your industrious fellows for a moment, I beseech you. He sows hurry and reaps indigestion; he puts a vast deal of activity out to interest, and receives a large measure of nervous derangement in return. Either he absents himself entirely from all fellowship, and lives a recluse in a garret, with carpet slippers and a leaden inkpot; or he comes among people swiftly and bitterly, in a contraction of his whole nervous system, to discharge some temper before he returns to work. I do not care how much or how well he works, this fellow is an evil feature in other people's lives. They would be happier if he were dead. They could easier do without his services in the Circumlocution Office, than they can tolerate his fractious spirits. He poisons life at the well-head. It is better to be beggared out of hand by a scapegrace nephew, than daily hag-ridden by a peevish uncle.

8. And what, in God's name, is all this pother about? For what cause do they embitter their own and other people's lives? That a man should publish three or thirty articles a year, that he should finish or not finish his great allegorical picture, are questions of little interest to the world. The ranks of life are full; and although a thousand fall, there are always some to go into the breach. When they told Joan of Arc she should be at home minding women's work, she answered there were plenty to spin and wash. And so, even with your own rare gifts! When nature is "so careless of the single life," why should we coddle ourselves into the fancy that our own is of exceptional importance? Suppose Shakespeare had been knocked on the head some dark night in Sir Thomas Lucy's preserves, the world would have wagged no better or worse, the pitcher gone to the well, the scythe to the corn, and the student to his book; and no one been any the wiser of the loss. There are not many works extant, if you look the alternative all over, which are worth the price of a pound of tobacco to a man of limited means. This is a sobering reflection for the proudest of our earthly vanities. Even a tobacconist may, upon consideration, find no great cause for personal vainglory in the phrase; for although tobacco is an admirable sedative, the qualities necessary for retailing it are neither rare nor precious in themselves. Alas and alas! you may take it how you will, but the services of no single individual are indispensable. Atlas was just a gentleman with a protracted nightmare! And yet you see merchants who go and labor themselves into a great fortune and thence into bankruptcy court; scribblers who keep scribbling at little

articles until their temper is a cross to all who come about them, as though Pharaoh should set the Israelites to make a pin instead of a pyramid; and fine young men who work themselves into a decline, and are driven off in a hearse with white plumes upon it. Would you not suppose these persons had been whispered, by the Master of Ceremonies, the promise of some momentous destiny? and that this lukewarm bullet on which they play their farces was the bull's-eye and center-point of all the universe? And yet it is not so. The ends for which they give away their priceless youth, for all they know, may be chimerical or hurtful; the glory and riches they expect may never come, or may find them indifferent; and they and the world they inhabit are so inconsiderable that the mind freezes at the thought.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and write in your notebook the meaning which is appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation.

lucrative (l. 2)
bravado (l. 5)
gasconade (l. 6)
dogmatic (l. 8)
formularies (l. 8)
disenchantment (l. 11)
irksome (l. 27)
perspective (l. 54)
vigils (l. 58)
palpitating (l. 62)
demeanor (l. 68)
stockish (l. 69)
underbred (l. 70)
salutary (l. 74)
recondite (l. 75)
Belvedere (l. 87)
sublunary (l. 91)
plangent (l. 93)
hackneyed (l. 102)
moiling (l. 111)
alienated (l. 117)
gratuitous (l. 139)
precept (l. 146)
derangement (l. 152)
recluse (l. 153)
fractious (l. 159)
hag-ridden (l. 161)
pother (l. 162)
allegorical (l. 165)
extant (l. 176)
alternative (l. 176)
sedative (l. 181)
Atlas (l. 184)
farces (l. 193)
chimerical (l. 196)

2. The following words are familiar, but the senses in which they are used in this essay probably are not. Try to infer from

the context the sense of each, and then consult your dictionary to verify your inference.

Americanism (l. 13), pitch (l. 51), burn (l. 51), opportunity (l. 65), catholic (l. 101), preserves (l. 173).

3. *Lese-respectability,* in line 2, is a nonce word. You will not find it in your dictionary, but you can easily get at its meaning by looking up *lese majesty.* Your dictionary will also tell you what a nonce word is.
4. Explain the literary and historical allusions in lines 32-33, 97-98, 167-175, 184, 188-189.
5. Does the first sentence of this essay contain a grammatical error?
6. Do you find this essay easier or harder reading than the two which precede it? How do you account for the difference?
7. How accurately does the latter part of paragraph 1 describe the prevailing American view of life?
8. Comment on Stevenson's attitude toward reading as indicated in paragraph 2. Make clear your own opinion as to the relation of reading to thinking.
9. What do paragraphs 3 and 4 suggest as to Stevenson's probable attitude toward the college "bull session"? How nearly right would you consider him?
10. How directly in conflict is Stevenson in the first two sentences of paragraph 5 with Wells, Huxley, and Wells in the first two sentences of paragraph 2 in "The Modern Idea of Conduct"? How accurately does Stevenson in paragraph 5 describe what you expect to be at forty?
11. How convincing is Stevenson's argument in paragraph 8 that the game of life is not worth the candle of strenuousness? How well could you have got along without Shakespeare? How serious a loss to the world would it be if you were "knocked on the head some dark night"? How really worth while do you consider the objectives for which most of us so earnestly strive?

The Gospel of Work

THOMAS CARLYLE

Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) through the sincerity and high moral tone of his own character and through the tremendous earnestness of his pronouncements achieved in his own day the distinction of being a "prophet," a distinction which still clings to him. The deep seriousness of his view of life is perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in the well-known passage from *Past and Present* here reprinted. [From *Past and Present*, Book III.]

1. There is a perennial nobleness, and even sacredness, in work. Were he never so benighted, forgetful of his high calling, there is always hope in a man that actually and earnestly works: in Idleness alone is there perpetual despair. Work, never so Mammonish, mean, is in communication with Nature; the real desire to get Work done will itself lead one more and more to truth, to Nature's appointments and regulations, which are truth.

2. The latest Gospel in this world is, Know thy work and do it. "Know thyself": long enough has that poor "self" of thine tormented thee; thou wilt never get to "know" it, I believe! Think it not thy business, this of knowing thyself; thou art an unknowable individual: know what thou canst work at; and work at it, like a Hercules! That will be thy better plan.

3. It has been written, "an endless significance lies in Work": a man perfects himself by working. Foul jungles are cleared away, fair seedfields rise instead, and stately cities; and withal the man himself first ceases to be a jungle and foul unwholesome desert thereby. Consider how, even in the meanest sorts of Labour, the whole soul of a man is composed into a kind of real harmony, the instant he sets himself to work! Doubt, Desire, Sorrow, Remorse, Indignation, Despair itself, all these like hell-dogs lie beleaguering the soul of the poor day-worker, as of every man; but he bends himself with free valour against his task, and all these are stilled, all these shrink murmuring far off into their caves. The man is now a man. The blessed glow of Labour in him, is it not as purifying fire, wherein all poison is burnt up, and of sour smoke itself there is made bright blessed flame!

4. Destiny, on the whole, has no other way of cultivating us. A formless Chaos, once set it revolving, grows round and ever rounder; ranges itself, by mere force of gravity, into strata, spherical courses; is no longer a Chaos, but a round compacted World. What would become of the Earth, did she cease to revolve? In the poor old Earth, so long as she revolves, all inequalities, irregularities disperse themselves; all irregularities are incessantly becoming regular. Hast thou looked on the Potter's wheel,—one of the venerablest objects; old as the Prophet Ezekiel and far older? Rude lumps of clay, how they spin themselves up, by mere quick whirling, into beautiful circular dishes. And fancy the most assiduous Potter, but without his wheel; reduced to make dishes, or rather amorphous botches, by mere kneading and baking! Even such a Potter were Destiny, with a human soul that would rest and lie at ease, that would not work and spin! Of an idle unrevolving man the kindest Destiny, like the most assiduous Potter without wheel, can bake and knead nothing other than a botch; let her spend on him what expensive colouring, what gilding and enamelling she will, he is but a botch. Not a dish; no, a bulging, kneaded, crooked, shambling, squint-cornered, amorphous botch,—a mere enamelled vessel of dishonour! Let the idle think of this.

5. Blessed is he who has found his work; let him ask no other blessedness. He has a work, a life-purpose; he has found it, and will follow it! How, as a free-flowing channel, dug and torn by noble force through the sour mud-swamp of one's existence, like an ever-deepening river there, it runs and flows;—draining off the sour festering water, gradually from the root of the remotest grass-blade; making, instead of pestilential swamp, a green fruitful meadow with its clear-flowing stream. How blessed for the meadow itself, let the stream and its value be great or small! Labour is Life: from the inmost heart of the Worker rises his god-given Force, the sacred celestial Life-essence breathed into him by Almighty God; from his inmost heart awakens him to all nobleness,—to all knowledge, "self-knowledge" and much else, so soon as Work fitly begins. Knowledge? The knowledge that will hold good in working, cleave thou to that; for Nature herself accredits that, says Yea to that. Properly thou hast no other knowledge but what thou hast got by working; the rest is yet all a hypothesis of knowledge; a thing to be argued of in schools, a thing floating in the clouds, in endless logic-vortices, till we try it and fix it. "Doubt, of whatever kind, can be ended by Action alone."

6. Work is of a religious nature:—work is of a brave nature; which it is the aim of all religion to be. All work of man is as the swimmer's:

a waste ocean threatens to devour him; if he front it not bravely, it will keep its word. By incessant wise defiance of it, lusty rebuke and buffet of it, behold how it loyally supports him, bears him as its conqueror along. "It is so," says Goethe, "with all things that man undertakes in this world."

7. "Religion," I said; for, properly speaking, all true Work is Religion: and whatsoever Religion is not Work may go and dwell among the Brahmins, Antinomians, Spinning Dervishes, or where it will; with me it shall have no harbour. Admirable was that of the old Monks, "Laborare est Orare, Work is Worship."

8. Older than all preached Gospels was this unpreached, inarticulate, but ineradicable, forever-enduring Gospel: Work, and therein have well-being. Man, Son of Earth and Son of Heaven, lies there not, in the innermost heart of thee, a Spirit of active Method, a Force for Work;—and burns like a painfully-smouldering fire, giving thee no rest till thou unfold it, till thou write it down in beneficent Facts around thee! What is immethodic, waste, thou shalt make methodic, regulated, arable; obedient and productive to thee. Wheresoever thou findest Disorder, there is thy eternal enemy; attack him swiftly, subdue him; make Order of him, the subject not of Chaos, but of Intelligence, Divinity and Thee! The thistle that grows in thy path, dig it out, that a blade of useful grass, a drop of nourishing milk, may grow there instead. The waste cottonshrub, gather its waste white down, spin it, weave it; that, in place of idle litter, there may be folded webs, and the naked skin of man be covered.

9. The unborn Ages; the old Graves, with their long-mouldering dust, the very tears that wetted it now all dry,—do not these speak to thee, what ear hath not heard? The deep Death-kingdoms, the Stars in their never-resting courses, all Space and all Time, proclaim it to thee in continual silent admonition. Thou too, if ever man should, shalt work while it is called To-day. For the Night cometh, wherein no man can work.

10. All true Work is sacred; in all true Work, were it but true hand-labour, there is something of divineness. Labour, wide as the Earth, has its summit in Heaven. Sweat of the brow; and up from that to sweat of the brain, sweat of the heart; which includes all Kepler calculations, Newton meditations, all Sciences, all spoken Epics, all acted Heroisms, Martyrdoms,—up to that "Agony of bloody sweat," which all men have called divine! O brother, if this is not "worship," then I say, the more pity for worship; for this is the noblest thing yet discovered under God's sky. Who art thou that complainest of

thy life of toil? Complain not. Look up, my wearied brother; see thy fellow Workmen there, in God's Eternity; surviving there, they alone surviving: sacred Band of the Immortals, celestial Bodyguard of the Empire of Mankind.

11. And who art thou that braggest of thy life of Idleness; complacently showest thy bright gilt equipages; sumptuous cushions; appliances for folding of the hands to mere sleep? Looking up, looking down, around, behind or before, discernest thou, if it be not in Mayfair alone, any idle hero, saint, god, or even devil? Not a vestige of one. In the Heavens, in the Earth, in the Waters under the Earth, is none like unto thee. Thou art an original figure in this Creation; a denizen in Mayfair alone, in this extraordinary Century or Half-Century alone! One monster there is in the world: the idle man.

12. As to the Wages of Work there might innumerable things be said; there will and must yet innumerable things be said and spoken, in St. Stephen's and out of St. Stephen's; and gradually not a few things be ascertained and written, on Law-parchment, concerning this very matter:—"Fair day's-wages for a fair day's-work" is the most unrefusable demand! Money-wages "to the extent of keeping your worker alive that he may work more"; these, unless you mean to dismiss him straightway out of this world, are indispensable alike to the noblest Worker and to the least noble!

13. One thing only I will say here, in special reference to the former class, the noble and noblest; but throwing light on all the other classes and their arrangements of this difficult matter: The "wages" of every noble Work do yet lie in Heaven or else nowhere. Not in Bank-of-England bills, in Owen's Labour Bank, or any the most improved establishment of banking and money-changing, needest thou, heroic soul, present thy account of earnings. Human banks and labour banks know thee not; or know thee after generations and centuries have passed away, and thou art clean gone from "rewarding,"—all manner of bank drafts, shop-tills, and Downing Street Exchequers lying very invisible, so far from thee! Nay, at bottom, dost thou need any reward? Was it thy aim and life-purpose to be filled with good things for thy heroism; to have a life of pomp and ease, and be what men call "happy," in this world, or any other world? I answer for thee deliberately. No. The whole spiritual secret of the new epoch lies in this, that thou canst answer for thyself, with thy whole clearness of head and heart, deliberately, No!

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

Carlyle writes with a passionate seriousness which gives his style a kind of exaltation seldom met with in our contemporary authors. This style, however, clothes a body of ideas which are as closely related to present-day experience as are the ideas put forth by the other writers represented in this section. You should, therefore, subject the views of Carlyle to the same tests you have applied to the views of those other writers.

1. Make sure that you know the meanings, derivations, and pronunciations of the following words. For adequate information on some of the proper names and adjectives derived from proper names, you may have to consult an unabridged dictionary or an encyclopedia.

benighted (l. 2)
Mammonish (l. 4)
appointments (l. 6)
Hercules (l. 12)
beleaguering (l. 21)
Chaos (l. 28)
strata (l. 29)
disperse (l. 32)
venerablest (l. 34)
assiduous (l. 37)
amorphous (l. 38)
pestilential (l. 53)
hypothesis (l. 62)
vortices (l. 64)
Brahmins (l. 75)
Antinomians (l. 75)
Dervishes (l. 75)
inarticulate (l. 78)
ineradicable (l. 79)
immethodic (l. 84)
arable (l. 85)
Kepler (l. 103)
Newton (l. 104)
Mayfair (l. 117)

2. What is your frank opinion of Carlyle's attitude in paragraph 1 toward work and idleness?
3. Read paragraph 4 carefully for the idea expressed. What do you think of it?
4. Is Carlyle in paragraph 5 saying that the only worth-while knowledge is that which is put to work? How far do you agree?
5. Would you with Carlyle in paragraphs 6 and 7 identify religion and work?
6. How broad and how lofty is the conception of work in paragraph 10? How satisfactory do you find it?
7. Do you consider idleness as vicious as paragraph 11 represents it?
8. What wages for work does Carlyle ask in paragraph 12? In paragraph 13? What, seriously, do you expect to ask in exchange for your life work?

Quiet, Alone, and Happy

GEORGE GISSING

George Gissing (1857–1903) passed the greater part of his life as a struggling author in London. His career has been described without much exaggeration as "a tale of sordid poverty and unmerciful disaster." The more than twenty novels that he wrote were uneven in literary quality, but frequently displayed great power and originality. None were ever very popular, but some of them (notably *Workers in the Dawn*, *Thyrza*, *New Grub Street*, and *The Whirlpool*) will always assure him of at least a small group of discriminating readers. *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft*, from which passages have been selected to form the following essay, is best described in Gissing's own words as "the informal diary of a fifty-year-old Grub Street toiler, who, having come in for a legacy of £300 a year, goes down to a cottage on the Mendips, and there passes his last years of life, in great happiness." It portrays the kind of life which Gissing would have led if circumstances had afforded him the opportunity. [From *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft, passim.*]

1. THE EXQUISITE QUIET of this room! I have been sitting in utter idleness, watching the sky, viewing the shape of golden sunlight upon the carpet, which changes as the minutes pass, letting my eye wander from one framed print to another, and along the ranks of my beloved books. Within the house nothing stirs. In the garden I can hear singing of birds, I can hear the rustle of their wings. And thus, if it please me, I may sit all day long, and into the profounder quiet of the night.

2. My house is perfect. By great good fortune I have found a housekeeper no less to mind—a low-voiced, light-footed woman of discreet age, strong and deft enough to render me all the service I require, and not afraid of solitude. She rises very early. By my breakfast-time there remains little to be done under the roof save dressing of meals. Very rarely do I hear even a click of crockery; never the closing of a door or window. Oh, blessed silence!

3. My house is perfect. Just large enough to allow the grace of order in domestic circumstance; just that superfluity of intramural space, to lack which is to be less than at one's ease. The fabric is sound; the work in wood and plaster tells of a more leisurely and a more honest age than ours. The stairs do not creak under my step; I am waylaid by no unkindly draught; I can open or close a window without muscle-ache. As to such trifles as the tint and device of wall-paper, I confess my indifference; be the walls only unobtrusive, and I am satisfied. The first thing in one's home is comfort; let beauty of detail be added if one has the means, the patience, the eye.

4. To me, this little book-room is beautiful, and chiefly because it is home. Through the greater part of life I was homeless. Many places have I inhabited, some which my soul loathed, and some which pleased me well; but never till now with that sense of security which makes a home. At any moment I might have been driven forth by evil hap, by nagging necessity. For all that time did I say within myself: Some day, perchance, I shall have a home; yet the "perchance" had more and more of emphasis as life went on, and at the moment when fate was secretly smiling on me, I had all but abandoned hope. I have my home at last. When I place a new volume on my shelves, I say: Stand there whilst I have eyes to see you; and a joyous tremor thrills me. This house is mine on a lease of a score of years. So long I certainly shall not live; but, if I did, even so long should I have the wherewithal to pay my rent and buy my food.

5. The unspeakable blessedness of having a *home*! Much as my imagination has dwelt upon it for thirty years, I never knew how deep and exquisite a joy could lie in the assurance that one is *at home* for ever. Again and again I come back upon this thought; nothing but death can oust me from my abiding place. And death I would fain learn to regard as a friend, who will but intensify the peace I now relish.

6. Waking at early dawn used to be one of the things I most dreaded. The night which made me capable of resuming labour had brought no such calm as should follow upon repose; I woke to a vision of the darkest miseries and lay through the hours of daybreak—too often—in very anguish. But that is past. Sometimes, ere yet I know myself, the mind struggles as with an evil spirit on the confines of sleep; then the light at my window, the pictures on my walls, restore me to happy consciousness, happier for the miserable dream. Now, when I lie thinking, my worst trouble is wonder at the common life of man. I see it as a thing so incredible that it oppresses the mind

like a haunting illusion. Is it the truth that men are fretting, raving, killing each other, for matters so trivial that I, even I, so far from saint or philosopher, must needs fall into amazement when I consider them? I could imagine a man who, by living alone and at peace, came to regard the everyday world as not really existent, but a creation of his own fancy in unsound moments. What lunatic ever dreamt of things less consonant with the calm reason than those which are thought and done every minute in every community of men called sane?

7. I have been reading one of those prognostic articles on international politics which every now and then appear in the reviews. Why I should so waste my time it would be hard to say; I suppose the fascination of disgust and fear gets the better of me in a moment's idleness. This writer, who is horribly perspicacious and vigorous, demonstrates the certainty of a great European war, and regards it with the peculiar satisfaction excited by such things in a certain order of mind. His phrases about "dire calamity" and so on mean nothing; the whole tenor of his writing proves that he represents, and consciously, one of the forces which go to bring war about; his part in the business is a fluent irresponsibility, which casts scorn on all who reluct at the "inevitable." Persistent prophecy is a familiar way of assuring the event.

8. But I will read no more such writing. This resolution I make and will keep. Why set my nerves quivering with rage, and spoil the calm of a whole day, when no good of any sort can come of it? What is it to me if nations fall a-slaughtering each other? Let the fools go to it! Why should they not please themselves? Peace, after all, is the aspiration of the few; so it always was, and ever will be. But have done with the nauseous cant about "dire calamity." The leaders and the multitude hold no such view; either they see in war a direct and tangible profit, or they are driven to it with heads down, by the brute that is in them. Let them rend and be rent; let them paddle in blood and viscera till—if that would ever happen—their stomachs turn. Let them blast the cornfield and the orchard, fire the home. For all that, there will yet be found some silent few, who go their way amid the still meadows, who bend to the flower and watch the sunset; and these alone are worth a thought.

9. Somebody has been making a speech, reported at a couple of columns' length in the paper. As I glance down the waste of print, one word catches my eye again and again. It's all about "science"—and therefore doesn't concern me.

10. I wonder whether there are many men who have the same feel-

ing with regard to "science" as I have? It is something more than a prejudice; often it takes the form of a dread, almost a terror. Even those branches of science which are concerned with things that interest me—which deal with plants and animals and the heaven of stars—even these I cannot contemplate without uneasiness, a spiritual disaffection; new discoveries, new theories, however they engage my intelligence, soon weary me, and in some way depress. When it comes to other kinds of science—the sciences blatant and ubiquitous—the science by which men become millionaires—I am possessed with an angry hostility, a resentful apprehension. I hate and fear "science" because of my conviction that, for long to come if not for ever, it will be the remorseless enemy of mankind. I see it destroying all simplicity and gentleness of life, all the beauty of the world; I see it restoring barbarism under a mask of civilization; I see it darkening men's minds and hardening their hearts; I see it bringing a time of vast conflicts, which will pale into insignificance "the thousand wars of old," and, as likely as not, will whelm all the laborious advances of mankind in blood-drenched chaos.

11. Yet to rail against it is as idle as to quarrel with any other force of nature. For myself, I can hold apart, and see as little as possible of the thing I deem accursed.

12. Why do I give so much of my time to the reading of history? Is it in any sense profitable to me? What new light can I hope for on the nature of man? What new guidance for the direction of my own life through the few years that may remain to me? But it is with no such purpose that I read these voluminous books; they gratify—or seem to gratify—a mere curiosity; and scarcely have I closed a volume, when the greater part of what I have read in it is forgotten.

13. Heaven forbid that I should remember all! Many a time I have said to myself that I would close the dreadful record of human life, lay it for ever aside, and try to forget it. Somebody declares that history is a manifestation of the triumph of good over evil. The good prevails now and then, no doubt, but how local and transitory is such triumph. If historic tomes had a voice, it would sound as one long moan of anguish. Think steadfastly of the past, and one sees that only by defect of imaginative power can any man endure to dwell with it. History is a nightmare of horrors; we relish it, because we love pictures, and because all that man has suffered is to man rich in interest. But make real to yourself the vision of every bloodstained page—stand in the presence of the ravening conqueror, the savage tyrant—tread the stones of the dungeon and of the torture-room—feel

the fire of the stake—hear the cries of that multitude which no man can number, the victims of calamity, of oppression, of fierce injustice in its myriad forms, in every land, in every age—and what joy have you of your historic reading? One would need to be a devil to understand it thus, and yet to delight in it.

14. Injustice—there is the loathed crime which curses the memory of the world. The slave doomed by his lord's caprice to perish under tortures—one feels it a dreadful and intolerable thing; but it is merely the crude presentment of what has been done and endured a million times in every stage of civilization. Oh, the last thoughts of those who have agonized unto death amid wrongs to which no man would give ear! That appeal of innocence in anguish to the hard, mute heavens! Were there only one such instance in all the chronicles of time, it should doom the past to abhorred oblivion. Yet injustice, the basest, the most ferocious, is inextricable from warp and woof in the tissue of things gone by. And if anyone soothes himself with the reflection that such outrages can happen no more, that mankind has passed beyond such hideous possibility, he is better acquainted with books than with human nature. It were wiser to spend my hours with the books which bring no aftertaste of bitterness—with the great poets whom I love, with the thinkers, with the gentle writers of pages that soothe and tranquillize.

15. By going to certain places, looking upon certain scenes, I could most effectually destroy all the calm that life has brought me. If I hold apart and purposely refuse to look that way, it is because I believe that the world is better, not worse, for having one more inhabitant who lives as becomes a civilized being. Let him whose soul prompts him to assail the iniquity of things, cry and spare not; let him who has the vocation go forth and combat. In me it would be to err from Nature's guidance. I know, if I know anything, that I am made for the life of tranquillity and meditation. I know that only thus can such virtue as I possess find scope. More than half a century of existence has taught me that most of the wrong and folly which darken earth is due to those who cannot possess their souls in quiet; that most of the good which saves mankind from destruction comes of life that is led in thoughtful stillness. Every day the world grows noisier; I, for one, will have no part in that increasing clamour, and, were it only by my silence, I confer a boon on all.

16. Not that I regard my life as an example for anyone else; all I say is, that it is good for me, and in so far an advantage to the world. To live in quiet content is surely a piece of good citizenship. If you can do more, do it, and God-speed! I know myself for an exception.

And I ever find it a good antidote to gloomy thoughts to bring before my imagination the lives of men, utterly unlike me in their minds and circumstances, who give themselves with glad and hopeful energy to the plain duties that lie before them. However one's heart may fail in thinking of the folly and baseness which make so great a part of to-day's world, remember how many bright souls are living courageously, seeing the good wherever it may be discovered, undismayed by portents, doing what they have to do with all their strength. In every land there are such, no few of them, a great brotherhood, without distinction of race or faith; for they, indeed, constitute the race of man, rightly designated, and their faith is one, the cult of reason and of justice. Whether the future is to them or to the talking anthropoid, no one cay say. But they live and labour, guarding the fire of sacred hope.

17. Can it be a whole twelvemonth since the last spring? Because I am so content with life, must life slip away, as though it grudged me my happiness? Time was when a year drew its slow length of toil and anxiety and ever frustrate waiting. Further away, the year of childhood seemed endless. It is familiarity with life that makes time speed quickly. When every day is a step in the unknown, as for children, the days are long with gathering of experience; the week gone by is already far in retrospect of things learnt, and that to come, especially if it foretell some joy, lingers in remoteness. Past mid-life, one learns little and expects little. To-day is like unto yesterday, and to that which shall be the morrow. Only torment of mind or body serves to delay the undistinguishable hours. Enjoy the day, and, behold, it shrinks to a moment.

18. I could wish for many another year; yet, if I knew that not one more awaited me, I should not grumble. When I was ill at ease in the world, it would have been hard to die; had I lived to no purpose, that I could discover, the end would have seemed abrupt and meaningless. Now, my life is rounded; it began with the natural irreflective happiness of childhood, it will close in the reasoned tranquillity of the mature mind. How many a time, after long labour on some piece of writing, brought at length to its conclusion, have I laid down the pen with a sigh of thankfulness. The work was full of faults, but I had wrought sincerely, had done what time and circumstance and my own nature permitted. Even so may it be with me in my last hour. May I look back on life as a long task duly completed—a piece of biography; faulty enough, but good as I could make it—and, with no thought but one of contentment, welcome the repose to follow when I have breathed the word "Finis."

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and put in your notebook the meaning which is appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation.

intramural (l. 16)	blatant (l. 104)
consonant (l. 62)	ubiquitous (l. 104)
prognostic (l. 64)	transitory (l. 129)
perspicacious (l. 68)	antidote (l. 179)
tenor (l. 72)	portents (l. 186)
reluct (l. 74)	frustrate (l. 195)
cant (l. 83)	retrospect (l. 199)
viscera (l. 87)	irreflective (l. 209)

2. Treat the following words as you have treated those in the preceding list. Also note that the members of each pair or group derive from a common root. Trace them back to this root, and find examples of other words also derived from it. Also state what elements of the original meaning of the root are to be found in the derivatives.

discreet (l. 10)	certainly (l. 36)	concern (l. 95)
superfluity (l. 16)	fluent (l. 74)	
disaffection (l. 101)	effectually (l. 160)	

3. How do the meanings of *very* (l. 50) and *vocation* (l. 165) as used in this essay differ from the meanings which you are accustomed to attach to them?
4. Why is the expression "the thousand wars of old" (l. 112) in quotation marks?
5. What does Henry Ryecroft (the "I" of this essay) assert to be his worst trouble? (See paragraph 6.) How many sources of such trouble does he discuss? Which paragraphs are devoted to each?
6. Into how many sections is this essay divided? Devise a name for each section, and indicate what paragraphs it includes. The answer to this question will be easy if you have properly answered question 5.
7. This essay was first published in 1903. Which paragraph reads as if it might have been written in the summer of 1914 or 1939?

8. Is Henry Ryecroft a misanthrope? Carefully consider paragraphs 8 and 16 before deciding upon your answer.
9. What thoughts, ideas, or images does each of the following phrases suggest to you? "The grace of order in domestic circumstance" (ll. 15-16); "a more leisurely and a more honest age than ours" (ll. 18-19); "the sciences blatant and ubiquitous" (l. 104); "simplicity and gentleness of life" (ll. 108-109); "fierce injustice in its myriad forms" (ll. 139-140); "appeal of innocence in anguish to the hard, mute heavens" (l. 149); "the gentle writers of pages that soothe and tranquillize" (l. 158); "inhabitant who lives as becomes a civilized being" (ll. 162-163); "the talking anthropoid" (l. 190); "guarding the fire of sacred hope" (l. 191); "the reasoned tranquillity of the mature mind." (ll. 210-211)
10. Out of the thoughts suggested by one or more of the above quoted phrases, develop a paragraph or a short paper as your instructor may direct.

Conclusion

WALTER PATER

The style of Walter Pater (1839–1894), says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "harmonized intimately with his deep and earnest philosophy of life." The "Conclusion" here reprinted presents perhaps as well as a short essay can his view of the aesthetic life. If you run through it hurriedly, with your mind partly on the ordinary affairs of the day, you are likely to find it disappointing and you may wonder why it was included in this section. To get any value from it for your own thinking you will almost certainly have to read it more than once. But if you are willing to sit down quietly for a little while and give it thoughtful consideration—without necessarily agreeing with its point of view—you may find your time well spent. [*Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, 1873; reprinted in numerous places.]

1. To REGARD ALL THINGS and principles of things as inconstant modes or fashions has more and more become the tendency of modern thought. Let us begin with that which is without—our physical life. Fix upon it in one of its more exquisite intervals, the moment, for instance, of delicious recoil from the flood of water in summer heat. What is the whole physical life in that moment but a combination of natural elements to which science gives their names? But those elements, phosphorus and lime and delicate fibres, are present not in the human body alone: we detect them in places most remote from it. Our physical life is a perpetual motion of them—the passage of the blood, the waste and repairing of the lenses of the eye, the modification of the tissues of the brain under every ray of light and sound—processes which science reduces to simpler and more elementary forces. Like the elements of which we are composed, the action of these forces extends beyond us: it rusts iron and ripens corn. Far out on every side of us those elements are broadcast, driven in many currents; and birth and gesture and death and the springing of violets from the grave are but a few out of ten thousand resultant combinations. That clear, perpetual outline of face and limb is but an image of ours, under

which we group them—a design in a web, the actual threads of which pass out beyond it. This at least of flame-like our life has, that it is but the concurrence, renewed from moment to moment, of forces parting sooner or later on their ways.

2. Or, if we begin with the inward world of thought and feeling, the whirlpool is still more rapid, the flame more eager and devouring. There it is no longer the gradual darkening of the eye, the gradual fading of colour from the wall—movements of the shore-side, where the water flows down indeed, though in apparent rest—but the race of the mid-stream, a drift of momentary acts of sight and passion and thought. At first sight experience seems to bury us under a flood of external objects, pressing upon us with a sharp and importunate reality, calling us out of ourselves in a thousand forms of action. But when reflexion begins to play upon those objects they are dissipated under its influence; the cohesive force seems suspended like some trick of magic; each object is loosed into a group of impressions—colour, odour, texture—in the mind of the observer. And if we continue to dwell in thought on this world, not of objects in the solidity with which language invests them, but of impressions, unstable, flickering, inconsistent, which burn and are extinguished with our consciousness of them, it contracts still further: the whole scope of observation is dwarfed into the narrow chamber of the individual mind. Experience, already reduced to a group of impressions, is ringed round for each one of us by that thick wall of personality through which no real voice has ever pierced on its way to us, or from us to that which we can only conjecture to be without. Every one of those impressions is the impression of the individual in his isolation, each mind keeping as a solitary prisoner its own dream of a world. Analysis goes a step farther still, and assures us that those impressions of the individual mind to which, for each one of us, experience dwindles down, are in perpetual flight; that each of them is limited by time, and that as time is infinitely divisible, each of them is infinitely divisible also; all that is actual in it being a single moment, gone while we try to apprehend it, of which it may ever be more truly said that it has ceased to be than that it is. To such a tremulous wisp constantly re-forming itself on the stream, to a single sharp impression, with a sense in it, a relic more or less fleeting, of such moments gone by, what is real in our life fines itself down. It is with this movement, with the passage and dissolution of impressions, images, sensations, that analysis leaves off—that continual vanishing away, that strange, perpetual weaving and unweaving of ourselves.

3. *Philosophiren,* says Novalis, *ist dephlegmatisiren, vivificiren.* The service of philosophy, of speculative culture, towards the human spirit is to rouse, to startle it to a life of constant and eager observation. Every moment some form grows perfect in hand or face; some tone on the hills or the sea is choicer than the rest; some mood of passion or insight or intellectual excitement is irresistibly real and attractive to us—for that moment only. Not the fruit of experience, but experience itself, is the end. A counted number of pulses only is given to us of a variegated, dramatic life. How may we see in them all that is to be seen in them by the finest senses? How shall we pass most swiftly from point to point, and be present always at the focus where the greatest number of vital forces unite in their purest energy?

4. To burn always with this hard, gemlike flame, to maintain this ecstasy, is success in life. In a sense it might even be said that our failure is to form habits: for, after all, habit is relative to a stereotyped world, and meantime it is only the roughness of the eye that makes any two persons, things, situations, seem alike. While all melts under our feet, we may well grasp at any exquisite passion, or any contribution to knowledge that seems by a lifted horizon to set the spirit free for a moment, or any stirring of the senses, strange dyes, strange colours, and curious odours, or work of the artist's hands, or the face of one's friend. Not to discriminate every moment some passionate attitude in those about us, and in the very brilliancy of their gifts some tragic dividing of forces on their ways, is, on this short day of frost and sun, to sleep before evening. With this sense of the splendour of our experience and of its awful brevity, gathering all we are into one desperate effort to see and touch, we shall hardly have time to make theories about the things we see and touch. What we have to do is to be forever curiously testing new opinions and courting new impressions, never acquiescing in a facile orthodoxy of Comte, or of Hegel, or of our own. Philosophical theories or ideas, as points of view, instruments of criticism, may help us to gather up what might otherwise pass unregarded by us. 'Philosophy is the microscope of thought.' The theory or idea or system which requires of us the sacrifice of any part of this experience, in consideration of some interest into which we cannot enter, or some abstract theory we have not identified with ourselves, or of what is only conventional, has no real claim upon us.

5. One of the most beautiful passages of Rousseau is that in the sixth book of the *Confessions,* where he describes the awakening in him of the literary sense. An undefinable taint of death had clung always about him, and now in early manhood he believed himself

smitten by mortal disease. He asked himself how he might make as much as possible of the interval that remained; and he was not biased by anything in his previous life when he decided that it must be by intellectual excitement, which he found just then in the clear, fresh writings of Voltaire. Well! we are all *condamnés* as Victor Hugo says: we are all under sentence of death but with a sort of indefinite reprieve—*les hommes sont tous condamnés à mort avec des sursis indéfinis:* we have an interval, and then our place knows us no more. Some spend this interval in listlessness, some in high passions, the wisest, at least among 'the children of this world,' in art and song. For our one chance lies in expanding that interval, in getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time. Great passions may give us this quickened sense of life, ecstasy and sorrow of love, the various forms of enthusiastic activity, disinterested or otherwise, which come naturally to many of us. Only be sure it is passion—that it does yield you this fruit of a quickened, multiplied consciousness.

6. Of such wisdom, the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for its own sake, has most. For art comes to you proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and put in your notebook the meaning which is appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation.

inconstant (l. 1)	speculative (l. 62)
importunate (l. 31)	variegated (l. 69)
dissipated (l. 33)	discriminate (l. 82)
apprehend (l. 52)	conventional (l. 97)
tremulous (ll. 54)	disinterested (l. 115)

2. Treat the following words as you have treated those in the preceding list. Also note that the two members of each pair derive from a common root. Trace them back to this root, and find examples of other words also derived from it. Also state what elements of the original meaning of the root are to be found in the derivatives.

quietly (headnote), acquiescing (ll. 89-90)
fashions (l. 2), facile (l. 90)
science (l. 7), consciousness (l. 39)
currents (l. 16), concurrence (l. 22)
instance (l. 5), unstable (l. 38)
exquisite (l. 78), requires (l. 94)

3. Recalling that *en* is the regular ending for the German infinitive, try your hand at translating the first sentence of paragraph 3. Use your knowledge of how root words and prefixes combine, and if necessary look up in your English dictionary the nearest equivalent words. Also compare the first sentence carefully with the second.
4. Compare the French passage in paragraph 5 with the English just preceding it. What word correspondences do you find? Both here and in paragraph 3 what is the thought relation between the foreign passage and the English immediately before or immediately after it?
5. What related expressions in the second sentence of paragraph 1 and the first sentence of paragraph 2 serve as verbal signboards and help you to follow Pater's thought?
6. See what you can learn for your own style from the use of appositives in the first two paragraphs. In the second sentence of paragraph 1 what appositive explains "that which is without"? In the sixth sentence what series of appositives explains "a perpetual motion of them"? In the ninth sentence what appositive makes clearer the meaning of "image"? Is the meaning of "design" literal or figurative here?
7. Instead of an appositive in the first sentence of paragraph 2 as in the second sentence of paragraph 1, what explanatory expression do you find after "the inward world"? Why is this more appropriate than another appositive?
8. In the second sentence of paragraph 2 of what is "movements" an appositive? Is "movements" literal or figurative in meaning? In the fourth sentence of paragraph 2 what appositives do you find?
9. Note how a series of related ideas might be expressed in eight choppy or stringy main clauses and then how Pater actually does express them:

1 2
Water is refreshing. Summer *heat makes* it more so. A sud-
3 4
den *dash of water makes one recoil.* Such a *recoil lasts for a*
5 6
moment, but *it gives one a delicious feeling,* and *it makes* a

7 8
good illustration. *Fix your attention upon it. It is an exquisite interval.*
7a 8a
Fix upon it in one of its more exquisite intervals, the
4a 3a 5a 3a
moment, for instance, *of delicious recoil from the flood of*
2a
water in summer heat.

In 2a, 3a, and 8a what prepositional phrases are substituted for main clauses 2, 3, and 8? In 4a what appositive is substituted for main clause 4? In 5a what single adjective expresses the central idea of main clause 5? In 7a what change from 7 has occurred?

10. See the models in Appendix B-I and then make both a graphic and a verbal analysis of Paragraph 2. Get what help you can from "the inward world," "At first sight," "But when reflection begins," "And if we continue," and "a step farther."
11. In the first sentence is "changing" or "fickle" a better synonym for "inconstant"? What aspect of human inconstancy does paragraph 1 analyze?
12. From such words as "failing," "weakness," "lack," "omission," choose the best synonym for "failure" in the second sentence of paragraph 4. Is this sentence an argument for or against the formation of habit?
13. What bearing does the idea of inconstancy which is worked out in paragraphs 1 and 2 have on the rest of the "Conclusion"? That is, assuming both our physical and our mental selves to be in constant flux, what does this inconstancy suggest as to our attitude toward life?
14. If philosophy does what is claimed for it in the first two sentences of paragraph 3, what place would you be willing to give it in your busy life? Does the paragraph concern itself with physical or other aspects of life? Does it suggest an easy or a strenuous life?
15. Does the first sentence of paragraph 4 suggest a strenuous or an easy life?
16. In the Preface to *The Renaissance* Pater says that "he who experiences . . . [his] impressions strongly, and drives directly at the discrimination and analysis of them need not trouble himself with the abstract" definition of beauty. How does the fifth sentence of paragraph 4 (ll. 85-88) agree with this idea?
17. In paragraph 4 must one be familiar with the views of Comte and Hegel in order to get the essential meaning of the sen-

tence in which these philosophers are mentioned? What in simple language does the sentence say? Do you agree?

18. If you were told that you had, say, ten years to live, would you react as paragraph 5 indicates Rousseau did in a similar case? What attitude on your part toward the strenuous life does your answer suggest?
19. Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn" closes with these lines:

> O Attic shape! . . .
> When old age shall this generation waste,
> Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe
> Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,
> "Beauty is truth, truth beauty,"—that is all
> Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

How does the thought which Keats attributes to the urn agree with that of Pater in the last paragraph of the "Conclusion"?

20. Among the authors in this section does Pater stand primarily with Gissing and Stevenson or with Carlyle and Wells, Huxley, and Wells? Among physical, mental, and emotional activities, with which is he most concerned? Mark passages to support your answer.
21. In the third edition of *The Renaissance,* Pater published the following footnote: "This brief 'Conclusion' was omitted in the second edition of this book, as I conceived it might possibly mislead some of those young men into whose hands it might fall. On the whole, I have thought best to reprint it here, with some slight changes which bring it closer to my original meaning. I have dealt more fully in *Marius the Epicurean* with the thoughts suggested by it."

In what ways can you imagine a young person being misled by the "Conclusion"? Do you know any characters, real or fictional, whose lives seem to have been governed by a perversion of the philosophy here set forth? (If you have read Somerset Maugham's *Of Human Bondage,* you should be able to recall two such characters. If you would read a novel centered upon a character whose whole life is an illustration of such perversion, see Oscar Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray;* then read at least the fourth and twenty-eighth chapters of *Marius the Epicurean.*)

22. Perhaps some idea of Pater concerning "that which is without" or "the inward world" has set you to thinking. Do you agree, for instance, with his comment on habit at the beginning of paragraph 4? Or if something in items 1-21 has attracted your attention, develop it in a single paragraph or a short paper as your instructor may direct.

The Man Socrates

PLATO

For more than twenty-three centuries Socrates (B.C. 469-399) in his own person while he lived and chiefly since his death through the writings of his disciple Plato (B C. 427-346), has been a vital force in the lives of men. The vitality of his ideas is attested by their applicability to philosophies of life and to practical problems of conduct today no less than to Socrates' own decision against attempting an escape after his condemnation by the Athenian "court of 501" The selections here reprinted emphasize not such generalized conceptions as Socrates' views on immortality, the soul, and the beautiful nor even such practical discussions on education and politics as are to be found in the *Republic* but the character of Socrates and his attitude toward the immediate problems of his own life. Are you building a life on which at seventy you can look with the satisfaction shown by Socrates as he took the hemlock cup from "the servant of the eleven"? [From the *Apology, Crito,* and *Phaedo.* In the translation of Benjamin Jowett, chiefly from the Greek of Stallbaum.]

I: THE APOLOGY

[Although on trial for his life, Socrates appears throughout as the real accuser Look up the word "apology" in your dictionary to see if the most common meaning applies here. Do you think Socrates was convicted and condemned strictly on the evidence? What other considerations may have influenced the judges?]

1. How you, O Athenians, have been affected by my accusers, I cannot tell; but I know that they almost made me forget myself—so persuasively did they speak; and yet they have hardly uttered a word of truth. But many as their falsehoods were, there was one of them which quite amazed me;—I mean when they told you that you should be upon your guard and not allow yourselves to be deceived by the force of

my eloquence. To use such language, when they were sure to be detected as soon as I opened my lips and displayed my deficiency, did certainly appear to me most shameless—unless by the force of eloquence they mean the force of truth; for if this is their meaning, I admit that I am eloquent. But in how different a way from theirs! Well, as I was saying, they have hardly uttered a word, or not more than a word, of truth, but you shall hear from me the whole truth: not, however, delivered after their manner in a set oration duly ornamented with words and phrases. No, by heaven! but I shall use the words and arguments which occur to me at the moment; for I am certain that I am right in this; and that at my time of life I ought not to be appearing before you, O men of Athens, in the character of a juvenile orator—let no one expect it of me. And I must beg of you to grant me a favour:—If you hear me using the same words in my defence which I have been in the habit of using, and which most of you may have heard in the agora, and at the tables of the money-changers, or anywhere else, I would ask you not to be surprised, and not to interrupt me on this account. For I am more than seventy years of age, and appearing now for the first time in a court of law, I am quite a stranger to the language which is used here; and therefore I would have you regard me as if I were really a stranger, whom you would excuse if he spoke in his native tongue, and after the fashion of his country:—Am I making an unfair request of you? Never mind the manner, which may or may not be good; but think only of the justice of my cause, and give heed to that: let the judge decide justly and the speaker speak truly

2 And first, I have to reply to the older charges and to my first accusers, and then I will go on to the later ones. For of old I have had many accusers, who have accused me falsely to you during many years; and I am more afraid of them than of Anytus and his associates, who are dangerous, too, in their own way. But far more dangerous are the others, who began when you were children, and took possession of your minds with their falsehoods, telling of one Socrates, a wise man, who speculated about the heaven above, and searched into the earth beneath, and made the worse appear the better cause. The disseminators of this tale are the accusers whom I dread; for their hearers are apt to fancy that such enquirers do not believe in the existence of the gods. And they are many, and their charges against me are of ancient date and they made them in days when you were impressible—in childhood, or perhaps in youth—and the cause when heard went by default, for there was none to answer. And hardest of all, their names

I do not know and cannot tell; unless in the chance case of a comic poet Such is just what you have yourselves seen in the comedy of Aristophanes, who has introduced a man whom he calls Socrates, going about and saying that he can walk in the air, and talking a deal of nonsense concerning matters of which I do not pretend to know either much or little—not that I mean to speak disparagingly of any one who is a student of natural philosophy. I should be very sorry if Meletus could lay that to my charge. But the simple truth is, O Athenians, that I have nothing to do with physical speculations. Very many of those here present are witnesses to the truth of this, and to them I appeal Speak then, you who have heard me, and tell your neighbours whether any of you have ever known me hold forth in few words or in many upon such matters. You hear their answer. And from what they say of this part of the charge you will be able to judge of the truth of the rest.

3. As little foundation is there for the report that I am a teacher, and take money; that is no more true than the other Although, if a man were really able to instruct mankind, to take money for giving instruction would, in my opinion, be honourable. There is Gorgias of Leontium, and Prodicus of Ceos, and Hippias of Elis, who go the round of the cities, and are able to persuade the young men to leave their own citizens, by whom they might be taught for nothing, and come to them, whom they not only pay, but are thankful if they may be allowed to pay them

4 I dare say, Athenians, that some one among you will reply, 'Yes, Socrates, but what is the origin of these accusations which are brought against you; there must have been something strange which you have been doing? All this rumour and talk about you would never have arisen if you had been like other men: tell us, then, what is the cause of them, for we should be sorry to judge hastily of you' Now I regard this as a fair challenge, and I will endeavour to explain to you the origin of this name of 'wise,' and of my evil fame Please to attend then And although some of you may think that I am joking, I declare that I will tell you the entire truth.

5 Men of Athens, this reputation of mine has come of a certain sort of wisdom which I possess. If you ask me what kind of wisdom, I reply, such wisdom as is attainable by man, for to that extent I am inclined to believe that I am wise; whereas the persons of whom I was speaking have a superhuman wisdom, which I may fail to describe, because I have it not myself; and he who says that I have, speaks falsely, and is taking away my character. And here, O men of Athens,

I must beg you not to interrupt me, even if I seem to say something extravagant. For the word which I will speak is not mine. I will refer you to a witness who is worthy of credit, and will tell you about my wisdom—whether I have any, and of what sort—and that witness shall be the God of Delphi. You must have known Chaerephon; he was early a friend of mine, and also a friend of yours, for he shared in the exile of the people, and returned with you. Well, Chaerephon, as you know, was very impetuous in all his doings, and he went to Delphi and boldly asked the oracle to tell him whether—as I was saying, I must beg you not to interrupt—he asked the oracle to tell him whether there was any one wiser than I was, and the Pythian prophetess answered, that there was no man wiser. Chaerephon is dead himself; but his brother, who is in court, will confirm the truth of what I am saying.

6. Why do I mention this? Because I am going to explain to you why I have such an evil name. When I heard the answer, I said to myself, What can the god mean? and what is the interpretation of his riddle? for I know that I have no wisdom, small or great. What then can he mean when he says that I am the wisest of men? And yet he is a god, and cannot lie; that would be against his nature. After long consideration, I at last thought of a method of trying the question. I reflected that if I could only find a man wiser than myself, then I might go to the god with a refutation in my hand. I should say to him, 'Here is a man who is wiser than I am; but you said that I was the wisest.'

7. Accordingly I went to one who had the reputation of wisdom, and observed him—his name I need not mention; he was a politician whom I selected for examination—and the result was as follows: When I began to talk with him, I could not help thinking that he was not really wise, although he was thought wise by many, and wiser still by himself; and thereupon I tried to explain to him that he thought himself wise, but was not really wise; and the consequence was that he hated me, and his enmity was shared by several who were present and heard me. So I left him, saying to myself, as I went away: Well, although I do not suppose that either of us knows anything really beautiful and good, I am better off than he is,—for he knows nothing, and thinks that he knows; I neither know nor think that I know. In this latter particular, then, I seem to have slightly the advantage of him. Then I went to another who had still higher philosophical pretensions, and my conclusion was exactly the same. I made another enemy of him, and of many others besides him.

8 Then I went to one man after another, being not unconscious of the enmity which I provoked, and I lamented and feared this: but necessity was laid upon me,—the word of God, I thought, ought to be considered first. And I said to myself, Go I must to all who appear to know, and find out the meaning of the oracle. And I swear to you, Athenians, by the dog I swear!—for I must tell you the truth—the result of my mission was just this: I found that the men most in repute were all but the most foolish; and that some inferior men were really wiser and better.

9 This investigation has led to my having many enemies of the worst and most dangerous kind, and has given occasion also to many calumnies And I am called wise, for my hearers always imagine that I myself possess the wisdom which I find wanting in others: but the truth is, O men of Athens, that God only is wise; and in his answer he means to say that the wisdom of men is little or nothing; he is not speaking of Socrates, he is only using my name by way of illustration, as if he said, He, O men, is the wisest, who, like Socrates, knows that his wisdom is in truth worth nothing

10 And so I go my way, obedient to the god, and make inquisition into the wisdom of any one, whether citizen or stranger, who appears to be wise; and if he is not wise, then in vindication of the oracle I show him that he is not wise; and my occupation quite absorbs me, and I have no time to give either to any public matter of interest or to any concern of my own, but I am in utter poverty by reason of my devotion to the god.

11. There is another thing:—young men of the richer classes, who have not much to do, come about me of their own accord; they like to hear the pretenders examined, and they often imitate me, and proceed to examine others; there are plenty of persons, as they soon enough discover, who think that they know something, but really know little or nothing; and then those who are examined by them instead of being angry with themselves are angry with me: This confounded Socrates, they say; this villainous misleader of youth!

12 And then if somebody asks them, Why, what evil does he practise or teach? they do not know, and cannot tell; but in order that they may not appear to be at a loss, they repeat the ready-made charges which are used against all philosophers about teaching things up in the clouds and under the earth, and having no gods, and making the worse appear the better cause; for they do not like to confess that their pretense of knowledge has been detected—which is the truth; and as they are numerous and ambitious and energetic, and are drawn up

in battle array and have persuasive tongues, they have filled your ears with their loud and inveterate calumnies. And this is the reason why my three accusers, Meletus and Anytus and Lycon, have set upon me; Meletus, who has a quarrel with me on behalf of the poets; Anytus, on behalf of the craftsmen; Lycon, on behalf of the rhetoricians. and as I said at the beginning, I cannot expect to get rid of such a mass of calumny all in a moment And this, O men of Athens, is the truth and the whole truth; I have concealed nothing, I have dissembled nothing And yet, I know that my plainness of speech makes them hate me, and what is their hatred but a proof that I am speaking the truth?—this is the occasion and reason of their slander of me, as you will find out either in this or in any future enquiry

13 I have said enough in my defence against the first class of my accusers; I turn to the second class who are headed by Meletus, that good and patriotic man, as he calls himself. And now I will try to defend myself against them: these new accusers must also have their affidavit read. What do they say? Something of this sort:—That Socrates is a doer of evil, and a corruptor of the youth; he does not believe in the gods of the state, and has other new divinities of his own

14 That is the sort of charge, and now let us examine the particular counts He says that I am a doer of evil, who corrupt the youth; but I say, O men of Athens, that Meletus is a doer of evil, and the evil is that he mixes up jest and earnest, and is too ready at bringing other men to trial from a pretended zeal and interest about matters in which he really never had the smallest interest. And the truth of this I will endeavour to prove

15 Come hither, Meletus, and let me ask a question of you. You think a great deal about the improvement of youth? "Yes, I do." Tell the judges, then, who is their improver; for you must know, as you have taken the pains to discover their corruptor, and are citing and accusing me before them. Speak, then, and tell the judges who their improver is Observe, Meletus, that you are silent, and have nothing to say But is not this rather disgraceful, and a very considerable proof of what I was saying, that you have no interest in the matter? Speak up, friend, and tell us who their improver is. "The laws." But that, my good sir, is not my meaning. I want to know who the person is, who, in the first place, knows the laws. "The judges, Socrates, who are present in court." What, do you mean to say, Meletus, that they are able to instruct and improve youth? "Certainly they are." What, all of them, or some only and not others? "All of them." By the goddess Here, that is good news! There are plenty of improvers.

then. And what do you say of the audience,—do they improve them? "Yes, they do." And the senators? "Yes, the senators improve them." But perhaps the members of the assembly corrupt them?—or do they too improve them? "They improve them." Then every Athenian improves and elevates them; all with the exception of myself; and I alone am their corruptor? Is that what you affirm? "That is what I stoutly affirm." I am very unfortunate if you are right. But suppose I ask you a question. Would you say that the same holds true in the case of horses? Does one man do them harm and all the world good? Is not the exact opposite of this true? One man is able to do them good, or at least not many;—the trainer of horses, that is to say, does them good, and others who have to do with them rather injure them? Is not that true, Meletus, of horses, or any other animals? Yes, unmistakably; whether you and Anytus say yes or no. Happy indeed would be the condition of youth if they had one corruptor only, and all the rest of the world were their improvers. And you, Meletus, have sufficiently shown that you never had a thought about the young: your carelessness is seen in your not caring about the matters spoken of in your own indictment.

16. I have shown, Athenians, as I was saying, that Meletus has no care at all, great or small, about the matter. But still I should like to know, Meletus, in what I am affirmed to corrupt the young I suppose you mean, as I infer from your indictment, that I teach them not to acknowledge the gods which the state acknowledges, but some other new divinities or spiritual agencies in their stead. These are the lessons which corrupt the youth, as you say. "Yes, that I say emphatically" Then, by the gods, Meletus, of whom we are speaking, tell me and the court, in somewhat plainer terms, what you mean! for I do not as yet understand whether you affirm that I teach others to acknowledge some gods, and therefore do believe in gods, and am not an entire atheist—this you do not lay to my charge,—but only that they are not the same gods which the city recognizes—the charge is that they are different gods. Or, do you mean to say that I am an atheist simply, and a teacher of atheism? "I mean the latter—that you are a complete atheist." That is an extraordinary statement, Meletus. Why do you say that? Do you mean that I do not believe in the godhead of the sun or moon, which is the common creed of all men? "I assure you, judges, that he does not believe in them; for he says that the sun is stone, and the moon earth." Friend Meletus, you think that you are accusing Anaxagoras: and you have but a bad opinion of the judges, if you fancy them ignorant to such a degree as not to know that these

doctrines are found in the books of Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, who is full of them. And these are the doctrines which the youth are said to learn of Socrates, when there are not unfrequently exhibitions of them at the theatre (price of admission one drachma at the most); and they might cheaply purchase them, and laugh at Socrates if he pretends to father such remarkable views. And so, Meletus, you really think that I do not believe in any god? "I swear by Zeus that you believe absolutely in none at all." You are a liar, Meletus, not believed even by yourself. For I cannot help thinking, O men of Athens, that Meletus is reckless and impudent, and that he has written this indictment in a spirit of mere wantonness and youthful bravado. Has he not compounded a riddle, thinking to try me? He said to himself:—I shall see whether the wise Socrates will discover my pleasant contradiction, or whether I shall be able to deceive him and the rest of them. For he certainly does appear to me to contradict himself in the indictment as much as if he said that Socrates is guilty of not believing in the gods, and yet of believing in them—but this surely is a piece of fun

17 I should like you, O men of Athens, to join me in examining what I conceive to be his inconsistency; and do you, Meletus, answer And I must remind the audience that they are not to interrupt me if I speak in my accustomed manner.

18. Did ever man, Meletus, believe in the existence of human things, and not of human beings? . . . I wish, men of Athens, that he would answer, and not be always trying to get up an interruption. Did ever any man believe in horsemanship, and not in horses? or in flute-playing, and not in flute-players? No, my friend, I will answer to you and to the court, as you refuse to answer for yourself. There is no man who ever did. But now please to answer the next question: Can a man believe in spiritual and divine agencies, and not in spirits or demigods? "He cannot." I am glad that I have extracted that answer, by the assistance of the court, nevertheless you swear in the indictment that I teach and believe in divine or spiritual agencies (new or old, no matter for that); at any rate, I believe in spiritual agencies, as you say and swear in the affidavit; but if I believe in divine beings, I must believe in spirits or demigods;—is not that true? Yes, that is true, for I may assume that your silence gives assent to that. Now what are spirits or demigods? are they not either gods or the sons of gods? Is that true? "Yes, that is true." But this is just the ingenious riddle of which I was speaking: the demigods or spirits are gods, and you say first that I do not believe in gods, and then again that I do believe in

gods; that is, if I believe in demigods. For if the demigods are the illegitimate sons of gods, whether by the nymphs or by any other mothers, as is thought, that, as all men will allow, necessarily implies the existence of their parents. You might as well affirm the existence of mules, and deny that of horses and asses. Such nonsense, Meletus, could only have been intended by you as a trial of me. You have put this into the indictment because you had nothing real of which to accuse me. But no one who has a particle of understanding will ever be convinced by you that the same men can believe in divine and superhuman things, and yet not believe that there are gods and demigods and heroes

19. I have said enough in answer to the charge of Meletus: any elaborate defence is unnecessary; but as I was saying before, I certainly have many enemies, and this is what will be my destruction if I am destroyed, of that I am certain;—not Meletus, nor yet Anytus, but the envy and detraction of the world, which has been the death of many good men, and will probably be the death of many more; there is no danger of my being the last of them. Some one will say: And are you not ashamed, Socrates, of a course of life which is likely to bring you to an untimely end? To him I may fairly answer: There you are mistaken: a man who is good for anything ought not to calculate the chance of living or dying; he ought only to consider whether in doing anything he is doing right or wrong—acting the part of a good man or of a bad Whereas, according to your view, the heroes who fell at Troy were not good for much, and the son of Thetis above all, who altogether despised danger in comparison with disgrace; and when his goddess mother said to him, in his eagerness to slay Hector, that if he avenged his companion Patroclus, and slew Hector, he would die himself—'Fate,' as she said, 'waits upon you next after Hector'; he, hearing this, utterly despised danger and death, and instead of fearing them, feared rather to live in dishonour, and not to avenge his friend. 'Let me die next,' he replied, 'and be avenged of my enemy, rather than abide here by the beaked ships, a scorn and a burden of the earth.' Had Achilles any thought of death and danger?

20 For wherever a man's place is, whether the place which he has chosen or that in which he has been placed by a commander, there he ought to remain in the hour of danger; he should not think of death or of anything but of disgrace. And this, O men of Athens, is a true saying.

21. Strange, indeed, would be my conduct, O men of Athens, if I who, when I was ordered by the generals whom you chose to com-

mand me at Potidaea and Amphipolis and Delium, remained where they placed me, like any other man, facing death, if, I say, now, when, as I conceive and imagine, God orders me to fulfill the philosopher's mission of searching into myself and other men, I were to desert my post through fear of death, or any other fear; that would indeed be strange, and I might justly be arraigned in court for denying the existence of the gods, if I disobeyed the oracle because I was afraid of death: then I should be fancying that I was wise when I was not wise For the fear of death is indeed the pretence of wisdom, and not real wisdom, being a pretended knowledge of the unknown; and no one knows whether death, which men in their fear apprehend to be the greatest evil, may not be the greatest good. Is there not here conceit of knowledge, which is a disgraceful sort of ignorance? And this is the point in which, as I think, I differ from others, and in which I might perhaps fancy myself wiser than men in general—that whereas I know but little of the world below, I do not suppose that I know: but I do know that injustice and disobedience to a better, whether God or man, is evil and dishonourable, and I will never fear or avoid a possible good rather than a certain evil. And therefore if you let me go now, and reject the counsels of Anytus, who said that if I were not put to death I ought not to have been prosecuted, and that if I escape now your sons will all be utterly ruined by listening to my words—if you say to me, Socrates, this time we will not mind Anytus, and will let you off, but upon one condition, that you are not to enquire and speculate in this way any more, and that if you are caught doing this again you shall die;—if this was the condition on which you let me go, I should reply: Men of Athens, I honour and love you; but I shall obey God rather than you, and while I have life and strength I shall never cease from the practice and teaching of philosophy, exhorting any one whom I meet after my manner, and convincing him, saying O my friend, why do you, who are a citizen of the great and mighty and wise city of Athens, care so much about laying up the greatest amount of money and honour and reputation, and so little about wisdom and truth and the greatest improvement of the soul, which you never regard or heed at all? Are you not ashamed of this? And if the person with whom I am arguing, says: Yes, but I do care; I do not depart or let him go at once; I interrogate and examine and cross-examine him, and if I think that he has no virtue, but only says that he has, I reproach him with undervaluing the greater, and overvaluing the less. And I say the same to every one whom I meet, young and old, citizen and alien, but especially to the citizens, inasmuch as

they are my brethren. For know that this is the command of God; and I believe that to this day no greater good has ever happened in the state than my service to the God. For I do nothing but go about persuading you all, old and young alike, not to take thought for your persons or your properties, but first and chiefly to care about the greatest improvement of the soul. I tell you that virtue is not given by money, but that from virtue come money and every other good of man, public as well as private. This is my teaching, and if this is the doctrine which corrupts the youth, my influence is ruinous indeed. But if any one says that this is not my teaching, he is speaking an untruth. Wherefore, O men of Athens, I say to you, do as Anytus bids or not as Anytus bids, and either acquit me or not; but whatever you do, understand that I shall never alter my ways, not even if I have to die many times.

22 Men of Athens, do not interrupt, but hear me, there was an agreement between us that you should hear me out. And I think that what I am going to say will do you good: for I have something more to say at which you may be inclined to cry out; but I beg that you will not. I would have you know, that if you kill such an one as I am, you will injure yourselves more than you will injure me. Nothing will injure me, not Meletus nor yet Anytus—they cannot, for a bad man is not permitted to injure a better than himself I do not deny that he may, perhaps, kill him, or drive him into exile, or deprive him of civil rights, and he may imagine, and others may imagine, that he is doing him a great injury: but in that I do not agree with him; for the evil of doing as Anytus is doing—of unjustly taking away another man's life—is greater far. And now, Athenians, I am not going to argue for my own sake, as you may think, but for yours, that you may not sin against the God, or lightly reject his boon by condemning me. For if you kill me you will not easily find another like me, who, if I may use such a ludicrous figure of speech, am a sort of gadfly, given to the state by the God; and the state is like a great and noble steed who is tardy in his motions owing to his very size, and requires to be stirred into life. I am that gadfly which God has given the state, and all day long and in all places am always fastening upon you, arousing and persuading and reproaching you.

23. Some one may wonder why I go about in private giving advice and busying myself with the concerns of others, but do not venture to come forward in public and advise the state. I will tell you why. You have often heard me speak in times past of an oracle or sign which comes to me, and is the divinity which Meletus ridicules in the indict-

ment. This sign I have had ever since I was a child. The sign is a voice which comes to me and always forbids me to do something which I am going to do, but never commands me to do anything, and this is what stands in the way of my being a politician. And rightly, as I think. For I am certain, O men of Athens, that if I had engaged in politics, I should have perished long ago, and done no good either to you or to myself. And do not be offended at my telling you the truth: for the truth is, that no man who goes to war with you or any other multitude, honestly struggling against the commission of unrighteousness and wrong in the state, will save his life; he who will really fight for the right, if he would live even for a little while, must have a private station and not a public one.

24. Well, Athenians, this and the like of this is nearly all the defence which I have to offer. Yet a word more. Perhaps there may be some one who is offended at me, when he calls to mind how he himself on a similar, or even a less serious occasion, had prayed and entreated the judges with many tears, and how he produced his children in court, which was a moving spectacle, together with a host of relations and friends; whereas I, who am probably in danger of my life, will do none of these things For if, O men of Athens, by force of persuasion and entreaty, I could overpower your oaths, then I should be teaching you to believe that there are no gods, and convict myself, in my own defence, of not believing in them. But that is not the case; for I do believe that there are gods, and in a far higher sense than that in which any of my accusers believe in them And to you and to God I commit my cause, to be determined by you as is best for you and me.

25. There are many reasons why I am not grieved, O men of Athens, at the vote of condemnation. I expected it, and am only surprised that the votes are so nearly equal; for I had thought that the majority against me would have been far larger; but now, had three votes gone over to the other side, I should have been acquitted. And I may say, I think, that I have escaped Meletus. Nay, I may say more; for without the assistance of Anytus and Lycon, he would not have had a fifth part of the votes, as the law requires, in which case he would have incurred a fine of a thousand drachmae, as is evident.

26. And now, O men who have condemned me, I would fain prophesy to you; for I am about to die, and that is the hour in which men are gifted with prophetic power. And I prophesy to you who are my murderers, that immediately after my death punishment far heavier than you have inflicted on me will surely await you. Me you

have killed because you wanted to escape the accuser, and not to give an account of your lives. But that will not be as you suppose: far otherwise For I say that there will be more accusers of you than there are now; accusers whom hitherto I have restrained: and as they are younger they will be more inconsiderate with you, and you will be more offended at them. If you think that by killing men you can prevent some one from censuring your evil lives, you are mistaken; that is not a way of escape which is either possible or honourable; the easiest and the noblest way is not to be disabling others, but to be improving yourselves This is the prophesy which I utter before my departure to the judges who have condemned me.

27 Friends, who would have acquitted me, I would like also to talk with you about this thing which has happened, while the magistrates are busy, and before I go to the place at which I must die. Stay then awhile. for we may as well talk with one another while there is time. You are my friends, and I should like to show you the meaning of this event which has happened to me. O my judges—for you I may truly call judges—I should like to tell you of a wonderful circumstance. Hitherto the familiar oracle within me has constantly been in the habit of opposing me even about trifles, if I was going to make a slip or error in any matter; and now as you see there has come upon me that which may be thought, and is generally believed to be, the last and worst evil. But the oracle made no sign of opposition, either as I was leaving my house and going out in the morning, or when I was going up into this court, or while I was speaking, at anything which I was going to say; and yet I have often been stopped in the middle of a speech, but now in nothing I either said or did touching this matter has the oracle opposed me. What do I take to be the explanation of this? I will tell you I regard this as a great proof that what has happened to me is a good, and that those of us who think that death is an evil are in error For the customary sign would surely have opposed me had I been going to evil and not to good

28 Let us reflect in another way, and we shall see that there is great reason to hope that death is a good; for one of two things—either death is a state of nothingness and utter unconsciousness, or, as men say, there is a change and migration of the soul from this world to another. Now if you suppose that there is no consciousness, but a sleep like the sleep of him who is undisturbed even by the sight of dreams, death will be an unspeakable gain. For if a person were to select the night in which his sleep was undisturbed even by dreams, and were to compare with this the other days and nights of his life,

and then were to tell us how many days and nights he had passed in the course of his life better and more pleasantly than this one, I think that any man, I will not say a private man, but even the great king will not find many such days or nights, when compared with the others. Now if death is like this, I say that to die is gain; for eternity is then only a single night. But if death is the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead are, what good, O my friends and judges, can be greater than this? If indeed when the pilgrim arrives in the world below, he is delivered from the professors of justice in this world, and finds the true judges who are said to give judgment there, Minos and Rhadamanthus and Aeacus and Triptolemus, and other sons of God who were righteous in their own life, that pilgrimage will be worth making. What would not a man give if he might converse with Orpheus and Musaeus and Hesiod and Homer? Nay if this be true, let me die again and again. I myself, too, shall have a wonderful interest in there meeting and conversing with Palamedes, and Ajax the son of Telamon, and other heroes of old, who have suffered death through an unjust judgment; and there will be no small pleasure, as I think, in comparing my own sufferings with theirs. Above all, I shall then be able to continue my search into true and false knowledge; as in this world, so also in that; and I shall find out who is wise, and who pretends to be wise, and is not What would not a man give, O judges, to be able to examine the leader of the great Trojan expedition, or Odysseus or Sisyphus, or numberless others, men and women too! What infinite delight would there be in conversing with them and asking them questions! In another world they do not put a man to death for asking questions; assuredly not For besides being happier in that world than in this, they will be immortal, if what is said is true

29 Wherefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know of a certainty, that no evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death. He and his are not neglected by the gods, nor has my own approaching end happened by mere chance. But I see clearly that to die and be released was better for me; and therefore the oracle gave no sign For which reason, also, I am not angry with my condemners, or with my accusers; they have done me no harm, although they did not mean to do me any good; and for this I may gently blame them Still I have a favour to ask of them When my sons are grown up, I would ask you, O my friends, to punish them; and I would have you trouble them, as I have troubled you, if they seem to care about riches, or anything, more than about virtue; or if they pretend to be

something when they are really nothing,—then reprove them, as I have reproved you, for not caring about that for which they ought to care, and thinking that they are something when they are really nothing. And if you do this, I and my sons will have received justice at your hands.

30. The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways—I to die, and you to live. Which is better God only knows.

II: CRITO

[If you were in prison awaiting execution and friends came to you with a plan for your escape, would you be tempted? What would be your reaction if you felt that many persons, including possibly a majority of the court that had convicted you, really did not wish you to die?]

31. SOCRATES. I proceed to argue the question whether I ought or ought not to try and escape without the consent of the Athenians; and if I am clearly right in escaping, then I will make the attempt; but if not, I will abstain. The other considerations which you mention, of money and loss of character and the duty of educating one's children, are, I fear, only the doctrines of the multitude, who would be as ready to call people to life, if they were able, as they are to put them to death—and with as little reason. But now, since the argument has thus far prevailed, the only question which remains to be considered is, whether we shall do rightly either in escaping or in suffering others to aid in our escape and paying them in money and thanks, or whether we shall not do rightly; and if the latter, then death or any other calamity which may ensue on my remaining here must not be allowed to enter into the calculation.

32. CRITO. I think that you are right, Socrates; how then shall we proceed?

33 Soc. Then consider the matter in this way:—Imagine that I am about to play truant (you may call the proceeding by any name which you like), and the laws and the government come and interrogate me: 'Tell us, Socrates,' they say; 'what are you about? are you going by an act of yours to overturn us—the laws, and the whole state, as far as in you lies? Do you imagine that a state can subsist and not be overthrown, in which the decisions of law have no power, but are set aside and overthrown by individuals?' What will be our

answer, Crito, to these and the like words? Any one, and especially a rhetorician, will have a good deal to say on behalf of the law which requires a sentence to be carried out;—he will argue that this law should not be set aside; and we might reply, 'Yes; but the state has injured us and given an unjust sentence.' Suppose I say that?

34 Cr. Very good, Socrates.

35 Soc. 'And was that our agreement with you?' the law would reply; 'or were you to abide by the sentence of the state?' And if I were to express my astonishment at their words, the law would probably add. 'Answer, Socrates, instead of opening your eyes: you are in the habit of asking and answering questions Tell us what complaint you have to make against us which justifies you in attempting to destroy us and the state? In the first place did we not bring you into existence? Your father married your mother by our aid and begat you Say whether you have any objection to urge against those of us who regulate marriage?'

36 None, I should reply. 'Or against those of us who after birth regulate the nurture and education of children, in which you also were trained? Were not the laws, which have the charge of education, right in commanding your father to train you in music and gymnastic?' Right, I should reply. 'Well then, since you were brought into the world and nurtured and educated by us, can you deny in the first place that you are our child and slave, as your fathers were before you? And if this is true you are not on equal terms with us; nor can you think that you have a right to do to us what we are doing to you. Would you have any right to strike or revile or do any other evil to your father or your master, if you had one, because you have been struck or reviled by him, or received some other evil at his hands?—you would not say this? And because we think right to destroy you, do you think that you have any right to destroy us in return, and your country as far as in you lies? Will you, O professor of true virtue, pretend that you are justified in this? Has a philosopher like you failed to discover that our country is more to be valued and higher and holier far than mother or father or any ancestor, and more to be regarded in the eyes of the gods and of men of understanding? also to be soothed, and gently and reverently entreated when angry, even more than a father, and if not persuaded, obeyed? And when we are punished by her, whether with imprisonment or stripes, the punishment is to be endured in silence; and if she lead us to wounds or death in battle, thither we follow as is right; neither may any one yield or retreat or leave his rank, but whether in

battle or in a court of law, or in any other place, he must do what his city and his country order him; or he must change their view of what is just: and if he may do no violence to his father or mother, much less may he do violence to his country.' What answer shall we make to this, Crito? Do the laws speak truly, or do they not?

37. Cr. I think that they do.

38. Soc. Then the laws will say: 'Consider, Socrates, if we are speaking truly that in your present attempt you are going to do us an injury. For, after having brought you into the world, and nurtured and educated you, and given you and every other citizen a share in every good which we had to give, we further proclaim to every Athenian, that if he does not like us when he has come of age and has seen the ways of the city, and made our acquaintance, he may go where he pleases and take his goods with him; and none of us laws will forbid him or interfere with him. Any of you who does not like us and the city, and who wants to emigrate to a colony or to any other city, may go where he likes, and take his goods with him. But he who has experience of the manner in which we order justice and administer the state, and still remains, has entered into an implied contract that he will do as we command him. And he who disobeys us is, as we maintain, thrice wrong; first, because in disobeying us he is disobeying his parents; secondly, because we are the authors of his education; thirdly, because he has made an agreement with us that he will duly obey our commands; and he neither obeys them nor convinces us that our commands are unjust; and we do not rudely impose them, but give him the alternative of obeying or convincing us;—that is what we offer, and he does neither.

39. 'These are the sort of accusations to which, as we were saying, you, Socrates, will be exposed if you accomplish your intentions, you, above all other Athenians.' Suppose I ask, why is this? they will justly retort upon me that I above all other men have acknowledged the agreement. 'There is clear proof,' they will say, 'Socrates, that we and the city were not displeasing to you Of all Athenians you have been the most constant resident in the city, which, as you never leave, you may be supposed to love For you never went out of the city either to see the games, except once when you went to the Isthmus, or to any other place unless when you were on military service; nor did you travel as other men do. Nor had you any curiosity to know other states or their laws: your affections did not go beyond us and our state; we were your special favourites, and you acquiesced in our government of you; and here in this city you begat your children,

which is a proof of your satisfaction. Moreover, you might, if you had liked, have fixed the penalty at banishment in the course of the trial—the state which refuses to let you go now would have let you go then. But you pretended that you preferred death to exile, and that you were not grieved at death. And now you have forgotten these fine sentiments, and pay no respect to us the laws, of whom you are the destroyer; and are doing what only a miserable slave would do, running away and turning your back upon the compacts and agreements which you made as a citizen. And first of all answer this very question: Are we right in saying that you agreed to be governed according to us in deed, and not in word only? Is that true or not?' How shall we answer, Crito? Must we not assent?

40. CR. There is no help, Socrates.

41. SOC. Then will they not say: 'You, Socrates, are breaking the covenants and agreements which you made with us at your leisure, not in any haste or under any compulsion or deception, but having had seventy years to think of them, during which time you were at liberty to leave the city, if we were not to your mind, or if our covenants appeared to you to be unfair. You had your choice, and might have gone either to Lacedaemon or Crete, which you often praise for their good government, or to some other Hellenic or foreign state. Whereas you, above all other Athenians, seemed to be so fond of the state, or, in other words, of us her laws (for who would like a state that has no laws), that you never stirred out of her; the halt, the blind, the maimed were not more stationary in her than you were. And now you run away and forsake your agreements. Not so, Socrates, if you will take our advice; do not make yourself ridiculous by escaping out of the city.

42. 'For just consider, if you transgress and err in this sort of way, what good will you do either to yourself or to your friends? That your friends will be driven into exile and deprived of citizenship, or will lose their property, is tolerably certain; and you yourself, if you fly to one of the neighbouring cities, as, for example, Thebes or Megara, both of which are well-governed cities, will come to them as an enemy, Socrates, and the government will be against you, and all patriotic citizens will cast an evil eye upon you as a subverter of the laws, and you will confirm in the minds of the judges the justice of their own condemnation of you. For he who is a corruptor of the laws is more than likely to be a corruptor of the young and foolish portion of mankind. Will you then flee from well-ordered cities and virtuous men? and is existence worth having on these terms? Or will you go to them without shame, and talk to them, Socrates? And

what will you say to them? What you say here about virtue and justice and institutions and laws being the best things among men? Would that be decent of you? Surely not. But if you go away from well-governed states to Crito's friends in Thessaly, where there is great disorder and licence, they will be charmed to have the tale of your escape from prison, set off with ludicrous particulars of the manner in which you were wrapped in a goatskin or some other disguise, and metamorphosed as the fashion of runaways is—that is very likely; but will there be no one to remind you that in your old age you were not ashamed to violate the most sacred laws from a miserable desire of a little more life? Perhaps not, if you keep them in a good temper; but if they are out of temper you will hear many degrading things; you will live, but how?—as the flatterer of all men, and the servant of all men; and doing what?—eating and drinking in Thessaly, having gone abroad in order that you may get a dinner And where will be your fine sentiments about justice and virtue then? Say that you wish to live for the sake of your children, that you may bring them up and educate them—will you take them into Thessaly and deprive them of Athenian citizenship? Is that the benefit which you would confer upon them? Or are you under the impression that they will be better cared for and educated here if you are still alive, although absent from them, for that your friends will take care of them? Do you fancy that if you are an inhabitant of Thessaly they will take care of them, and if you are an inhabitant of the other world that they will not take care of them? Nay; but if they who call themselves friends are good for anything, they surely will.

43. 'Listen, then, Socrates, to us who have brought you up Think not of life and children first, and of justice afterwards, but of justice first, that you may be justified before the princes of the world below. For neither will you nor any that belong to you be happier or holier or juster in this life, or happier in another, if you do as Crito bids. Now you depart in innocence, a sufferer and not a doer of evil; a victim, not of the laws but of men. But if you go forth, returning evil for evil, and injury for injury, breaking the covenants and agreements which you have made with us, and wronging those whom you ought least to wrong, that is to say, yourself, your friends, your country, and us, we shall be angry with you while you live, and our brethren, the laws in the world below, will receive you as an enemy; for they will know that you have done your best to destroy us. Listen, then, to us and not to Crito.'

44 This is the voice which I seem to hear murmuring in my ears,

like the sound of the flute in the ears of the mystic; that voice, I say, is humming in my ears, and prevents me from hearing any other. And I know that anything more which you may say will be vain. Yet speak, if you have anything to say.

45. CR. I having nothing to say, Socrates.

46 SOC. Leave me then to follow withersoever God leads.

III: PHAEDO

[Perhaps no one has looked upon his own end more nearly in the spirit of "Thanatopsis" than did Socrates. The naturalness of this attitude is explainable not only in terms of Socrates' life as a whole but especially as a product of his confidence in the immortality of the soul and the nature of the future life. These matters, which Socrates discussed with his friends during the greater part of his last day of life, are reported at length in the *Phaedo*. Our selections taken from the beginning and the end show only the circumstances of Socrates' death and his attitude toward it.]

47 ECKERATES. Were you yourself, Phaedo, in the prison with Socrates on the day when he drank the poison?

48 PHAEDO. Yes, Echecrates, I was.

49 ECH. I wish that you would tell me about his death. What did he say in his last hours? We were informed that he died by taking poison, but no one knew anything more; for no Phliasian ever goes to Athens now, nor has any Athenian of late found his way to Phlius, and therefore we have had no clear account.

50 PHAED Did you not hear of the proceedings at the trial?

51. ECH. Yes; some one told us about the trial, and we could not understand why, having been condemned, he was put to death, as appeared, not at the time, but long afterwards. What was the reason of this?

52. PHAED. An accident, Echecrates: the stern of the ship which the Athenians send to Delos happened to have been crowned on the day before he was tried

53 ECH What is this ship?

54 PHAED. This is the ship in which, as the Athenians say, Theseus went to Crete when he took with him the fourteen youths, and was the saviour of them and of himself. And they were said to have vowed to Apollo at the time, that if they were saved they would send

a yearly mission to Delos. Now this custom still continues, and the whole period of the voyage to and from Delos, beginning when the priest of Apollo crowns the stern of the ship, is a holy season, during which the city is not allowed to be polluted by public executions; and when the vessel is detained by contrary winds, the time spent in going and coming is very considerable. As I was saying, the ship was crowned on the day before the trial, and this was the reason why Socrates lay in prison and was not put to death until long after he was condemned.

55. Ech. What was the manner of his death, Phaedo? What was said or done? And which of his friends had he with him? Were they allowed by the authorities to be present? Or did he die alone?

56. Phaed. No; there were several of his friends with him.

57. Ech. If you have nothing to do, I wish that you would tell me what passed, as exactly as you can.

[Here follows a discussion of immortality, concluding with Socrates' description of the future life of the soul.]

58. Soc. Wherefore, Simmias, seeing all these things, what ought not we to do that we may obtain virtue and wisdom in this life? Fair is the prize, and the hope great!

59. A man of sense ought not to say, nor will I be too confident, that the description which I have given of the soul and her mansions is exactly true. But I do say that, inasmuch as the soul is shown to be immortal, he may venture to think, not improperly or unworthily, that something of the kind is true. The venture is a glorious one, and he ought to comfort himself with words like these, which is the reason why I lengthen out the tale. Wherefore, I say, let a man be of good cheer about his soul, who has cast away the pleasures and ornaments of the body as alien to him, and hurtful rather in their effects, and has followed after the pleasures of knowledge in this life; who has arrayed the soul in her own proper jewels, which are temperance, and justice, and courage, and nobility, and truth—thus adorned she is ready to go on her journey to the world below, when her hour comes. You, Simmias and Cebes, and all other men, will depart at some time or other. Me already, as the tragic poet would say, the voice of fate calls. Soon I must drink the poison; and I think that I had better repair to the bath first, in order that the women may not have the trouble of washing my body after I am dead.

60. When he had done speaking, Crito said: And have you any

commands for us, Socrates—anything to say about your children, or any other matter in which we can serve you?

61. Nothing particular, he said: only, as I have always told you, I would have you look to yourselves; that is a service which you may always be doing to me and mine as well as to yourselves. And you need not make professions; for if you take no thought for yourselves, and walk not according to the precepts which I have given you, not now for the first time, the warmth of your professions will be of no avail.

62. We will do our best, said Crito. But in what way would you have us bury you?

63 In any way that you like; only you must get hold of me, and take care that I do not walk away from you. Then he turned to us, and added with a smile:—I cannot make Crito believe that I am the same Socrates who have been talking and conducting the argument; he fancies that I am the other Socrates whom he will soon see, a dead body—and he asks, How shall he bury me? And though I have spoken many words in the endeavour to show that when I have drunk the poison I shall leave you and go to the joys of the blessed,—these words of mine, with which I comforted you and myself, have had, as I perceive, no effect upon Crito. And therefore I want you to be surety for me now, as he was surety for me at the trial: but let the promise be of another sort; for he was my surety to the judges that I would remain, and you must be my surety to him that I shall not remain, but go away and depart; and then he will suffer less at my death, and not be grieved when he sees my body being burned or buried. I would not have him sorrow at my hard lot, or say at the burial, Thus we lay out Socrates, or, Thus we follow him to the grave or bury him; for false words are not only evil in themselves, but they infect the soul with evil. Be of good cheer then, my dear Crito, and say that you are burying my body only, and do with that as is usual, and as you think best.

64. When he had spoken these words, he arose and told us to wait while he went into the bath-chamber with Crito; and we waited, talking and thinking of the subject of discourse, and also of the greatness of our sorrow; he was like a father of whom we were being bereaved, and we were about to pass the rest of our lives as orphans. When he had taken the bath his children were brought to him—(he had two young sons and an elder one); and the women of his family also came, and he talked to them and gave them a few directions in the presence of Crito; and he then dismissed them and returned to us. Now the hour of sunset was near, for a good deal of time had passed

while he was within. When he came out, he sat down with us again after his bath, but not much was said. Soon the jailer, who was the servant of the eleven, entered and stood by him, saying:—To you, Socrates, whom I know to be the noblest and gentlest and best of all who ever came to this place, I will not impute the angry feelings of other men, who rage and swear at me, when, in obedience to the authorities, I bid them drink the poison—indeed, I am sure that you will not be angry with me; for others, as you are aware, and not I, are the guilty cause. And so fare you well, and try to bear lightly what must needs be; you know my errand. Then bursting into tears he turned away and went out. Socrates looked at him and said: I return your good wishes, and will do as you bid. Then turning to us, he said, How charming the man is: since I have been in prison he has always been coming to see me, and at times he would talk to me, and was as good as could be, and now see how generously he sorrows for me. But we must do as he says, Crito; let the cup be brought, if the poison is prepared: if not, let the attendant prepare some. Yet, said Crito, the sun is still upon the hill-tops, and I know that many a one has taken the draught late, and after the announcement has been made to him, he has eaten and drunk, and enjoyed the society of his beloved; do not hasten then, there is still time.

65. Socrates said: Yes, Crito, and they of whom you speak are right in doing thus, for they think that they will gain by the delay; but I am right in not doing thus, for I do not think that I should gain anything by drinking the poison a little later; I should be sparing and saving a life which is already gone, and could only despise myself for this. Please then to do as I say, and not to refuse me

66. Crito made a sign to the servant, who was standing by; and he went out, and having been absent for some time, returned with the jailer carrying the cup of poison. Socrates said: You, my good friend, who are experienced in these matters, shall give me directions how I am to proceed. The man answered: You have only to walk about until your legs are heavy, and then to lie down, and the poison will act.

67. At the same time he handed the cup to Socrates, who in the easiest and gentlest manner, without the least fear or change of colour or feature, looking at the man with all his eyes, Echecrates, as his manner was, took the cup and said: What do you say about making a libation out of this cup to any god? May I, or not? The man answered: We only prepare, Socrates, just so much as we deem enough. I understand, he said: but I may and must ask the gods to prosper my journey from this to that other world—even so—and so be it according to my prayer. Then holding the cup to his lips, quite

readily and cheerfully he drank off the poison. And hitherto most of us had been able to control our sorrow; but now when we saw him drinking, and saw too that he had finished the draught, we could no longer forbear, and in spite of myself my own tears were flowing fast; so that I covered my face and wept over myself, for certainly I was not weeping over him, but at the thought of my own calamity in having lost such a friend. Nor was I the first, for Crito, when he found himself unable to restrain his tears, had got up and moved away, and I followed; and at that moment, Apollodorus, who had been weeping all the time, broke out in a loud and passionate cry which made cowards of us all. Socrates alone retained his calmness: What is this strange outcry? he said. I sent away the women mainly in order that they might not offend in this way, for I have heard that a man should die in peace. Be quiet then, and have patience. When we heard that, we were ashamed, and refrained our tears; and he walked about until, as he said, his legs began to fail, and then he lay on his back, according to the directions, and the man who gave him the poison now and then looked at his feet and legs; and after a while he pressed his foot hard, and asked him if he could feel; and he said, No; and then his leg, and so upwards and upwards, and showed us that he was cold and stiff. And he felt them himself, and said: When the poison reaches the heart, that will be the end. He was beginning to grow cold about the groin, when he uncovered his face, for he had covered himself up, and said (they were his last words)—he said: Crito, I owe a cock to Asclepius; will you remember to pay the debt? The debt shall be paid, said Crito; is there anything else? There was no answer to this question; but in a minute or two a movement was heard, and the attendants uncovered him; his eyes were set, and Crito closed his eyes and mouth.

68. Such was the end, Echecrates, of our friend, whom I may truly call the wisest, and justest, and best of all the men whom I have ever known.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Here is a story of tragic importance, increasing in dramatic power as it passes from Socrates' "Apology" at his trial through the climax of his rejection of the opportunity to escape, to the intense denouement of the closing scene of his life. Read the story as one that through the centuries has been a vital force in the lives of men.
2. Do you believe speaking and writing today observe the principles announced by Socrates in the beginning of his defense? Should they?
3. Was the manner of Socrates in presenting his case calculated to antagonize the judges in any way?
4. What do you think of Socrates' tact in examining those who had a reputation for wisdom (paragraphs 7-10)? Does the exceedingly tactful person run any risk of insincerity? Is the charge against Socrates to which he refers in paragraph 11 a natural one? A logical one?
5. Read carefully through paragraphs 12 and 13 to check on the progress Socrates has made in the presentation of his case. Are the early accusers specifically named? What are the names of the later accusers? Who of them actually prosecutes Socrates? What are the specific charges?
6. How far does Socrates' answer to the charge of corrupting the youth extend? How effectively do you think he answers the charge?
7. In paragraph 16 how does Socrates connect the charge of corrupting the youth of Athens with the second charge? Is the second charge at the beginning of paragraph 16 the same as in paragraph 13? How effectively in paragraph 16 does Socrates point out a contradiction in the charge of Meletus?
8. What is Socrates' argument in paragraph 18? How convincing do you find it?
9. What literary reference does Socrates make in paragraph 19? Is it effective?
10. Do you think it was necessary or desirable for Socrates to state his program in case of acquittal so forcefully as he does in paragraph 21? Why could he not do otherwise? What was the probable effect on the judges? How does the first sentence of paragraph 22 bear on this question?
11. In paragraph 22 Socrates likens himself to a gadfly. How similar is the argument here to that of Walter Lippmann in "The Indispensable Opposition" elsewhere in this volume?
12. Is Socrates' argument in paragraph 23 against going into

politics also a good argument against his own future program as outlined in paragraph 21?

13. What occurred in the trial between paragraphs 24 and 25?
14. Paragraph 26 suggests that those in power believe they can dispose of what they consider dangerous ideas by disposing of those who advocate those ideas. Can you cite any cases in history, either ancient, recent, or current, which bear on this belief? In a democracy what should be the attitude of a powerful majority toward unpopular minorities?
15. In paragraph 23 Socrates speaks of "an oracle or sign" and now in paragraph 27 of "the customary sign." How does this differ from what we think of today as "a hunch"? How convincing was the sign to Socrates?
16. How good an argument does Socrates make in paragraph 28 for satisfaction with his condemnation by the court?
17. What do you think of the request for his sons which Socrates makes in paragraph 29?
18. With paragraph 30 we conclude THE APOLOGY, which is not chiefly a dialogue, and with paragraph 31 we pass to CRITO, which is. But while the form of Plato's writing changes, the story of Socrates continues without interruption In paragraph 31 what alternatives do Crito and Socrates present each to the other? If you can imagine yourself in a situation even in small degree comparable to that of Socrates, how far would you accept his simple basis for a decision?
19. When a citizen is faced with a law which he considers either unjust or to his disadvantage, what should he do about it? From paragraph 36 what attitude toward the wartime black market would you expect Socrates to take? Put the case this way: Suppose Socrates to be operating a small meat market. Suppose his customers to be asking for meat which he could not supply. Suppose he knew that some of them were going to other operators who were securing meat in violation of government regulations. What would Socrates do? If you were a customer of his and did not like the regulations, what would you do? How does the principle here involved bear on the history of the Prohibition Amendment after World War I?
20. If a citizen believes a law unjust, inconvenient, or in any way undesirable, what should he do about it? Does Socrates in paragraph 38 limit the choice to docile acceptance or self-exile?
21. In how far is the argument of paragraphs 39-42 applicable merely to Socrates as an individual and in how far is it general? Do you find it convincing as it applies to Socrates? To yourself in a situation partly comparable?
22. In paragraph 45 should Crito have had anything to say?

23. What interesting Athenian custom is reported in paragraphs 50-54?
24. Can you make a list of things considered important today of such kind as Socrates in paragraph 59 might consider "pleasures and ornaments of the body" and which he would reject as "alien"?
25. Was Socrates unconcerned about the future of his children or about the welfare of others? How nearly do you agree with the views of paragraphs 59-68?
26. Having now had a few significant glimpses of a man whose shadow lengthens with the ages, indicate your reaction to some part of his life. In addition to any suggestions you may get from the items above or independently from your reading of "The Man Socrates," use if you like some one of the following topics:

    The character of Socrates: I wish I were like him. Socrates paid too high a price for independence. In a crisis would Socrates be a practical guide? When duty clashes with desire.

Face frankly the views of life proposed in this section. Do not too easily approve a "return to simplicity" without realizing the concrete differences in your daily life which would be involved. Do not, on the other hand, rush blindly into the mad chase after the "bigger and better" vanities which commerce dangles before you. When you read of idleness and of activity in this section try to make sure whether the several authors give these terms the same meaning, and do not overlook the factor of enforced idleness which in recent years has been inflicted on millions of our fellow Americans. When you decide where the points of view presented in this section really clash, work out quietly and thoughtfully a philosophy of life which you seriously propose to follow and then record some aspect of that philosophy in a paper of such length as your instructor may direct. For a short paper take some limited topic suggested in the questions following the separate articles of the section and show how it agrees with your experience. For a longer paper make a comparison of opposing views or state your own philosophy of life against the background of the divergent views recorded in the section. When you have occasion to use an idea from your reading refer to it in a way which will be clear not only to your instructor and your classmates but also to any other reader.

II

Are You Satisfied with Your Personality?

It is unfortunate that the term *personality* is today one of our fetish-words. Our incessant use of it and our preoccupation with the question "Have I a good personality?" blind us to the exact meaning of the term.

There are several reasons why *personality* has become a jargon term—vague, confused, nebulous in meaning. One is that we constantly meet it on the radio, in lectures or conversations, in print. Another is the assumption that without "a pleasing personality" one can neither secure nor hold a position, and that if one has it one can dispense with almost everything else. A third is the recent flood of superficial advice and formulae for obtaining it, and the zeal with which advertising copy-writers have seized upon our desire for it and have used it as a lever to sell us everything from Dr. Eliot's *Five-foot Shelf* to toothpaste. The regrettable result is often that we magnify its importance unduly or else that in our disgust we irritably consign the whole "personality cult" to limbo.

The truth, as usual, is midway between these extremes. Since the human race began, the possession of a pleasing personality has been, not man's ultimate goal nor even the quality most essential to his success, but a means to the attainment of peace within himself and in his relations with other people. Therefore it behooves us not to pursue it blindly nor to ignore it, but to consider dispassionately just what the much-abused term really means, what component parts go to make up a personality that seems to us admirable, which of those traits we possess and which we lack, and how we can encourage a normal growth of those qualities we deem desirable and attainable in ourselves.

The Balanced Personality

H. R. HAMLEY

Professor of Education in the University of London Institute of Education, H. R. Hamley (1883–) here offers suggestions of particular value in clarifying one's ideas about personality. Applying the author's statement of essentials, the reader can, if he desires, try some fairly objective self-analysis, for Mr. Hamley's list offers a challenging gauge for application of Socrates' advice to "know thyself." And in these days when we are subjected to a constant bombardment of appeals to fear, hate, anger, we especially need the emphasis which Mr. Hamley places on emotional balance and an objective attitude as essentials to mental health. [*The New Era*, 17·89–91, April, 1936. By permission of the publisher.]

1. THE WORD "BALANCE" is, of course, a physical term. It suggests to most people a pair of scales in which weight is counterpoised against weight. We say that a body is balanced when the net effect of one set of forces acting on the body is equivalent to the net effect of another set of forces acting on the same body. The balanced body "stays put," motionless and obedient; although under the action of conflicting forces, it shows no sign of stress. It is said to be in "static equilibrium."

2. But there is another kind of equilibrium, equally important, which is well illustrated in the spinning top. The spinning top is balanced, but it is certainly not motionless. It stands up for itself against the insistent pull of gravity and the influence of deflecting forces; it behaves almost as a living thing, sometimes rather perversely, as it "makes its way to Cork whenever its head is set towards Limerick." A spinning top is said to be in "dynamic equilibrium," or to be dynamically stable. Watch a pendulum as it swings; it flies through its centre of equilibrium as if defying hindrance or prevention, but slowly and inevitably it comes to rest, to return almost immediately on the track along which it has just come. The child in the swing seems to catch the thrill of these alternations. He knows that however adventurous the flight, safety is assured; however high he may rise, he will,

barring accidents, return to the place from which he set out. Thus security and adventure are knit together.

3. Much has been written on the psychology of rhythm. We have been told that its universal appeal is to be accounted for in terms of the easily observable fact that all life is rhythmic—day follows night and night day; summer follows winter and winter summer; the seasons have their appointed and recurring times; even the stars in their courses repeat themselves. It is true, of course, that life is rhythmic, but is not the secret of the appeal of rhythm to be found in the alternation of power; in the balance of conservative and adventurous tendencies in all of us? Professor Whitehead has said that rhythm delays fatigue. It delays fatigue because it unites change and stability in a single experience. Balance, then, whether it be static or dynamic, is a state of equilibrium of opposing and contending forces, of conservation and adventure.

4. The balanced personality is like the balanced physical system; it stands firm in the midst of stress and strain. There can be no balance of personality when there is no possibility of conflict. True mental balance is in a very real sense a state of equilibrium between safety and security on the one hand and uncertainty and risk on the other. Remove security and anxiety enters; take away adventure, and zest goes with it. Mental health, as all hygienists know, demands a just balance between security and adventure. We do not seek the balanced personality in the cloister nor in the retreat, although it is often to be found there, but in the tempests and storms of life, in its dangers and temptations. Only when we have been tried by fire do we know our true temper. Only when we have been tested by strain do we know whether our balance is stable or the reverse.

5. Now, the first essential of a balanced personality is self-knowledge. No one can show true physical poise who is uncertain of the ground upon which he stands. No one can show true mental balance who lives in a world of illusion, unable or unwilling to face reality. Most of us find it easy to persuade ourselves that we are not like other people, that the weaknesses and temptations that beset others have no part in us. The first step in self-knowledge is the realization that we are all of one common clay, creatures of the same instincts and prone to the same defects, faults and weaknesses. Many a harassed soul has been helped by this knowledge when in the depths of self-depreciation.

6. The balanced person knows where he stands, but he knows that he must not stand there forever. He must be ready to venture. When new methods, new ideas, new truths come his way, he must be pre-

pared to receive them. A noted mental hygienist, when asked for a single test of mental balance, replied, "Can you entertain a new idea intelligently and unemotionally?" To entertain a new idea, if it is really new, is no light experience. A few days ago I heard a teacher say that, whenever in the course of her reading she came upon the name of Freud, she turned immediately to the next page. She tried, as most unstable people do, to rationalize her conduct; but she showed, by her unwillingness to face the name of Freud, an unwillingness to face herself. Yet she was worried by the fact that she seemed to have no influence with adolescent children!

7. The next essential of a balanced personality is faith. "Now faith is the title-deeds of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen." Faith is not an irrational belief in conflict with our better reason, but a sense of assurance that, if the property is not actually beneath our feet, at least the title-deeds are in our hands. We cannot preserve our mental balance if we have not faith; faith in ourselves, faith in others, and faith in the work we are called upon to do.

8. First of all, then, faith in oneself. We are all familiar with the so-called "inferiority complex" or, better, "sense of inferiority," which is usually manifested as lack of confidence, or excessive self-consciousness, or as compensating self-assertion. It is strange how frequently a sense of inferiority is built upon some accidental happening or some illusory comparison and in relation to things that are of little consequence. A chance remark or a sneer, a single failure or defeat, may set the whole "life-style" of the individual away from successful effort and achievement. A balanced knowledge of oneself, of one's ability and incapacity, strength and weakness, is the first essential to a reasonable faith. All balance involves compensation of some kind.

9. If it is true that we are influenced in our judgment of ourselves by the words and attitudes of others, it is also true that the child's judgment of himself is to a very large extent conditioned by our estimates and opinions of him. What a paralyzing experience it must be for a child to realize, through the tasks and tests of the classroom and through the jibes and sneers of his classmates—and perhaps his teachers —that he is inferior. Professor Burt has given a vivid description of the sub-normal child in his *Young Delinquent*. "The dim, half-realized sense of their inborn inferiority, an inferiority which they cannot help, but for which they are incessantly blamed, may act as a rankling grudge against the world in general, or against their luckier relatives or schoolmates." Is it any wonder that the child who labours under a sense of inferiority, whether it corresponds with reality or not, becomes either

neurotic or delinquent? There is no more potent cause of maladjustment in children than discouragement. Encouragement may not always bear exactly the kind of fruit that we desire, but it is never wrong. We do not suffer as a rule from too much encouragement.

10. This brings us to the next part of our subject, faith in the work that we are doing. I am convinced that such faith depends not only on a sense of values but also on the way in which we seek to realize those values. It is extremely difficult to keep a faith that will stand the strain if it is not a growing and developing faith. Faith implies, as we have already seen, certainties and securities; but it also implies hazards and risks. The teacher who never ventures never has a lasting faith in the thing he is pursuing. Many a teacher has found it possible to preserve a vital faith in the value of his subject by varying his methods of approach from year to year. I have known teachers of mathematics, for example, who doubted the value of the subject they were teaching, but I have never known one who has retained his belief in the worth of mathematical thinking who has not progressed in his methods of teaching his subject. Faith grows when we give ourselves to the object that demands faith.

11. Mental balance is, of course, intellectual balance; but it is also, perhaps fundamentally, emotional balance. In the balanced personality mind and soul accord well. Abnormal or unrestrained expression of emotion is injurious, but abnormal or undue repression of emotion is also injurious. There is, then, a normal expression of emotion which is healthy, blessing him who gives and him who takes. It is not for nothing that we in this country have always regarded a sense of humour as healthy—"a merry heart doeth good like medicine."

12. Perhaps the safest rule that we can follow in regard to the expression of emotions is that we should have an objective attitude to people, and in particular to the children we teach. More than a hundred years ago the great Immanuel Kant, when discussing the effect of mind on body, emphasized the value for mental health of an objective attitude towards the emotions of others. Through this attitude come "mental serenity, concentration of attention, and general integration of the personality." Such advice as "Keep your head," "Be not afraid," is as sound advice for the teacher as for the child. An objective attitude makes possible a normal control of emotion on the one hand and a normal expression of it on the other.

13. Whenever we counter emotion with emotion we place ourselves for the time being on the level of the person whose emotion we counter. "I will not allow any child to reduce me to his emotional level," said a

teacher to me when I congratulated her on her skill in managing a difficult child. How easy it is for the teacher or the parent to descend to the child's emotional level. He may call his behaviour by another name, but it is the same thing. Tantrums in children become impatience in ourselves.

14. For some years past I have noted, in my dealings with emotionally unbalanced students, how often the beginning of the trouble can be traced to an emotional parent or teacher. "What have I done that I should have such a fool of a son?" led to repeated failure in university examinations. "Any more of that and I will thrash you within an inch of your life," led to an overpowering obsession with sex. Is it not true that we often become emotional with others because unconsciously we see ourselves reflected in them?

15. The objective attitude, it should be noted, is not an attitude of indifference but one of keen and active interest. We do not attain to the balanced personality by adopting an attitude of indifference towards the world, but rather by projecting ourselves into the life and work of the world. The healthy person is the one who pursues the things that are good and true and beautiful, and is prepared to give of himself in the pursuit. Perhaps the most profound principle of mental health yet enunciated is to be found in the words "He that saveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." We cannot lose our lives until we have lives to lose. We cannot lose our lives unless we are prepared to project them. In other words, the balanced personality stands on a firm foundation but reaches out in faith and hope to the world that surrounds him.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. In line 12 "perversely" (see "perverse") has what language source and meaning in common with "averse," "inverse," and "reverse"? What other English words come from the same root? Is "verse" one of them? Is "verify"? Is "vertical"? Is "vertebra"?
2. What is the origin of "equivalent" in line 4? How do the two words which form it affect its meaning? Which of the following words possess one of the two root words: "equator," "equity," "equinox," "equip"?
3. From what root word does "deflecting" in line 11 come? Name an adjective which also derives from the root word

forming the second syllable. Find a word in paragraph 5 which also uses the "de" prefix.

4. This article has a very well-planned and well-proportioned skeleton. Outline it, selecting its main topics and the subtopics which develop each. Notice the varied methods by which the points are developed in the article, and the transitions by which the parts are woven together.
5. List the examples used to develop points in the first, second, and third paragraphs. Notice the constant use of example through the rest of the article and its effectiveness in clarifying abstract ideas.
6. Select in the second and third paragraphs skillful use of balanced sentences to emphasize points relating to balanced rhythm in life and in character.
7. In paragraphs 2, 7, 8, and 10 underline the topic sentence and the transition word or phrase.
8. In paragraph 15 what is the central idea? What methods are used to develop it? What purpose does the first sentence serve? The last sentence?
9. Find in this article four quotations from the Bible. What facts about balanced personality did the scriptural writers know?
10. What, according to paragraph 2, is the essential of dynamic equilibrium? What sort of personality would result from the static equilibrium of paragraph 1? Which does the author prefer?
11. What in paragraph 12 does the author mean by "an objective attitude toward the emotions of others"?
12. Do you agree with the statement in paragraph 9 that in dealing with a child "encouragement . . . is never wrong"?
13. Just what, if anything, is the distinction in paragraph 11 between mental balance and emotional balance?
14. Write a paragraph developing either the second or the fourth sentence in paragraph 4.
15. Using example chiefly, develop Mr. Hamley's statement in paragraph 6 concerning unwillingness to entertain new ideas intelligently and unemotionally. In what fields is it particularly difficult to receive new ideas in the manner that he recommends?
16. Write a paragraph applying to another field than teaching the sentence in paragraph 10, "The teacher who never ventures never has lasting faith in the thing he is pursuing." Find a parallel in Mr. Valentine's article "The Price of Security," if you have read it.

17. Write a paragraph discussing situations in which the college student is likely to "counter emotion with emotion."
18. Write a childhood-reminiscence sketch about an experience suggested by paragraph 9, 13, or 14.
19. Using this article as a basis, make a brief list of definite questions which one might ask himself in an attempt to discover whether or not he has a balanced personality—one in "dynamic equilibrium."
20. Does this article suggest any idea which you have found useful in attaining a balanced personality for yourself, or which some acquaintance might use to advantage? Develop this idea in a single paragraph or in a short paper.

The Price of Security

ALAN VALENTINE

One of the younger American college executives, Alan Valentine (1901–) became president of the University of Rochester in 1935. A graduate of Swarthmore College and the University of Pennsylvania, he has received honorary degrees from Oxford and from several American universities. He emphasizes here one fundamental aspect of character or personality. [An address delivered at the Annual Winter Convocation of the University of Rochester, February 10, 1938. Reprinted by permission of President Valentine from *Vital Speeches*, April 1, 1938.]

1. TEN YEARS AGO only specialists talked of social security. Today the meaning of that phrase is familiar even to those of us who have no pretensions to expert knowledge. But the implications of social security are not equally clear. It is time we took a look at them.

2. Everyone likes the idea of being safe. Our federal government and some of our states have adopted systems of social security. This University has been a leader in providing, at a high cost, a comprehensive program of annuity and insurance provisions for all its employees. We are proud of that fact. Few of us would regret all these efforts to provide for the sick, the aged, and the unemployed. Although the cost of social security is alarmingly high, we believe that since it is a good thing, money will be found to support it. But what is the whole price of security? Loans and taxes may not be its only cost. Is it always worth the price? Certainly we should consider everything that, in various ways, we and our children shall have to pay for this desirable possession.

3. We must evaluate security in the perspective that historians of the year 2000 will have, avoiding the temptation to magnify our particular problems out of all proportion to the weight later generations will assign to them. A hungry man, for example, loses his perspective about food; it seems to him the equivalent of paradise; only when his hunger is satisfied does he recognize other needs. Our own hunger for security may affect our perspective about it. The last decade has made us aware of the pains of insecurity, and that very fact should

put us on our guard against seeing in its remedy a panacea for all our troubles. Freedom from future worry may not be a bargain if its price is too high.

4. We want two kinds of security. As a nation we want freedom from the threat of wars, plagues and depressions. As individuals we also seek escape from the nightmares of poverty, illness and the mental distress that comes from worry. These two desires are really separate and distinct. The first is a matter of national and international policies; the second one of individual economics. Each kind makes certain demands which the other does not require. Social security is based upon the greatest good for the greatest number; my individual security, or yours, rests upon the greatest safety you or I can acquire, by devices perhaps adverse to the welfare of society as a whole. It is the safe future of men as individuals, rather than of society, that I shall try to discuss today.

5. A man's pursuit of future stability may be socially-minded or it may be opposed to the interests of society. Many men have promoted their own future safety at the expense of others. Some men have risked their individual safety, in war or medical research or exploration, to advance the future welfare of society. The latter men seem more admirable and more rare. Most men have assumed that in making safe their own futures they were automatically conferring a benefit upon society. In a few cases they have obviously exceeded their just quota at society's expense. It is obvious that we may endanger our own society if we worship too blindly at the altar of security, or pay too great a price for it. In its welfare program, the state and nation are taking steps that will affect not only the pocketbooks but the lives and philosophies of our grandchildren. Will those effects be desirable ones? That is a question which *young people* should consider in the right perspective—young people in particular since few of us over forty will be able to do much about it, either for better or for worse. So my remarks are chiefly addressed to those of you who will test, and will be tested by, the present eagerness for state-provided security. This is not a question for political scientists and economists alone, for it involves aspects of life important to every citizen. That fact emboldens me to present the problem as I see it.

6. Every civilized man has sought a stable future for himself and his family. In early times that stability depended on physical strength and primitive shrewdness. A cave or a castle represented the maximum of future safety. Having achieved that, men began to worry about their spiritual welfare, and formulated and observed codes of religion and

ethics. Then the power of possessions replaced the power of muscle, and security became a question of the amount of property which would produce it. Property could even purchase, theoretically, spiritual safety in the next world.

7. As industrial civilization developed, power through property centralized in a few hands; those few who had enough property could face the future with relative confidence; but the many who had little were less complacent. Civilization again became materialistic, and today most people are little concerned about safety in another world, but greatly concerned about keeping alive and happy in this one. Many of us even unconsciously substituted faith in insurance for faith in ourselves and in God. 1914 and 1929 brought two different kinds of chaos, and showed us how uncertain, in spite of all efforts, were both our lives and our daily bread. The political systems men had created to protect them, turned upon them and demanded their money or their lives, and sometimes both. The economic system we had developed to serve us proved a Frankenstein too complicated and powerful to control. A man's ability to protect his future vanished in the smoke of artillery and then in the flutter of pieces of paper ironically called *securities*.

8. For the first time in generations, all men became frightened about the future, so they did the natural thing. They asked the state to guarantee them the future they could no longer guarantee themselves. We estimated (not very accurately) what this would cost in dollars, and became lost in the unknowns of higher mathematics. We debated (not very thoroughly) how it would affect our system of government, and emerged from that debate uncertain and not altogether happy. But as a nation we considered very little the moral and psychological implications of such complete dependence on the state. We only knew that we wanted more security, and that only the state could provide it, since only the state can successfully spend money it does not have.

9. It is one thing for individuals, or private groups of individuals, to provide for their own future; it is quite another to demand that the state provide individuals with financial guarantees. Therein lies the difference between the old way and the new. When government offers to us, as individuals, financial security, and we as individuals accept it, we have worked a fundamental change in the American concept of government, and also in the American concept of individual independence. Perhaps economic need has made that change essential, but at this stage we should recognize how important that alteration is.

10. It was the tradition of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Lin-

coln, which continued until yesterday, that government was the servant of its citizens, with limited powers to do only those few things which individual men could not possibly do for themselves. That tradition is well expressed in a statement by President Van Buren in 1837, when, under the pressure of a panic, many citizens urged government to inflate and provide doles. Van Buren wrote to Congress just what his chieftain and predecessor, Andrew Jackson, might have written:

11. "Those who look to the action of this government for specific aid to the citizens to relieve embarrassments arising from losses by revulsions in commerce and credit, lose sight of the ends for which it was created, and the powers with which it is clothed. . . . It was not intended to confer special favors on individuals, or on any classes of them; to create systems of agriculture, manufactures or trade; or to engage in them, either separately or in connection with individual citizens or organizations. . . . All communities are apt to look to government for too much. . . . We are prone to do so especially at periods of sudden embarrassment and distress. . . . The less government interferes with private pursuits, the better for the general prosperity. It is not its legitimate object to make men rich, or to repair by direct grants of money or legislation in favor of particular pursuits, losses not incurred in the public service."

12. Thus Van Buren, who expressed a conception of limited dependence upon government that is our traditional American heritage. Our government has been our servant; if we come to depend upon it for our personal security as individuals, then it will come closer to being our master. If we lean upon government as a staff, that staff soon seems indispensable. If we ask government to pay the piper, we must expect government to call the tune. It was Benjamin Franklin who said, "They that can give up liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

13. The new concept changes not only our traditional political thinking, but also our traditional idea of the importance and responsibility of the individual. We have been brought up to think of the American as a man who stood upon his own feet and blamed only himself for failure. Americans of that tradition had their faults, but timidity was not one of them—as pioneers they took chances and usually gained their objectives. Our geographical frontier has gone, but frontiers of science, religion and service remain. They offer promising roads to young men and women who will accept their challenges without too much concern as to security along the way. America has changed, but has it changed so much that young men must close their

eyes to high adventure and rich reward, and look only for safe pathways to safe jobs, annuities, guaranteed tenure and government support?

14. It is not the politics or economics of this situation which interests me most. These are unimportant compared with the point of view with which young men and women, under this less vigorous modern theory, will approach their education in college and afterward. May not an over-concern for a little immediate security rob youth of the courage and optimism which is its natural possession? May it not weaken in young men initiative and what we used to call backbone? Caution is becoming to the middle-aged, but too much caution does not sit well upon youth. Middle-age has given many hostages to fortune, and may well make security its first concern. But great things are not accomplished by young men who count the cost too closely in advance. Not all touchdowns are made by those who wait for their interference, nor good jobs held by men who worry too much about losing them.

15. These questions may apply within our own University. Each of us who comes here is provided with greater security than he could count upon outside the academic world. He can make of it an asset or a liability. He can use it to move from strength to strength, or he can let it make him soft; (this is what Hecate must have meant when she told the witches in *Macbeth* that "security is mortals' chiefest enemy"). It all depends upon his point of view toward himself and his University. If education means anything, it means freedom of intellectual approach. Colleges go to great lengths, and endure much thoughtless criticism, to preserve this academic freedom. We defend it because we know that no matter how troublesome its protection may be, this University would be a poor thing without it. But although academic liberty may *guarantee* this freedom, it cannot *create* it in individuals, who have to free their own minds from their own fears and limitations. They must win their own intellectual freedom as individuals. That process is a long and difficult one, and few of us ever wholly complete it. It is not reached through much talk and little thinking, or through dramatic and underdone demonstrations of intellectual hysteria. It is not reached by action based upon only half-mastery of the facts. It is achieved by the slow opening of intellectual doors. It is for the University to keep those doors unlocked, but there is little use in doing so if the student prefers to remain within the four narrow walls of his own mental limitations. In the intellectual life the awards go not to the timid but to the courageous, when courage is something more

than sound and fury. If a student has undue concern for the immediate future, and is unwilling to risk safety tomorrow in the interest of doing something valuable today, he fails to get much that he might get from college.

16. That kind of student will ask of every course: "If I take this course will I surely get a good grade?" or, "Can I surely pass this course and thus get my degree?" Those who ask these questions are worse than timid; they are foolish. They want to buy an imitation education with sham currency, and what they get will be useless. I do not think there are many students of this type at Rochester; I hope there are none.

17. Again, the student may ask: "Will this course help me to get a job? Is there a definite practical advantage to the study of this subject?" Back of these questions lies the one really in his mind: "What pursuits in college will make my later livelihood most secure?" It is natural that this point of view should be so common today; economic insecurity has made economic security seem, even to young men and women, of paramount importance. It is of paramount importance, but as a goal it cannot be reached by timidity or by too much concern to find the shortest and easiest way. The road to success is not always the road most dotted with service stations.

18. Some courses in college are service stations, but they are only of collegiate stature when they are something more than that. Many students are stopping at them who ought to be on quite another road. Word has gone around that certain courses, certain major subjects in college, will provide the security of a job upon graduation. That may be true, though it may not always be true, and the job may not always lead to a better one, or even be permanent. But a little immediate security is an attractive thing, and the college courses that seem best to guarantee it are over-crowded today. Tomorrow the professions for which they prepare may also be over-crowded, and the security they promised will prove evanescent. Permanent security comes to the man who can do something which most people cannot do, or do it very much better. The more populous the courses in which the student majors in college, the more outstandingly able he must be to gain in them the security he seeks. Today the practical courses, the applied courses that seem to lead to some specific goal of employment, are the popular courses.

19. These shortsighted procedures harm the college as well as the student. Few colleges can resist strong and constant pressure by student and community forces to give them what they want, even if what they want is based upon lack of perspective. Many colleges, often against

their better judgment, have yielded and begun to offer training which will produce results measurable in immediate vocational terms. They are not our most respected colleges today, and by a paradox they are frequently not even the most successful in producing graduates who can obtain and hold good positions. Colleges which think in longer terms, and plough more deeply and more widely, show a sounder judgment and actually a more practical philosophy. They do not yield to the popular demand for prompt deliveries of a standardized and nationally advertised product. To yield to that demand is to trivialize, not only the student's attitude toward his education, but education itself. Few students if any really want an education that is meretricious, but many accept it because their elders, who ought to know better, urge them to take "something practical." So they play safe, and, tragically, never know the difference.

20. The quest for immediate security does not concern the classroom and the choice of a career alone. It affects the point of view of every aspect of college life. One way to achieve temporary security is to be a conformist, even a non-entity. Some men stay in college, or retain positions afterwards, not because there is much to be said for them, but because there is little to be said against them. Some students are quick to appreciate this. They act upon the theory that the easiest way to "get by" is to be "regular"; that is, not to depart from the accepted standards of thought or conduct. They see that in some college elections as well as in some national ones, a candidate's chances depend more upon his colorless and negative availability than upon more vigorous and affirmative talents. None of us likes this fact in national politics; for the same reason we should dislike it in college. The student who learns by making his own mistakes is better material for any career than the student who will not risk failure and therefore attempts and learns little.

21. I do not suggest that every college man try to be a nonconformist; I merely suggest that he be himself. No one need fear that this will make our education radical. Recent concern over radicalism in our colleges is based upon lack of knowledge. The average American college student today is more conservative politically, economically, and, above all, socially, than the average American of fifty. Conservatism is admirable if based upon philosophy and experience; it is pitiful if based upon inertia or timidity. I cannot admire a man who is conservative only because he thinks conservatism will make him more secure. That kind of conservatism fits no reasonable definition of education; it ignores the doors others have opened, and leaves the victim

in timid cerebral confinement within the four walls of adolescent mentality. It is also an affront to real conservatism, which is based on something more than acquiescence. In that kind of concern for security, there is nothing of the spirit which built settlements at Plymouth and Jamestown, or wrote the Declaration of Independence, or conquered electricity, or founded this University.

22. Let us by all means try to find the proper balance between the assurance that brings confidence and the assurance that breeds softness. But let us also remember that to pursue complete security is to pursue a will-o'-the-wisp. "In this world," said Franklin, "nothing is certain but death and taxes." No amount of effort and shrewdness can bring any one of us the guarantee of future prosperity. Accident or disease may destroy us overnight. Inflation or political change may wash away in a week the economic foundations of a lifetime. In this uncertain world the man who seeks to establish complete security through *things* is like a child building a sand castle upon the shore. The security that endures comes from a mind that has its own resources, not from the fallible devices of a material world. Society may observe without dismay the foundering of a warrior, a politician, or a millionaire, for their places will be filled by others who can do their work. But it will not watch with complacency the wrecking of really useful men. Real security comes to the man who seeks it least by doing things his fellow men value most.

23. Those of you who have years of college still before you have a rare chance to develop those qualities which are the best guarantee of your future welfare. Develop your talents so that your security depends upon society's need for you, not upon your need for society, upon what you can contribute, not upon what you can acquire. If, as young men and women, you plan your work and lead your lives in college with an eye to immediate safety, you may even be a modern example of Lord Bacon's warning: "They become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they sought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned." But if you plan to draw from this University and from later life the very best they have to give you, and offer your best in return your future will not concern you. Life will provide all you deserve of security, as a by-product of what you are. Many of the values of life are not won by frontal attack, and security is one of them. Pursue it with hue and cry and it may escape you; go quietly about your business and you may find it at your door.

24. It is indeed the great problem of this generation. I suspect its attainment will depend upon the same qualities which won it for

earlier Americans. Undue caution was not one of them, nor undue dependence on others. Newer times and newer problems demand a more mature and discriminating kind of courage, as becomes a generation better equipped and better educated.

25. Every college generation I have known has seemed to me better than the preceding one, and your own the best of all. My confidence in your ability and your inherent good sense makes me optimistic about the future. I believe you have, too, all the courage and stamina you will need. But I hope to see you display that courage and stamina to better purpose than on the athletic field and the dance floor, alone. I believe you can and will, once you stop to think about it. So my remarks are not meant to be either gloomy or cynical. They do try to make more apparent the close connection between your lives in college and the difficult problems you will face beyond it. The way you face issues or dodge them in college will largely determine your procedure as regards other issues, personal and social, in later life.

26. Because I want you to derive from your years in Rochester the very best that is here; because I want you to defy the prevailing readiness to lean on private and public charity; because I do not want your energies wasted or your confidence sapped by middle-aged concern—for these reasons I offer you these exhortations. Be confident enough to believe in your future without mortgaging your present to it. Believe that if you put your whole mind and courage into doing today's work well, tomorrow's safety will take care of itself. Assume that to be yourself is better than to be a pale imitation of the other fellow. Realize that the only security you can surely win is the security of a rich mind possessing endless reserves against ill fortune. Aim at that kind of guarantee for the future, for that kind alone is worth the price; no other merits your concern for a decade or two. Nearly every one of you can leave this University with an endowment better than all other safeguards: good health, good will, a rich mind, and courage.

27. And when, in these uncertain times, you are troubled about your security, turn once again to Rabbi Ben Ezra

> Then welcome each rebuff
> That turns earth smoothness rough,
> Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!
> Be our joys three parts pain!
> Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
> Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. In its origin what relationship has "security" in line 1 with "cure"?
2. What has "decade" in line 23 in common with "decimal" and "December"?
3. What is the origin of "panacea," in line 25? What is the significance of the "pan"? Name three other words that use the prefix. Is "panel" one? Is "panic"?
4. What are the root words that form "benefit," in line 46? What is the significance of "bene"? Compare the effects of the prefixes in "benediction" and "malediction."
5. Find examples of irony used in paragraphs 7 and 8.
6. In paragraphs 7, 14, and 17 find the sentence near the end of each paragraph in which the author makes his idea into a graphic picture by use of an apt figure of speech.
7. Pick out words and phrases used for inter-paragraph transition in paragraphs 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20.
8. Distinguish clearly between the two kinds of security discussed in paragraph 4. Try to summarize President Valentine's conclusions as to the desirability of the two kinds and as to right and wrong ways of trying to obtain them.
9. Can you cite examples which might have been used for the idea advanced in the first three sentences of paragraph 5?
10. In paragraphs 6 and 7 the author traces the idea of security through earlier ages. Write a paragraph specifying what, in your opinion, the average United States citizen today includes in the term "personal security."
11. Compare the assumptions of the advocates of old-age pension plans and that of Van Buren in paragraph 11 as to government responsibility for personal security.
12. After re-reading Van Buren's statement, do you agree or disagree with the application in paragraph 12?
13. Cite examples from American history which could be used to develop the third sentence in paragraph 13. Write your answer to the question President Valentine asks in the last sentence.
14. What does the author mean in paragraph 16 by "buying an imitation education with sham currency"?
15. Discuss the application to your college of the point concerning "service station courses" (paragraph 18).
16. Explain the distinction in paragraph 21 between "real conservatism" and the conservatism of timidity.

17. Do you consider the fourth sentence in paragraph 21 true? Present your answer, with supporting points, in a paragraph.
18. In "Aes Triplex" are many passages similar to the one below. How does Stevenson's view agree with that of President Valentine in paragraph 22 and throughout the address? "To enjoy keenly the mixed texture of human experience rather leads a man to disregard precautions and risk his neck. For surely the love of living is stronger in an Alpine climber roping over a peril than in a creature who lives upon a diet."
19. As clearly as you can, explain the policy which paragraph 23 advises you to shun and the one it advises you to follow. Can you among your acquaintances find examples of either?
20. Do vocational courses have a place in college?
21. To develop the enduring security which depends upon rich inner—not outer—resources, what traits of character and personality would you consider it wise to cultivate?
22. What illustrations can you draw from history or from fiction of the softening effects of security? Of the hardening effects of danger?
23. Are there other stanzas in addition to those quoted in "Rabbi Ben Ezra" which urge the courage, confidence, and daring which President Valentine advocates?
24. Write briefly on one of the following topics:
    The college conformist
    The philosophy of the man whose goal is to "get by"
    The "regular" in college politics
    The "regular" in national politics
    "Security is mortals' chiefest enemy"

Red-Bloods and Mollycoddles

G. LOWES DICKINSON

Partly, perhaps, because of the comparative newness of this country and our awareness of our pioneer ancestors, American admiration for vigor, action, physical achievement crystallized about the turn of the century in Theodore Roosevelt's "gospel of the strenuous life." We liked to think of the typical American personality as one in which the impulse to action dominated, and we began to grow suspicious of a person who showed much independence in thinking or much liking for solitude.

When somewhat later a cloud of psychological terms descended upon us, we talked glibly about extroverts and admired them; about introverts and hoped that we weren't one of them. G. Lowes Dickinson (1862–1932) holds up the mirror and shows us, somewhat amusedly, the two types of character—extrovert and introvert—but from a new angle. To drive his points home he uses no learned psychological dissertation, but the personal essay—genial, conversational, touched with flecks of humor. [*Appearances*, Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1914, pp. 180–186. By permission of the publisher.]

1. I AM STAYING at a pleasant place in New Hampshire. The country is hilly and wooded, like a larger and wilder Surrey, and through it flows what, to an Englishman, seems a large river, the Connecticut. Charming villas are dotted about, well designed and secluded, in pretty gardens. I mention this because, in my experience of America, it is unique. Almost everywhere the houses stare blankly at one another and at the public roads, ugly, unsheltered, and unashamed, as much as to say, "Everyone is welcome to see what goes on here. We court publicity. See how we eat, drink, and sleep. Our private life is the property of the American people." It was not, however, to describe the country that I began this letter, but to elaborate a generalization developed by my host and myself as a kind of self-protection against the gospel of "Strenuousness."

2. We have divided men into Red-bloods and Mollycoddles. "A

Red-blood man" is a phrase which explains itself; "Mollycoddle" is its opposite. We have adopted it from a famous speech of Mr. Roosevelt, and redeemed it—perverted it, if you will—to other uses. A few examples will make the notion clear. Shakespeare's Henry V is a typical Red-blood; so was Bismarck; so was Palmerston; so is almost any business man. On the other hand, typical Mollycoddles were Socrates, Voltaire, and Shelley. The terms, you will observe, are comprehensive, and the types very broad. Generally speaking, men of action are Red-bloods. Not but what the Mollycoddle may act, and act efficiently. But, if so, he acts from principle, not from the instinct of action. The Red-blood, on the other hand, acts as the stone falls, and does indiscriminately anything that comes to hand. It is thus he that carries on the business of the world. He steps without reflection into the first place offered him and goes to work like a machine. The ideals and standards of his family, his class, his city, his country, and his age, he swallows as naturally as he swallows food and drink. He is therefore always "in the swim"; and he is bound to "arrive," because he has set before himself the attainable. You will find him everywhere, in all the prominent positions. In a military age he is a soldier, in a commercial age a businessman. He hates his enemies, and he may love his friends; but he does not require friends to love. A wife and children he does require, for the instinct to propagate the race is as strong in him as all other instincts. His domestic life, however, is not always happy; for he can seldom understand his wife. This is part of his general incapacity to understand any point of view but his own. He is incapable of an idea and contemptuous of a principle. He is the Samson, the blind force, dearest to Nature of her children. He neither looks back nor looks ahead. He lives in present action. And when he can no longer act, he loses his reason for existence. The Red-blood is happiest if he dies in the prime of life; otherwise, he may easily end with suicide. For he has no inner life; and when the outer life fails, he can only fail with it. The instinct that animated him being dead, he dies, too. Nature, who has blown through him, blows elsewhere. His stops are dumb; he is dead wood on the shore.

3. The Mollycoddle, on the other hand, is all inner life. He may indeed act, as I said, but he acts, so to speak, by accident; just as the Red-blood may reflect, but reflects by accident. The Mollycoddle in action is the Crank: it is he who accomplishes reforms; who abolished slavery, for example, and revolutionized prisons and lunatic asylums. Still, primarily, the Mollycoddle is a critic, not a man of action. He challenges all standards and all facts. If an institution is established,

that is a reason why he will not accept it; if an idea is current, that is a reason why he should repudiate it. He questions everything, including life and the universe. And for that reason Nature hates him. On the Red-blood she heaps her favors; she gives him a good digestion, a clear complexion, and sound nerves. But to the Mollycoddle she apportions dyspepsia and black bile. In the universe and in society the Mollycoddle is "out of it" as inevitably as the Red-blood is "in it." At school, he is a "smug" or a "swat," while the Red-blood is captain of the Eleven. At college, he is an "intellectual," while the Red-blood is in the "best set." In the world, he courts failure while the Red-blood achieves success. The Red-blood sees nothing; but the Mollycoddle sees through everything. The Red-blood joins societies; but the Mollycoddle is a non-joiner. Individualist of individualists, he can only stand alone, while the Red-blood requires the support of a crowd. The Mollycoddle engenders ideas, and the Red-blood exploits them. The Mollycoddle discovers, and the Red-blood invents. The whole structure of civilization rests on foundations laid by Mollycoddles; but all the building is done by Red-bloods. The Red-blood despises the Mollycoddle; but in the long run, he does what the Mollycoddle tells him. The Mollycoddle also despises the Red-blood, but he cannot do without him. Each thinks he is master of the other, and, in a sense, each is right. In his lifetime the Mollycoddle may be the slave of the Red-blood; but after his death, he is his master, though the Red-blood know it not.

4. Nations, like men, may be classified roughly as Red-blood and Mollycoddle. To the latter class belong clearly the ancient Greeks, the Italians, the French, and probably the Russians; to the former the Romans, the Germans, and the English. But the Red-blood nation *par excellence* is the American; so that, in comparison with them, Europe as a whole might almost be called Mollycoddle. This characteristic of Americans is reflected in the predominant physical type—the great jaw and chin, the huge teeth and predatory mouth; in their speech, where beauty and distinction are sacrificed to force; in their need to live and feel and act in masses. To be born a Mollycoddle in America is to be born to a hard fate. You must either emigrate or succumb. This, at least, hitherto has been the alternative practiced. Whether a Mollycoddle will ever be produced strong enough to breathe the American atmosphere and live, is a crucial question for the future. It is the question whether America will ever be civilized. For civilization, you will have perceived, depends on a just balance of Red-bloods and Mollycoddles. Without the Red-blood there would be no life at all, no stuff, so to speak, for the Mollycoddle to work upon; without the Mollycod-

dle, the stuff would remain shapeless and chaotic. The Red-blood is the matter, the Mollycoddle the form; the Red-blood the dough, the Mollycoddle the yeast. On these two poles turns the orb of human society. And if, at this point, you choose to say that poles are points and have no dimensions, that strictly neither the Mollycoddle nor the Red-blood exist, and that real men contain elements of both mixed in different proportions, I have no quarrel with you except such as one has with the man who states the obvious. I am satisfied to have distinguished the ideal extremes between which the actual vibrates. The detailed application of the conception I must leave to more patient researchers.

5. One point more before I close. This dichotomy, so far as I can see, applies only to man. Woman appears to be a kind of hybrid. Regarded as a creature of instinct, she resembles the Red-blood, and it is to him that she is first attracted. The hero of her youth is the athlete, the soldier, the successful man of business; and this predilection of hers accounts for much of human history, and in particular for the maintenance of the military spirit. On the other hand, as a creature capable of and craving sympathy, she has affinities with the Mollycoddle. This dual nature is the tragedy of her life. The Red-blood awakens her passion, but cannot satisfy it. He wins her by his virility, but cannot retain her by his perception. Hence the fact, noted by a cynic, that it is the Mollycoddle who cuckolds the Red-blood. For the woman, married to the Red-blood, discovers too late that she is to him only a trophy, a scalp. He hangs her up in the hall, and goes about his business. Then comes the Mollycoddle, divining all, possessing and offering all. And if the Red-blood is an American, and the Mollycoddle an European, then the situation is tense indeed. For the American Red-blood despises woman in his heart as profoundly as he respects her in outer observance. He despises her because of the Mollycoddle he divines in her. Therefore he never understands her; and that is why European Mollycoddles carry off American women before the very eyes of the exasperated Red-blood. "Am I not clean?" he cries. "Am I not healthy? Am I not athletic and efficient?" He is, but it does not help him, except with young girls. He may win the body, but he cannot win the soul. Can it be true then that most women would like two husbands, one Red-blood, the other Mollycoddle, one to be the father of their children, the other to be the companion of their souls? Women alone can answer; and, for the first time in history, they are beginning to be articulate.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. From what language does "animated" in line 46 derive? What connection has it with the word "animal"?
2. What Latin word serves as the origin of "lunatic" in line 53? What old belief regarding madness explains the tie between the two words?
3. What common root have "exasperated" in line 129 and "asperity"? "Exasperate" and "exit"?
4. Find in paragraph 3 several cases where an idea is developed by example. Find several skillful uses of balanced sentence, emphasizing the contrast between two things.
5. What trait does Mr. Dickinson ascribe to Americans in paragraph 1? Do you agree with him?
6. Why would a red-blood be "in all prominent positions"? Why would he, more than the mollycoddle, be inclined to suicide if he lived to be old? Explain these statements, found in paragraph 2: "He is always in the swim." "He is Samson, the blind force." "He has no inner life." "His stops are dumb."
7. What, according to paragraph 3, is the mollycoddle's attitude toward established principles and institutions? What are the basic differences between him and the red-blood? Why does "Nature hate him"?
8. Checking over in your mind the traits Mr. Dickinson ascribes to these two classes, note in paragraph 4 his division of nationalities into red-bloods and mollycoddles. Do you agree with his classification? Discuss the fairness of his comment on red-blood traits in Americans. Do you agree with him that we "need to live and feel and act in masses"? Do you see any possible danger in this group dependence?
9. Expand into a paragraph the statement in paragraph 4 that "real men contain elements of both mixed in different proportions."
10. Why, according to Mr. Dickinson, is the American man's "domestic life not always happy"? In paragraph 5 how does he classify woman, as to red-blood and mollycoddle traits?
11. Do you find any sentences which suggest that the author is not entirely serious in this essay? Any sentence which he seems to be throwing provocatively at the American reader? Any sentence which pricks you into vigorous disagreement?
12. Suggest from well-known public characters, either past or present, examples of red-bloods and of mollycoddles.

13. Write a character sketch of a red-blood or a mollycoddle whom you know personally.
14. Choosing a subject in which you are interested, write an imaginary conversation in which a red-blood and a mollycoddle discuss it.
15. Write a paragraph discussing the contributions which the red-blood and the mollycoddle could make to a well-balanced civilization.

I. The Happy Introvert

SPEYTON HENRY

Speyton Henry (1916–) here carries on the campaign in defense of the introvert which Mr. Dickinson began in "Red-bloods and Mollycoddles." Though he too uses the personal essay as his vehicle, notice that his style is somewhat more militant than Mr. Dickinson's; even his title flings a challenge, and he hopes to "make some converts among the Philistines." Whereas Mr. Dickinson makes much use of implication and innuendo—though he does not confine himself to those weapons—Mr. Henry launches an uncamouflaged attack upon those who assume that the extrovert represents the norm for society. And his establishment of the value of the introvert is just as forthright and vigorous. [The *Forum*, 100·134–135, September, 1938. By permission of the author and the publisher.]

1. It is HIGH TIME that some outraged introvert rose up in defense of his kind, to pour the vials of his righteous wrath on the heads of those pseudopsychologists who have divided mankind into the two classes of introverts and extroverts and have judged them according to their own petty standards. Whether the Jungians who formulated this facile classification demonstrated the superiority of the extroverts over the introverts is a moot question. This, however, is definite—it has become the fashion, of late, to deprecate introversion and all it stands for. Those who "belong" look on the introvert with mingled pity and aversion and regard him as a sick person who must be cured of an insidious weakness and turned into an affable extrovert if he is to be allowed to mingle with society.

2. I am an introvert. I do not make this announcement shamefully, as one confessing to a mental disorder. Rather, I am prepared to shout it from the housetops. As a high-spirited Hebrew might disdainfully inform his persecutors, "I am proud I am a Jew," so do I boast of my introversion and look with scorn on a world of extroverts.

3. After all, what right have these self-styled psychologists to conclude that introverts are undesirables? That they hold and further such an opinion is evident to anyone able to understand the terminology of

popular psychology. Magazines and newspapers feature questionnaires of self-analysis. *Are YOU an introvert?* they ask, much as they might demand *Are YOU insane?*

4. One would expect such an attitude to be rife only among the comparatively uninformed, but it is prevalent even in our colleges. Indeed, nowhere is the introvert attacked with more fanatical zeal than in teacher-training institutions. Teachers' colleges are the strongholds of determinists who are dead set on measuring personality, with their own private ideals as the norm. Myself when young did eagerly frequent such an institution. Fortunately, as a typical introvert, I was accustomed to thinking at my own volition and with my own brains. Consequently the teaching to which I was exposed did me no harm. The efforts of the authorities to make an extrovert of me I regarded with suspicion, much as a dog regards a piece of meat which is filled with ground glass. Nevertheless those altruistic missionaries were unrelenting in their efforts.

5. At one time, when I applied for permission to take one half-credit of study above the maximum allowed, they granted my request on one condition (aside from the requirement that I pay extra for the half-credit). The stipulation was that I should become Activity Minded; that I should become a joiner of clubs and organizations. They were kind enough to leave to me the choice of the activities I should elect.

6. Naturally, I rejected their offer with indignation and resolved to do without the half-point I was seeking. Any self-respecting introvert would be miserable at an "enjoyable," school-spirited campus function. In addition, an introvert is a natural rebel, and to force him to emulate his brethren is like forcing a refractory mule to work when he has decided not to work.

7. The attitude of the university as a whole was personified in a coed with whom I was speaking one day. Rather, I should say *to* whom, for she was a typical, perfectly brainless (or brainlessly perfect) extrovert.

8. Some outstanding bit of Babbittry had roused my ire, and I was letting this female know just what I thought of the college.

9. She listened respectfully, but gradually her open-mouthed awe became touched with fear. Edging away from me, she whispered, fearfully and indignantly, "Why, you must be an introvert!"

10. She was further confounded when, instead of shrinking in shame before that heinous accusation, I merely inflated my chest and replied, "You're d—— right I am!"

11. Poor girl, she possessed no immunity against education.

12. Still, poor girl though she was, in her inmost heart she regarded me as a moral leper. I could see the aversion in her eye, struggling against admiration. Why was she inoculated with such an attitude? Why did the policy-formulating powers regard us introverts as misfits who must be saved, willy-nilly, if we were to be entrusted with the noble task of teaching the multiplication table to rebellious adolescents?

Our Debt to Introverts

13. I will admit that when an introvert is inveigled into attending a social function, he may not be the life of the party but, at the same time, I insist that he is certain to be the brains of the party. To be sure, it does not necessarily follow that all extroverts are stupid; I merely affirm that in quality of gray matter the average introvert outweighs two or three average extroverts.

14. It is true that we introverts are practically all poor mixers; we are moody, sensitive, somewhat morbid, emotionally inhibited, nervous, and often neurotic. But still the possession of such attributes is not sufficient reason for branding us as undesirables, especially when such characteristics are compensated for by unusual intellectual powers, aesthetic appreciation, and emotional fineness and sensitivity.

15. Let the extroverts rationalize the situation as they may—there is but one real reason why introverts are persecuted. That is because they are different; an introvert stands out in a crowd like a sore thumb. It is common knowledge (albeit concealed knowledge) that society will not tolerate distinctiveness. Little Sammy Cohen is teased by his school fellows not because he is a Jew but because the other boys feel that Sammy is somehow different and does not belong.

16. And so society, which must of necessity be largely extroverted if social mores are to be perpetuated, feels that the introverts are the aliens in our midst. And, taken as a whole, society is not a very lovely aggregation. But yet society, ranging from the great unwashed up to college professors, has outlawed the introvert and branded him a weakling. The halos of fame and the mists of time have blinded observers to the fact that nearly all the great men of all time were introverts. In certain fields, of course, such as military science and athletics, there were no introverts. But these fields are just the ones which have contributed nothing of value to civilization.

17. Suppose all babies who showed signs of introversion had been exposed on the hillsides. We should have had no Jesus, no Gautama, no Confucius, no Spinoza, no Kant, no Washington, no Lincoln, no Edison, no Einstein.

18. I do not claim that all great men have been introverts. And, in numbers, the extroverts eclipse the introverts among the near-great. But, of that select society which comprises the truly great, the reverse is true. The extrovert is too human to be truly immortal.

19. Perhaps a comparison of two men in the same position but of different types would demonstrate the difference between introversion and extroversion. Consider the characters of Abraham Lincoln and of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Both will live in history forever. Both achieved the same noble goal, and yet, innately, the two are diametrically opposed. Lincoln, moody, melancholy, thoughtful, taciturn, given to much reading and study, is a clear-cut example of a marked introvert. Roosevelt, on the other hand, affable, genial, smiling, charming, a lover of action rather than of books, is an example of an extrovert of the first water. Both are great figures. And yet will Roosevelt ever loom as large in history as the somber figure of Lincoln? He lacks the inner power that Lincoln had, the extra something that makes the introvert different.

20. It is evident that introverts do not receive their due consideration from society. Perhaps someone should organize a League for the Appreciation of Introversion. Notice that I say *someone*. I, myself, would have nothing to do with it. I should not even join it. And neither would any other introvert.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. What root word do "introvert" and "extrovert" in line 4 have in common with "divert," "revert," "invert," and "subvert"? What different meanings do these various prefixes give?
2. What meaning has the root verb in "rejected" in line 43? Name three other prefixes used with this root and show what changes in meaning they effect.
3. What is the significance of "willy-nilly" in line 66? How did the word originate?
4. What is the meaning of the word "Babbittry," in line 53? Why is it capitalized? Do any words of similar origin occur to you?
5. What literary allusion occurs in the fourth sentence of paragraph 4?
6. In developing the controlling idea of this essay what use is made of examples in paragraphs 2, 5, 8, 15, 17? What use is made of comparison in paragraphs 4, 6, 15, 19?

7. Notice in paragraphs 4-12 the implied and explicit criticisms of colleges. Do you consider them justified?
8. How does the second sentence in paragraph 6 affect you? Does it irritate you? Do you instinctively brace yourself to attack the writer? Do you laugh? Does your reaction indicate extrovert or introvert tendencies?
9. Why, according to the first sentence in paragraph 16, must "society of necessity be largely extroverted if the social mores are to be perpetuated"?
10. Which characteristics attributed by Mr. Dickinson to the extrovert does Mr. Henry also stress in describing him? What, according to both writers, are the traits which distinguish the introvert?
11. What contributions, according to the author, does the introvert make to society? What dangers might be found in a society wholly controlled by extroverts?
12. Write an imaginary conversation between an extrovert and an introvert on some subject of interest to you.
13. Write a personal essay on "The Activity-Minded College Student."
14. If you have recently read *Babbitt*, write a discussion of the extrovert traits to be found in the chief character.
15. Write a personal essay on "Occasions When One Needs Immunity Against Education" (paragraph 11).
16. Write a brief sketch of a character in history who was "persecuted because he was different" (paragraph 15).
17. Draw, as does the author in paragraph 19, a contrast between an introvert and an extrovert.

III

Do Your Habits Help or Hinder?

When your new acquaintances who preceded you to college began showing you how to find your way around the campus, they were playing an old, old game. Those who travel the road of experience have an insistent urge to tell those who will follow after, both of the hazards along the way and of the security which the wise pilgrim may enjoy. In at least two of the articles in this section the authors make little effort to conceal their wish to influence your habits—all, of course, for your own good. They frankly believe they have something worth your attention; and your editors pass this advice on to you with the assurance that it has actually influenced their attitudes toward their own habits and that they have seen it affect the habits of their students.

Habit: Ally or Enemy

WILLIAM JAMES

William James (1842–1910) was one of two brothers who attained international distinction. Although he specialized in psychology and philosophy, he kept so close to vital human interests that he is usually easy to read. Someone attempting in a catch phrase to characterize the style of the two brothers referred to them as a philosopher who writes like a novelist and a novelist who writes like a philosopher. Whatever the truth of this generalization, William James does in this article discuss a matter of vital concern to every young person. You will find it worth careful reading. [*Psychology*, 1892, pp. 142–150. By permission of Henry Holt and Company.]

1. "HABIT A SECOND NATURE! Habit is ten times nature," the Duke of Wellington is said to have exclaimed; and the degree to which this is true no one probably can appreciate as well as one who is a veteran soldier himself. The daily drill and the years of discipline end by fashioning a man completely over again, as to most of the possibilities of his conduct.

2. "There is a story," says Professor Huxley, "which is credible enough, though it may not be true, of a practical joker who, seeing a discharged veteran carrying home his dinner, suddenly called out, 'Attention!' whereupon the man instantly brought his hands down, and lost his mutton and potatoes in the gutter. The drill had been thorough, and its effects had become embodied in the man's nervous structure."

3. Riderless cavalry-horses, at many a battle, have been seen to come together and go through their customary evolutions at the sound of the bugle-call. Most domestic beasts seem machines almost pure and simple, undoubtingly, unhesitatingly doing from minute to minute the duties they have been taught, and giving no sign that the possibility of an alternative ever suggests itself to their mind. Men grown old in prison have asked to be readmitted after being once set free. In a railroad accident a menagerie-tiger, whose cage had broken open, is said to have emerged, but presently crept back again, as if too much

bewildered by his new responsibilities, so that he was without difficulty secured.

4. Habit is thus the enormous fly-wheel of society, its most precious conservative agent. It alone is what keeps us all within the bounds of ordinance, and saves the children of fortune from the envious uprisings of the poor. It alone prevents the hardest and most repulsive walks of life from being deserted by those brought up to tread therein. It keeps the fisherman and the deck-hand at sea through the winter; it holds the miner in his darkness, and nails the countryman to his log-cabin and his lonely farm through all the months of snow; it protects us from invasion by the natives of the desert and the frozen zone. It dooms us all to fight out the battle of life upon the lines of our nurture or our early choice, and to make the best of a pursuit that disagrees, because there is no other for which we are fitted, and it is too late to begin again. It keeps different social strata from mixing. Already at the age of twenty-five you see the professional mannerism settling down on the young commercial traveller, on the young doctor, on the young minister, on the young counsellor-at-law. You see the little lines of cleavage running through the character, the tricks of thought, the prejudices, the ways of the "shop," in a word, from which the man can by-and-by no more escape than his coat-sleeve can suddenly fall into a new set of folds. On the whole, it is best he should not escape. It is well for the world that in most of us, by the age of thirty, the character has set like plaster, and will never soften again.

5. If the period between twenty and thirty is the critical one in the formation of intellectual and professional habits, the period below twenty is more important still for the fixing of *personal* habits, properly so called, such as vocalization and pronunciation, gesture, motion, and address. Hardly ever is a language learned after twenty spoken without a foreign accent; hardly ever can a youth transferred to the society of his betters unlearn the nasality and other vices of speech bred in him by the associations of his growing years. Hardly ever, indeed, no matter how much money there be in his pocket, can he even learn to *dress* like a gentleman-born. The merchants offer their wares as eagerly to him as to the veriest "swell," but he simply *cannot* buy the right things. An invisible law, as strong as gravitation, keeps him within his orbit, arrayed this year as he was the last; and how his better-clad acquaintances contrive to get the things they wear will be for him a mystery till his dying day.

6. The great thing, then, in all education, is to *make our nervous system our ally instead of our enemy*. It is to fund and capitalize our

acquisitions, and live at ease upon the interest of the fund. *For this we must make automatic and habitual, as early as possible, as many useful actions as we can*, and guard against the growing into ways that are likely to be disadvantageous to us, as we should guard against the plague. The more of the details of our daily life we can hand over to the effortless custody of automatism, the more our higher powers of mind will be set free for their own proper work. There is no more miserable human being than one in whom nothing is habitual but indecision, and for whom the lighting of every cigar, the drinking of every cup, the time of rising and going to bed every day, and the beginning of every bit of work, are subjects of express volitional deliberation. Full half the time of such a man goes to the deciding, or regretting, of matters which ought to be so ingrained in him as practically not to exist for his consciousness at all. If there be such daily duties not yet ingrained in any one of my readers, let him begin this very hour to set the matter right.

7. In Professor Bain's chapter on "The Moral Habits" there are some admirable practical remarks laid down. Two great maxims emerge from his treatment. The first is that in the acquisition of a new habit, or the leaving off of an old one, we must take care to *launch ourselves with as strong and decided an initiative as possible.* Accumulate all the possible circumstances which shall re-enforce the right motives; put yourself assiduously in conditions that encourage the new way; make engagements incompatible with the old; take a public pledge, if the case allows; in short, envelop your resolution with every aid you know. This will give your new beginning such a momentum that the temptation to break down will not occur as soon as it otherwise might; and every day during which a breakdown is postponed adds to the chances of its not occurring at all.

8. The second maxim is: *Never suffer an exception to occur till the new habit is securely rooted in your life.* Each lapse is like the letting fall of a ball of string which one is carefully winding up; a single slip undoes more than a great many turns will wind again. *Continuity* of training is the great means of making the nervous system act infallibly right. As Professor Bain says:

"The peculiarity of the moral habits, contradistinguishing them from the intellectual acquisitions, is the presence of two hostile powers, one to be gradually raised into the ascendant over the other. It is necessary, above all things, in such a situation, never to lose a battle. Every gain on the wrong side undoes the effect of many conquests on the right. The essential precaution, therefore, is so to regulate the

two opposing powers that the one may have a series of uninterrupted successes, until repetition has fortified it to such a degree as to enable it to cope with the opposition, under any circumstances. This is the theoretically best career of mental progress."

9. The need of securing success at the *outset* is imperative. Failure at first is apt to damp the energy of all future attempts, whereas past experiences of success nerve one to future vigor. Goethe says to a man who consulted him about an enterprise but mistrusted his own powers: "Ach! you need only blow on your hands!" And the remark illustrates the effect on Goethe's spirits of his own habitually successful career.

10. The question of "tapering off," in abandoning such habits as drink and opium-indulgence comes in here, and is a question about which experts differ within certain limits, and in regard to what may be best for an individual case. In the main, however, all expert opinion would agree that abrupt acquisition of the new habit is the best way, *if there be a real possibility of carrying it out.* We must be careful not to give the will so stiff a task as to insure its defeat at the very outset; but, *provided one can stand it,* a sharp period of suffering, and then a free time, is the best thing to aim at, whether in giving up a habit like that of opium, or in simply changing one's hours of rising or of work. It is surprising how soon a desire will die of inanition if it be *never* fed.

11. "One must first learn, unmoved, looking neither to the right nor left, to walk firmly on the strait and narrow path, before one can begin 'to make one's self over again.' He who every day makes a fresh resolve is like one who, arriving at the edge of the ditch he is to leap, forever stops and returns for a fresh run. Without *unbroken* advance there is no such thing as *accumulation* of the ethical forces possible, and to make this possible, and to exercise us and habituate us in it, is the sovereign blessing of regular work."[1]

12. A third maxim may be added to the preceding pair: *Seize the very first possible opportunity to act on every resolution you make, and on every emotional prompting you may experience in the direction of the habits you aspire to gain.* It is not in the moment of their forming, but in the moment of their producing *motor effects,* that resolves and aspirations communicate the new "set" to the brain. As the author last quoted remarks:

13. "The actual presence of the practical opportunity alone furnishes the fulcrum upon which the lever can rest, by means of which the moral will may multiply its strength, and raise itself aloft. He

[1] J. Bahnsen: *Beitrage zu Charakterologie* (1867), Vol. I, p. 209.

who has no solid ground to press against will never get beyond the stage of empty gesture-making."

14. No matter how full a reservoir of *maxims* one may possess, and no matter how good one's *sentiments* may be, if one have not taken advantage of every concrete opportunity to *act,* one's character may remain entirely unaffected for the better. With mere good intentions, hell is proverbially paved. And this is an obvious consequence of the principles we have laid down. A "character," as J. S. Mill says, "is a completely fashioned will"; and a will, in the sense in which he means it, is an aggregate of tendencies to act in a firm and prompt and definite way upon all the principal emergencies of life. A tendency to act only becomes effectively ingrained in us in proportion to the uninterrupted frequency with which the actions actually occur, and the brain "grows" to their use. When a resolve or a fine glow of feeling is allowed to evaporate without bearing practical fruit it is worse than a chance lost; it works so as positively to hinder future resolutions and emotions from taking the normal path of discharge. There is no more contemptible type of human character than that of the nerveless sentimentalist and dreamer, who spends his life in a weltering sea of sensibility and emotion, but who never does a manly concrete deed. Rousseau, inflaming all the mothers of France, by his eloquence, to follow Nature and nurse their babies themselves, while he sends his own children to the foundling hospital, is the classical example of what I mean. But every one of us in his measure, whenever, after glowing for an abstractly formulated Good, he practically ignores some actual case, among the squalid "other particulars" of which that same Good lurks disguised, treads straight on Rousseau's path. All Goods are disguised by the vulgarity of their concomitants, in this work-a-day world; but woe to him who can only recognize them when he thinks them in their pure and abstract form! The habit of excessive novel-reading and theatre-going will produce true monsters in this line. The weeping of the Russian lady over the fictitious personages in the play, while her coachman is freezing to death on his seat outside, is the sort of thing that everywhere happens on a less glaring scale. Even the habit of excessive indulgence in music, for those who are neither performers themselves nor musically gifted enough to take it in a purely intellectual way, has probably a relaxing effect upon the character. One becomes filled with emotions which habitually pass without prompting to any deed, and so the inertly sentimental condition is kept up. The remedy would be, never to suffer one's self to have an emotion at a concert, without expressing it afterward in *some* active

way. Let the expression be the least thing in the world—speaking genially to one's grandmother, or giving up one's seat in a horse-car, if nothing more heroic offers—but let it not fail to take place.

15. These latter cases make us aware that it is not simply *particular lines* of discharge, but also *general forms* of discharge, that seem to be grooved out by habit in the brain. Just as, if we let our emotions evaporate, they get into a way of evaporating; so there is reason to suppose that if we often flinch from making an effort, before we know it the effort-making capacity will be gone; and that, if we suffer the wandering of our attention, presently it will wander all the time. Attention and effort are, as we shall see later, but two names for the same psychic fact. To what brain-processes they correspond we do not know. The strongest reason for believing that they do depend on brain-processes at all, and are not pure acts of the spirit, is just this fact, that they seem in some degree subject to the law of habit, which is a material law. As a final practical maxim, relative to these habits of the will, we may, then, offer something like this: *Keep the faculty of effort alive in you by a little gratuitous exercise every day.* That is, be systematically ascetic or heroic in little unnecessary points, do every day or two something for no other reason than that you would rather not do it, so that when the hour of dire need draws nigh, it may find you not unnerved and untrained to stand the test. Asceticism of this sort is like the insurance which a man pays on his house and goods. The tax does him no good at the time, and possibly may never bring him a return. But if the fire *does* come, his having paid it will be his salvation from ruin. So with the man who has daily inured himself to habits of concentrated attention, energetic volition, and self-denial in unnecessary things. He will stand like a tower when everything rocks around him, and when his softer fellow-mortals are winnowed like chaff in the blast.

16. The physiological study of mental conditions is thus the most powerful ally of hortatory ethics. The hell to be endured hereafter, of which theology tells, is no worse than the hell we make for ourselves in this world by habitually fashioning our characters in the wrong way. Could the young but realize how soon they will become mere walking bundles of habits, they would give more heed to their conduct while in the plastic state. We are spinning our own fates, good or evil, and never to be undone. Every smallest stroke of virtue or of vice leaves its never so little scar. The drunken Rip Van Winkle, in Jefferson's play, excuses himself for every fresh dereliction by saying, "I won't count this time!" Well! he may not count it, and a kind Heaven may not

count it; but it is being counted none the less. Down among his nerve-cells and fibres the molecules are counting it, registering and storing it up to be used against him when the next temptation comes. Nothing we ever do is, in strict scientific literalness, wiped out. Of course this has its good side as well as its bad one. As we become permanent drunkards by so many separate drinks, so we become saints in the moral, and authorities and experts in the practical and scientific spheres, by so many separate acts and hours of work. Let no youth have any anxiety about the upshot of his education, whatever the line of it may be. If he keep faithfully busy each hour of the working day, he may safely leave the final result to itself. He can with perfect certainty count on waking up some fine morning, to find himself one of the competent ones of his generation, in whatever pursuit he may have singled out. Silently, between all the details of his business, the *power of judging* in all that class of matter will have built itself up within him as a possession that will never pass away. Young people should know this truth in advance. The ignorance of it has probably engendered more discouragement and faint-heartedness in youths embarking on arduous careers than all other causes put together.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. In paragraph 4 "fly-wheel" comes nearest in meaning to which two of the following terms: *revolution, conservative, change, radical, status quo?* List several other words whose meaning the article has made clearer to you.
2. Compare the two following accounts of the same incident:

A Russian lady went to the theatre, and *it was a sad show,* and so *she wept,* but *it was a cold night,* and so *her coachman was freezing to death on his seat outside,* but *the personages in the play were fictitious, which is the sort of thing that happens everywhere* but *it is on a less glaring scale.*

The *weeping of the Russian lady over the fictitious personages in the play,* while *her coachman is freezing to death on*

7a 8a
his seat outside, is the sort of thing that everywhere happens
9a
on a less glaring scale.

How many main and how many subordinate clauses in the first version? How many in the second? Look carefully. What gerund in the second version takes the place of main clause 3 in the first? What noun and adjective in the second take the place of main clause 6 in the first? Follow the other changes through to see what the maturity of William James' sentence structure can teach you for your own style.

3. In which paragraph does the discussion of the maxims begin? Which paragraphs are given to a discussion of each maxim? With which paragraph does the discussion return to the general subject of habit?
4. For each of paragraphs 1-6 select the statement below which best fits. Which statement best summarizes the entire six paragraphs? Which statement do you have left over? Which paragraph does it come nearest to fitting?

   a. Habit is more important in our behavior than nature is.
   b. Men and especially animals under the influence of habit do surprising things.
   c. Huxley's story illustrates the importance of habit.
   d. An old dog seldom learns new tricks.
   e. Our daily habits either push us up or pull us down.
   f. Habit is so important that we should early acquire as many useful habits as possible.
   g. We should begin now to make our daily habits help and not hinder us.
   h. Habit discourages change.

5. How many maxims does Professor James discuss? Which were definitely suggested to him by his reading? Which came to him from thinking over his own experiences?
6. Does the author in paragraph 10 approve "tapering-off" in breaking a habit?
7. Are any undesirable *personal* actions now fixing themselves into habits in your life as indicated in paragraph 5?
8. How many "details of . . . daily life" like those mentioned in paragraph 6 are still not matters of habit for you? Does the author overemphasize the seriousness of these matters?
9. After reading paragraph 14 answer this question: If you honestly make a New Year's resolution and fail to keep it, are you better or worse off? Does the paragraph suggest that one who enjoys good music but who has no musical talent should

turn off the radio when the New York Symphony Orchestra is announced, or that he should not listen to a "March of Dimes" program unless he actually sends a contribution for the campaign against infantile paralysis? How would character or habit forming be affected?

10. In the second sentence of paragraph 15 Professor James says that "if we suffer the wandering of our attention, presently it will wander all the time." How does this comment bear on the problem of studying when interruptions come, either from within or from without one's own mind? Does the advice in paragraph 15 to "do every day or two something for no other reason than that you would rather not do it," mean, for example, that you should drink plain water when others at the table have ice water or that you should dress in a chilly bedroom on a winter morning when the warm bathroom is available? For character training can you see any alternative to doing things just because "you would rather not do" them?
11. How nearly does the "mere walking bundles of habits" of paragraph 16 describe your personality? How attractive is your bundle? Do you believe habit formation as important to success, in general and in your own case, as paragraph 16 represents it to be?
12. Professor James' discussion of habit is full of challenging ideas. Take some one of these ideas and comment on it in a single paragraph. What, for example, is the significance for you of the assertion in paragraph 5 that *personal* habits are not easily acquired after twenty? Or do you agree with the assertion in paragraph 4 that in general changes of character after thirty are undesirable? What experience in changing habits have you had which makes you think the "tapering-off" mentioned in paragraph 10 is good or bad? Do you agree with James' condemnation of Rousseau and the Russian lady in paragraph 14? What do you think, as applied to your own habit forming, of the advice in paragraph 15 to "do every day or two something for no other reason than that you would rather not do it" ? See also questions 7-9.
13. In a longer paper discuss Professor James' article as a whole. How far does it seem to you sound and worth careful reading? Has it set you thinking about your own habits and given you any suggestions that you can turn to account in improving them? Have you any habits you have seriously tried to change or thought of changing?

So You're Going To Stop Smoking?

HENRY C. LINK

Henry C. Link (1889–), Yale graduate (A.B., A.M., Ph.D.), after fourteen years of varied work with industrial and business firms, became secretary-treasurer of the Psychological Corporation and director of the Psychological Service Center of New York City in 1931. In the last-named position he has worked out the very practical application of the principle of habit which he discusses in the selection here reprinted. [*Reader's Digest*, 39:17–20, August, 1938. Condensed from *Your Life*. By permission of *Reader's Digest*.]

1. SOONER OR LATER, nearly every cigarette smoker discovers that he is not smoking by choice but by habit, and that the habit is probably harmful. So he tries to break free from it, but finds that he doesn't know how. Sometimes halfheartedly, sometimes earnestly, he wrestles with his addiction—but in vain. His self-control has been perilously undermined by a mere mechanism of habit.

2. For years he has been practicing daily that mechanism, without realizing that it was becoming automatic, that he was perfecting a whole chain of habitual motions, an irresistible nervous-muscular process. It begins with lifting the pack, extracting a cigarette, tamping one end, placing it between the lips, striking a match, inhaling the first gulp of smoke, and so forth, until the stub reaches the ash tray. Every cigarette consumed involves the same chain of actions and reactions, which seem to set themselves in motion and go on automatically to the end. Often the smoker is not even aware of them. Like an old-fashioned clock wound up to strike, he is set to go and set to finish, dozens of times a day. Like a robot, he moves at the command of an invisible master.

3. Is there anything he can do about it?

4. Behind that question lies an important lesson in psychology. For the habit of cigarette smoking is only a familiar instance of the psychology of all habit forming and habit breaking.

5. During the last decade the consumption of cigarettes in the United States has increased from 106 billion to 162 billion a year.

Today about 60 percent of the men and nearly 25 percent of the women are consistent cigarette smokers. The average consumption for men is 20 cigarettes a day, and for women, 11 a day, with each smoker drifting helplessly toward a still larger quota. This habit of smoking, although it appears to many to be a trivial part of living, may be viewed as symbolic of a fundamental trend in modern civilization. That trend is the increasing frequency with which individuals permit themselves to become the *creatures* of their habits rather than the *creators* of their environment.

6. To find out what factors enter into this deep-rooted problem of character weakness, the Psychological Corporation has recently completed a sample study of 1000 men who were or had been inveterate smokers. Of this group, 145 had stopped smoking. Of the remaining 855, nearly half had stopped at one time or another but had been unable to give up the habit permanently. While some had by now abandoned hope of success, 28 percent still wanted to stop. *But they could not.*

7. The reasons they gave were generally as follows:

"I haven't the necessary will power."
"Can't do without them."
"I'm too weak."
"I stopped once, but I can't any more."
"Why can't I? That's what I'd like to know."

8. Verily, here is a sad commentary on a large portion of our adult population. From the recent studies of Dr. Raymond Pearl at Johns Hopkins, we know that tobacco smokers do not live as long as non-smokers. Yet, despite the fact that millions of persons comprehend the harmful effects of smoking, they confess their inability to conquer this purely mechanical habit.

9. The majority of the 145 men who had succeeded in stopping permanently, and many of those who had stopped temporarily, were quick to announce their satisfaction.

"I slept more soundly and didn't cough."
"Better taste in my mouth."
"My sense of smell returned acutely."
"Had more pep and a better appetite."

Even more enthusiastic were comments such as these:

"I can't say how, but I feel better all over."
"Got a tremendous kick out of being able to stop, finally."
"Gave my entire morale a great boost."

10. Here we have the antithesis of the statements from men who could not stop. Note how the triumph over a confirmed habit gave to many persons a sense of well-being and of strengthened character.

11. I know something of this feeling personally. For 23 years I had smoked cigarettes incessantly, sometimes 60 a day. In earlier years I had been able to stop for a week or two, but more recently I had never succeeded in stopping for more than a day. After many failures I decided that my studies of this habit-problem had been too superficial. Therefore, before trying again, I decided to write out a plan for breaking the habit.

12. Herewith is an abstract of that statement, written eight months before I stopped.

13. The strength of the smoking habit lies in the neuro-muscular chain of acts which is so easily set off. The whole body is involved. When not in motion, the chain sets up a craving until started, and when started, it has to go to the end. Therefore, instead of trying to stop it, I will interrupt this routine. When I reach for a cigarette I will put it down and wait. This will break the routine. Occasionally I will light up, but before taking a good puff, will put out the cigarette and wait for a few minutes.

14. At home in the evening, I shall place the pack on the mantel and schedule my smokes. Before the time is up, I may want to smoke, but to do so I shall have to walk to the mantel. By that act the routine cycle will have been broken and at times I shall be able to postpone the smoke. In this way the number of cigarettes per day will be reduced.

15. In short, I shall contrive frequent interruptions, frictions, delays in the smooth-flowing chain of habitual action. I shall do this for six months, so as gradually to break down the mechanism I have spent years in perfecting. I should be able to stop, in time, for a day or two without much difficulty; then maybe for a week, and ultimately altogether. I will set no definite date, but feel my way.

16. I formulated this plan in June, 1937. By January, 1938, I was stopping a day or two at a time. Since February first, I have not taken a puff.

17. Is this method one which smokers in general might try? Psychologists will agree that no single formula is applicable to every situation. Most of them will also agree that the formula laid down by William James, the great student of habit, is basically sound. His principles may be summarized as follows:

18. Make a strong resolution and base it on as many sound reasons as you can muster.

19. Never permit an exception until the new habit is firmly fixed.

20. Reaffirm your resolution from time to time, marshaling new reasons in support of it.

21. In our survey of the 145 men who had stopped smoking permanently and of the 366 who had stopped temporarily, we found that they had relied on three major methods. The most common was the method James advocated—to give up smoking at once and completely, with no concessions. The second method relies on substitutes, *i.e.*, a pipe, cigars, gum or candy. The third method is the well-known one of cutting down on cigarettes gradually.

22. Although the *abrupt* method was more widely used by the men we studied than the *gradual* method, we discovered that the percentage of those who succeeded in stopping permanently was considerably higher among those using the gradual method. My method of *interruptions* is a gradual method, with this important difference: it systematically practices smoking in ways which will disrupt the smooth flow of the habit chain. It breaks a monotonous series of automatic activities into single, unusual acts, each of which serves as a warning signal to the mind.

23. All such successful experiments are in sharp contrast to the expressed despair of the many who now consider themselves helpless victims of the cigarette. The control of this specific habit may not seem to be of any considerable social importance. But a defeatist attitude toward any of the habits of living is actually of vital concern—to parents, to children, and to society at large. It is this attitude which leads individuals to consider themselves victims of circumstances—victims of the depression, victims of politics, victims of miseducation, victims of an indulgent family, victims of unhappy experience.

24. The person who admits, openly or tacitly, his slavery to habit mechanisms, has lost the sense of self-mastery, and by the same token has become a less responsible and effective member of the community.

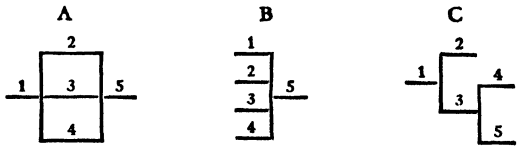
25. When I attended school our physiology textbook contained warnings again tobacco and alcoholism. However, I am unaware of any lessons in the grade schools which teach children even the simplest elements of forming habits and breaking them. Whether smoking is desirable or not, children have a right to be taught the mechanics of the habit *before they have acquired it.* The same is true of many other habits. Our educational system has concentrated on

mental development and has failed to give any understanding of the way emotional and personality habits are acquired or corrected.

26. The student who emerges from grade school, high school or college without the intelligent conviction that he is the creator of his habits, rather than their victim, is educated for defeat rather than for 150
power, for slavery rather than for freedom.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Note the word "trivial" in paragraph 5. If you will look up this word in a good dictionary you will get some interesting information as to how words are often formed and also as to how they sometimes change their meanings in the course of their development.
2. List half a dozen words which in meaning, in spelling, or in pronunciation are clearer to you than before you read the article. Be ready to report some item of interest about each of them.
3. Note the balanced structure of the first sentence of paragraph 1. What is the grammatical form of the two parallel expressions beginning with "that"?
4. In the first sentence of paragraph 9 show in detail how the two parts before "were" are parallel.
5. In the second sentence of paragraph 22 does the part before or the part after the colon explain the other part?
6. What appositive do you find in paragraph 17? How is it punctuated?
7. Refer to Appendix B-I and then explain why each of graphs A, B, and C does or does not accurately represent the structure of paragraph 6.



8. Draw a graph to illustrate the structure of paragraph 21. Use numbers to show the position of each sentence in the graph.
9. Note that paragraph 26 is stated negatively. Rewrite it in your own words, stating it affirmatively, substituting "with" where the author has used "without."
10. Make a précis of paragraph 5. Or of paragraph 11 (Omit the first sentence. Why?)

11. What evidence does the article give us for considering the author an authority on breaking the habit of smoking? Give specific references.
12. Does Dr. Link desire to discourage smoking? Is he interested in smoking because he considers it physically harmful or for some other reason? Check passages that support your conclusions on these points.
13. Can you easily identify the principles of paragraphs 18-20 with specific passages in William James' "Habit: Ally or Enemy," reprinted elsewhere in this volume?
14. Like "Habit" this article is charged with ideas which will challenge your experience. In a single paragraph give your reaction to some one of these ideas. In paragraph 5, for example, the author refers to "the increasing frequency with which individuals permit themselves to become the *creatures* of their habits rather than the *creators* of their environment." Does your experience support this somewhat pessimistic view? As the two italicized terms are here used do you consider yourself a *creature* or a *creator*? Why? Be frank and explicit. Or state your attitude toward the single-sentence assertion in paragraph 24. Or do you agree with the author in paragraph 25 that "children [in the grade schools] have a right to be taught the mechanism of the [smoking] habit *before they have acquired it*"? Or do you believe the attitude of the individual toward his habits as important as the author in paragraph 26 represents it to be? How far does the view of this paragraph support the assertion of William James in paragraph 16 of "Habit" that "the young . . . soon . . . will become mere walking bundles of habits"? In discussing any one of these ideas make some natural reference to it somewhere in your paragraph.
15. In a longer paper discuss Dr. Link's article as a whole. For suggested procedure refer to item 13 following "Habit: Ally or Enemy."

Scientific Principles Applied to the Breaking of Habit

DOUGLAS E. LAWSON

Douglas E. Lawson (1903–) took his first two degrees at the Colorado State College and the Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. A member of three educational honor societies, he is a frequent contributor to educational journals. He is Assistant Professor of Education and Assistant Principal of Brush Training School for Practice Teaching at Southern Illinois State Normal University. [*School and Society*, 45:831–2, June 12, 1937. By permission of the author and the publisher.]

1. It is the purpose of this article to describe an experiment in habit breaking, as carried on in the summer sociology classes in the high school of Southern Illinois Normal University.

2. The experiment about to be submitted here lies upon two hypotheses: first, that a response might be broken by creating a dissatisfying element to accompany its performance; and, second, that the dissatisfying element should eventually come to be present, even when the performer is not aware of his incipient or preparatory response to the old stimulus. If he responds to the urge with certain initial, preparatory movements, the dissatisfier must automatically occur as a concomitant inhibitor to prevent the completion of the habituated act.

3. It is thus seen why the mere determination to break a habit is usually insufficient. If it is such a habit as can be frequently indulged without conscious effort, there is no concomitant dissatisfaction. The only dissatisfaction provided is that which results from the knowledge of the act. Obviously, where such knowledge does not exist in time to prevent the act, the habit can not be broken. With all due credit given, then, to well-intentioned people who have tried valiantly to break habits by mere force of determination, it is suggested here that will power alone is not enough. When volitional perseverance fails, the consequent discouragement frequently expresses itself in terms of lost morale and a defeatist attitude of indifference.

4. In the present experiment, nineteen students, in a class of thirty-two, admitted the possession of faults that they wished to try to break

and agreed to enter upon a thirty-day experiment. In each case the student was assured that even the instructor would not know the intimate facts concerning the habit. Each student was asked to keep a record showing the exact number of times that the undesired act was performed. It was suggested that all reports be made anonymously.

5. Two requirements were made in the selection of a habit to be broken. First, it must be specifically identified. Vague attitudes, feelings or mental "conditions" could not be considered. The habit must be specific and recognizable when performed. In the second place, the habit must not be motivated through organic or systemic conditions, such as appetite for tobacco, sex urges or hereditary tendencies.

6. The following suggestive list of habits was offered to the class as examples:

(1) Use of particular slang words or profanity.
(2) Biting of finger nails.
(3) Simple English errors.
(4) Handling of nose, ears, chin, lips, etc.
(5) Twitching of facial muscles.
(6) "Cracking" of knuckles.
(7) Specific elements of poor table manners.
(8) Characteristic or careless manners of speech.
(9) Characteristic or careless ways of standing or walking.
(10) Specific errors in diction.

7. "Temper" was ruled out as being too general and partly conditioned by changes concurrent with adolescence. Tobacco and candy "habits" were considered as too much dependent upon bodily conditions. Any habit selected must be the result of a chance origin and perpetual practice.

8. Each student kept a record or calendar for thirty days. Each day an entry was made showing the total number of times the undesired act was performed. Each time it was performed, it must *immediately* be followed by the concomitant dissatisfier. For this purpose, the following remedial dissatisfiers were suggested:

(1) Removal and replacement of a shoe.
(2) Untying and re-tying of a shoe lace.
(3) Mentally counting to a given number.
(4) Mentally multiplying two two-place numbers.
(5) Mentally spelling some large word backwards.

9. At the end of thirty days the nineteen students were asked to submit their calendars, together with any explanatory notes they wished to offer. Reports were to be made anonymously. Each student was asked to indicate (1) whether he felt that the dissatisfaction had so completely transferred to the habit itself as to now automatically prevent the act without conscious inhibition and (2) whether any other device had been used to aid the breaking of the habit. No supplementary devices were reported.

10. Tabulation showed the following results:

No success whatever	1
Indifferent results	3
Encouraging results	9
Habit completely broken	6

11. Considering the possible insufficiency of the thirty-day period in the cases of the nine students reporting "encouraging results," it may be said that fifteen cases out of nineteen were successful. The one case reporting no success was that of a girl whose failure may possibly be attributed to the dissatisfaction selected. So worried was she over her habit that she revealed her identity and asked for further help. She had selected the habit of biting her nails. The remedial dissatisfaction was to be secured by having a friend slap her. The weaknesses of the plan are obvious, especially since the girl was with her friend only a small part of each day.

12. One case reporting no results, however, seems to have been a *bona fide* case of failure despite faithful association of a well-chosen dissatisfier as an immediate concomitant of the selected habit.

13. Replies from other students were encouraging. In several cases they indicated that the response (habit) had been inhibited to the point where they frequently failed to realize that the incipient urge had occurred until after it had both occurred and been suppressed.

14. A rather unusual report was written anonymously by a student who submitted a calendar showing that the undesired act had been performed eleven times on the first day of the trial period, four times on the second day, and only once on the third. No offenses are recorded again until the fourteenth day, on which day one is shown. After that, the record remains clear. The student stated: "You have helped me to break a four-year habit. Thank you very much."

15. A girl reports that she used the shoe-removing method of breaking the nail-biting habit. She says: "I haven't entirely broken myself of the habit, but my nails are a lot nicer now . . . I bit one of my nails

off yesterday during examinations; but the rest are long. It's the first time in my life that I have had any finger nails."

16. That students were surprised and pleased to find stubborn habits eradicable is evidenced by their replies. A typical statement: "I don't use my habit as I used to. I was very happy to find out I could some way break my habit." Says another: "Even my folks notice the difference in me. I thank you for telling me how to break this habit. . . ."

17. And another: "This habit is so terrible that I don't want to tell you what it is. Nobody knows when I do it. That's what makes it so hard to break. But I am breaking it."

18. Of his habit a boy remarks: "I broke it in two weeks." Says another: "The habit has been entirely broken; and I certainly am happy." Another adds: "I am going to break some more bad habits."

19. Other reports are similar. In general, the conclusion seems warranted that, by associating a concomitant dissatisfier closely with a wrong response, an effectual blocking of the incipient movements may be effected. The habit is not broken by purposeful avoidance but by creation of the correlative practice whose unpleasantness transfers to the habit with which it is closely associated. Thus the initiatory impulse of the habit is submerged under the transferred state of dissatisfaction. As a result, conscious inhibition becomes unnecessary. Practically speaking, the habit has been broken.

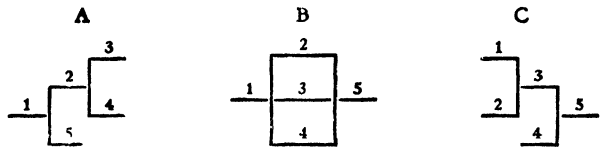
Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Avoiding the scientific language of the author, rewrite paragraphs 2, 3, and 19. Consult your dictionary for meanings if you find it necessary.
2. List two or three new words whose meanings were made at least partly clear by the context. In the second paragraph what word helps you to get the meaning of "incipient"?
3. In paragraph 4 note the hyphens with "thirty-two" and "thirty-day." How do these words differ in the way they are made?
4. In the first sentence of paragraph 2 study the punctuation as an aid to the structure of the sentence.
   a. Does the part following the colon explain the part preceding, or is the reverse true? Does the part preceding the colon have all the necessary elements of a sentence?

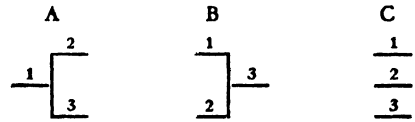
b. Does the semicolon separate everything preceding it in the sentence from everything following? What word in the sentence does the part before the semicolon help to explain? The part following? What is the grammatical structure of the part before the semicolon? Of the part following?

c. Explain the commas in the sentence. If you were to omit any of them, which would it be?

5. Refer to Appendix B-I and then comment on the accuracy of each of the following graphs of paragraph 5:



6. Tell why you approve or do not approve each of graphs A, B, and C for paragraph 7.



7. How far do you agree with the reasons given in paragraph 7 for ruling out temper, tobacco, and candy habits from the operation of the "concomitant dissatisfier"?

8. Compare the method of this experiment with the second maxim discussed by William James in paragraphs 8-11 of "Habit: Ally or Enemy" and with the plan explained by Dr. Link in paragraphs 12-15 of "So You're Going to Stop Smoking?" Which does it more resemble?

9. What habits have you to which the method of this investigation might apply?

10. If you wished to break some habit, which of the dissatisfiers of paragraph 8 would you choose? Why? Be careful of your answer, for it will reveal an aspect of your own character.

Examining Our Prejudices

MILDRED H. McAFEE

Mildred H. McAfee, now Mrs. Horton (1900–), B.A., Vassar College and M.A., University of Chicago, has received honorary degrees from twelve American colleges and universities After varied teaching and administrative experience, she was elected dean of women at Oberlin College in 1934 and president of Wellesley College two years later. In 1942 she became Director of the Women's Reserve, U. S. N. R., and in 1943 was promoted to the rank of captain. [This address was given before a Conference of Christians and Jews at Boston, March 27, 1942. By permission of Miss McAfee.]

1. We live in a country where all men are believed to have been created equal and to share the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness If we practiced what our faith preaches we should not witness the prejudice which keeps men of equal initial opportunity in a relationship of mutual antagonism and suspicion, nor would we tolerate the closing of the door of access to the expression of inalienable rights. We regret the existence of racial and religious prejudice which has made our differences divisive instead of merely differentiating. That prejudice we all deplore.

2 There are people who insist that religious prejudice, like any other kind, is an inevitable characteristic of human nature associated with the particular cleavages which now exist between social groups. To such people it is 'natural' and inevitable that Protestants and Catholics would be suspicious of each other, that Jews and Gentiles should fear each other, that because we differ we must dislike each other Not long ago an editorial in the Boston *Transcript* enjoined us to 'disagree without being disagreeable.' There are people who seem to believe sincerely that friendliness cannot remain in the realm of religious differences. I protest that assumption.

3 Prejudice is a social habit, not a social law. It develops in the course of history in response to conditions which historians, sociologists, social psychologists can describe and analyze. We cannot turn the clock back to unmake the conditions which have given rise to twentieth-

century inherited prejudices, but we can refuse to accept the false notion that hate or fear of each other is an inevitable trait of human nature. Fear and hate are basic, elementary emotions, but the objects which excite them are culturally defined, and I protest the assumption that potentially rational human beings are incapable of re-defining groups and situations so that they will no longer incite prejudice.

4 In the passion of inflamed hate it is hard to conceive of new and friendly attitudes. In 1776 Americans were suspicious and fearful of the British. Have you thought how interesting it is that the city of Washington, named for a Revolutionary hero, should be the headquarters for 'all-out aid to Britain'? Attitudes do change. The longer the prejudice has been held, the harder it is to dislodge it, but to dislodge it is not impossible.

5 These are dogmatic assertions. The evidence on their behalf would take a long time to present. It takes three forms—the evidence of infancy, of past history, and of contemporary experience. Babies may fear the unknown but they do not exhibit spontaneously religious or race prejudice. Inherent biological reactions would presumably show themselves as soon as the situation develops which would call them forth The evidence of students of childhood points to the conclusion that prejudice is socially acquired, taught to children by adults and by other children. The story of history reveals changes in the status of prejudice. Sometimes the Catholics persecuted the Protestants. Sometimes the Protestants tortured the Catholics. Sometimes each accepts the other without antagonism. Sometimes anti-Semitism is rampant. Sometimes Jews and Gentiles live in amity with each other.

6. As to contemporary evidence, Hawaii as a social phenomenon has been the challenging delight of students of prejudice. I understand that while prejudice exists there, it is of a form radically different from that in this country.

7 In an article in the *Survey* for May 1, 1926, William Allen White said, 'The actual government of Hawaii is in the hands of a white industrial and financial oligarchy. As one racial group after another has come to the Island as coolies—the Chinese, the Koreans, the Japanese, and now last of all the Filipinos—the welfare work which these benevolent oligarchs have instituted, the schools, the clinics, the hospitals, the playgrounds, the employment agencies, the churches, the fair trading at the company stores, the ideal of a decent, minimum wage, have taken one group after another out of the coolie class into a trading class! The thing that has happened in Honolulu to the Asiatics is comparable with what happened in Boston to the Irish.

Coming as common laborers they have become, first, skilled laborers, then merchants, and their children are now in the professions. The fact that a fourth of the marriages of the Island cross race lines indicates how much self-respect these benevolent oligarchs have unconsciously injected by their institutions into the minds and hearts of these who were brought to the Island in another day and generation as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water.' I protest, then, the widespread assumption that prejudice is inevitable.

8. I further protest the assumption that the prejudice which exists is the result of deliberate and intentional meanness and lack of good-will on anyone's part. If it were, it would probably be easier to conquer. People could be preached to and told to change their ways; and a great many people would try to do it. But prejudice is a social habit, not a deliberately malicious act. We can accomplish little, therefore, by scolding people about their antagonisms. Try it some day and you will discover, of course, that your criticism will never be recognized or admitted by the prejudiced person. You know how it goes: 'Why, I don't dislike Jews, or Catholics, or Protestants. Some of my best friends are Jews [or Catholics, or Protestants]. I believe in giving everyone a chance, but you knows Jews [or Catholics, or Protestants] really would like to run the whole country and I just don't believe in letting them get into control, and if you give them [Jews or Catholics or Protestants] an inch they will soon be running all the rest of us [Jews or Catholics or Protestants] out.' That isn't malice. That's acceptance of certain social attitudes toward groups other than our own which seems so self-evident to the person expressing it, be he Jew, Catholic, or Protestant, that preaching at him gets just exactly nowhere.

9. The third assumption which I protest is that religious prejudice is caused by mere stupidity. Sometimes those who exhibit such prejudice most strongly are not the least intelligent people in our communities. Prejudice is a social habit, not a reasoned attitude, and the most highly skilled reasoners may know all the available facts and still act habitually in an unreasonable fashion.

10 The word 'prejudice' means 'pre-judgment.' Learning facts *after* judgment has been passed does astonishingly little to change the judgment.

11. A month before my appointment as president of Wellesley College was announced, I was arguing the merits of women's colleges with an extremely interesting, distinguished, and stubborn Chinese girl who had come to this country on the same boat with President Robert

Hutchins of the University of Chicago. She had evidently decided that any institution which could have such a handsome president was *ipso facto* more valuable than a woman's college, specifically Wellesley. She assured me that when Madame Chiang was here, Wellesley was a good college, but that 'everybody knew' it was rapidly degenerating. In view of its latest presidential appointment I could not deny the degeneration, but I was not willing to accept the general thesis that Wellesley had less to contribute to higher education than the University of Chicago. I argued that they were different from, but not better nor worse than, each other. I brought forward various arguments, 'facts,' which seemed relevant to me. She listened politely, but made it plain that my so-called facts proved nothing Finally I said, 'But, Jeanette, I do know more about this than you. I spent four years at a woman's college and spent another two years on its campus as an alumnae secretary after I was graduated. I also studied at the University of Chicago off and on for years. My facts ought to carry more weight than yours, since you have worked at neither sort of institution.' Her reply is a good illustration of the point I am trying to make. that our prejudices are not dependent on factual evidence. She said she questioned my judgment on the ground that, by my own confession, I had returned to my college after my graduation and spent two years there This action showed that I loved my college, and she asked me sweetly, 'Don't you remember that "love is blind"?'

12 We all argue in that way. Prejudice colors facts; destruction of prejudice by logical argument alone is quite hopeless.

13. Prejudice is a social habit Like every habit, it can be unlearned, but the unlearning of it is often at the expense of severe emotional strain. Because prejudice is a social habit, individuals free themselves of it with more difficulty than if it were the result of a personal idiosyncrasy, but eradication can be achieved and must be achieved if we are to accomplish the purposes of a nation 'worthy to be free.'

14 Breaking a habit involves a good many elements. It usually requires conscious attention to what has become habitual. It involves frequent checks on one's actions to see whether unconsciously the old habit operated and thus grew stronger instead of weaker. Usually the old habit can be more easily broken by substituting a new habit for the old. Prejudice against other racial faiths takes the overt forms of avoidance of representatives of those faiths, of uncomplimentary remarks about them, of acquiescence in adversely critical judgments on them Breaking that habit involves deliberate association, selection

of the favorable rather than the unfavorable comment, critical analysis of the adversely critical judgment. Breaking an unconscious habit necessitates conscious attention to the habit.

15. Such conduct is easy to expect of the person who wants to break the habit, but how may that desire arise in a prejudice-ridden situation? Chiefly by the contagion of prejudice-free personalities, of people who have seen the stultifying effect of antagonistic divisions between groups and have freed themselves of a bad habit of animosity or assumed superiority. Contagion can be encouraged by people who want it to spread. It is easier to maintain freedom from prejudice than to create it. The person determined to increase this freedom will do all in his power to avoid its loss. Youngsters of different religious groups will be introduced to each other as potential friends rather than as menacing threats. Even more important in this land of individuality, youngsters will be taught to avoid the injustice of categories which deny individuality

16. A pernicious social habit, closely allied with religious and race prejudice, is that of attributing undesirable traits to a whole group and interpreting every individual's expression of such traits as characteristic of his group Let a blond or a brunette exhibit temper, and he has the blame for it. Let a redhead do the same thing, and we say, 'What can you expect?' Let a Protestant cheat his customer, and he bears his own blame Let a Jew do it, and his entire race is invoked to carry the responsibility for him. The injustice of such hasty judgment is that redheads get no credit for the sunny dispositions of many of them Jews too rarely share the merit of their many philanthropic representatives.

17 We who would break the social habit of prejudice must learn to shatter the stupid, irrelevant generalizations we have too easily accepted about each other. We must teach our children and ourselves to judge other individuals on their own merits and not on the basis of preconceived ideas of their group's supposititious limitations. To the extent that we can thus recognize the differences between individuals within groups, we can redefine these groups, not as units characterized by the traits of their least desirable members, and therefore feared or scorned or hated, but as units including men and women like ourselves, good, bad, indifferent, possessed of the inalienable right to claim respect as human personalities.

18 Prejudice is a social habit, a bad social habit. To men and women of good will the world is too full of jobs to be done, of purposes to be accomplished, to excuse them for perpetuating bad habits.

May the National Conference of Christians and Jews serve an increasingly large group as an aid in freeing us from the habit of divisiveness, so that in this our good land God may, indeed, 'crown our good with brotherhood, from sea to shining sea.'

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and put in your notebook the meaning which is appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation

   inevitable (l. 11), enjoined (l. 16)
   dogmatic (l. 37), amity (l. 49)
   oligarchy (l. 56), antagonism (l. 48)
   benevolent (l. 59), malicious (l. 78)
   stultifying (l. 153), invoked (l. 169)

2. Treat the following words as you have treated those in the preceding list. Also note that the members of each pair or group derive from a common root. Trace them back to this root, and find examples of other words also derived from it. Also state what elements of the original meaning of the root are to be found in the derivatives.

   excite (l. 27), incite (l. 29)
   assumption (l. 19), presumably (l. 41)
   degenerating (l. 110), general (l. 112), generation (l. 70), generalization (l 175)
   radically (l. 52), eradication (l. 135)

3. Do you believe "that all men are created equal" and "that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights"? Exactly what does this principle of equality mean to you as a citizen of a democracy? Do you agree with the author's application of the principle in paragraph 1? To what famous document is there an allusion in paragraph 1?
4. Have you ever met someone who seemed to you very congenial and later been shocked, or at least surprised, to discover that he belonged to a different race or a different religious faith? What bearing does such an experience have on the view of paragraph 2?
5. If prejudice is "a social habit, not a social law," as paragraph 3 asserts, can we attack it as we would the habit of smoking or

biting the nails, or oversleeping in the morning? Can you see any important difference in these habits and the "habit" of prejudice? Of the emotions discussed in paragraph 3, which one is the most basic? That is, do prejudice and hate precede or follow fear?

6. One of the sentences in paragraph 5 makes a general statement which is then developed in some detail. How many parts are developed in paragraph 5? Where does the development end?
7. For the reader what is the value of sentences like the first one in paragraph 8? What other sentences in the address have the same value?
8. It is not always easy for an author to bring a personal experience to bear effectively on a general statement. What do you think of the experience in paragraph 11 in relation to the generalization in paragraph 12?
9. Do you have the social habit of prejudice? If you wished to break such a habit, how specifically would you apply the suggestions of paragraphs 14-15?
10. Do you agree with the author's view toward the generalizations of paragraph 16?
11. Frankly, what do you think of prejudice? Does it come from ill will, from stupidity, from fear, or is it a social habit which can be broken? Select some idea suggested in the items above or from your reading of "Examining Our Prejudices" and discuss it in such a paper as your instructor may prescribe.

So important are your habits that you cannot afford to leave this section without giving them careful consideration. Are they your ally or your enemy? Are you their master or their slave? Have you made full use of the information at your command for the development of the habits you wish to acquire? How far does your experience approve the principles announced by the several authors whose articles you have read and the experiences they have had? In your own habit formation, positive or negative, would you emphasize the will power of William James, the interrupters of Dr. Link, the "concomitant dissatisfiers" of Dr. Lawson, or the advice of Miss McAfee against prejudice? Against the background of study material in the section write a paper of such length as your instructor may direct. These titles may be suggestive:

How I Broke a Bad Habit (Formed a Good Habit)
A Habit I Should Like to Acquire (Break)
Why I Failed to Stop (Some Undesirable Habit)
Obstacles to My Habit Formation
How Far Habits Control My Daily Life
What I Have Recently Learned About Habit
I Have Examined My Prejudices
In Defense of Prejudice

Base your paper chiefly on your own experience, but let it show the influence of your reading in this section by referring to at least two of the articles. Make your references clear not only to your instructor and your classmates but also to an outsider.

IV

And the Truth Shall Make You Free

How straight is your thinking? How much assurance can you afford to place in the conclusions you reach on controversial issues? As you read, as you listen to speakers in private conversation, on the platform, or over the radio, what attitude do you take toward the ideas encountered—an attitude of acceptance or rejection in advance, or an attitude of suspended judgment? In studying any proposal are you biased by the position of some group to which you belong? Can you consider fairly the views of the opposition? How far do such "glittering generalities" as "democracy," how far does such "name-calling" as "subversive influences," affect your appraisal of ideas associated with these terms? How easy is it for you to believe that strange peoples or unfamiliar points of view may have anything to recommend them? From Matthew Arnold to Max Lerner, the authors in this section earnestly desire to free your thinking and help you to discover the truth.

The Function of Criticism at the Present Time

MATTHEW ARNOLD

In educational, religious, social, and literary criticism, Matthew Arnold (see "Literature and Science" elsewhere in this volume) takes rank among the elect. And the respect in which he is held by informed persons is almost entirely independent of whether they agree or disagree with his views in these several fields, but is due rather to the high seriousness of style and the disinterested motives which this essay shows. The essay was written after Arnold had produced most of his poetry and near the beginning of his career as a critic. It gives expression to principles in which Arnold firmly believed, though it can hardly be said that, in the controversial years that followed, he himself always observed them. The essay does, however, pretty well sum up Arnold's attitude toward the improvement of society, and he again and again emphasizes the ideas here set down. It is worth your careful reading. [From *Essays in Criticism*, (First Series, 1865).]

1. IT IS OF THE LAST IMPORTANCE that English criticism should clearly discern what rule for its course, in order to avail itself of the field now opening to it, and to produce fruit for the future, it ought to take. The rule may be summed up in one word,—*disinterestedness*. And how is criticism to show disinterestedness? By keeping aloof from what is called "the practical view of things"; by resolutely following the law of its own nature, which is to be a free play of the mind on all subjects which it touches. By steadily refusing to lend itself to any of those ulterior, political, practical considerations about ideas, which plenty of people will be sure to attach to them, which perhaps ought often to be attached to them, which in this country at any rate are certain to be attached to them quite sufficiently, but which criticism has really nothing to do with. Its business is, as I have said, simply to know the best that is known and thought in the world, and by in its

turn making this known, to create a current of true and fresh ideas. Its business is to do this with inflexible honesty, with due ability; but its business is to do no more, and to leave alone all questions of practical consequences and applications, questions which will never fail to have due prominence given to them. Else criticism, besides being really false to its own nature, merely continues in the old rut which it has hitherto followed in this country, and will certainly miss the chance now given to it. For what is at present the bane of criticism in this country? It is that practical considerations cling to it and stifle it. It subserves interests not its own. Our organs of criticism are organs of men and parties having practical ends to serve, and with them those practical ends are the first thing and the play of mind the second; so much play of mind as is compatible with the prosecution of those practical ends is all that is wanted. An organ like the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, having for its main function to understand and utter the best that is known and thought in the world, existing, it may be said, as just an organ for a free play of the mind, we have not. But we have the *Edinburgh Review*, existing as an organ of the old Whigs, and for as much play of mind as may suit its being that; we have the *Quarterly Review*, existing as an organ of the Tories, and for as much play of mind as may suit its being that; we have the *British Quarterly Review*, existing as an organ of the political Dissenters, and for as much play of mind as may suit its being that; we have the *Times*, existing as an organ of the common, satisfied, well-to-do Englishman, and for as much play of mind as may suit its being that. And so on through all the various fractions, political and religious, of our society; every fraction has, as such, its organ of criticism, but the notion of combining all fractions in the common pleasure of a free disinterested play of mind meets with no favour. Directly this play of mind wants to have more scope, and to forget the pressure of practical considerations a little, it is checked, it is made to feel the chain. We saw this the other day in the extinction, so much to be regretted, of the *Home and Foreign Review*. Perhaps in no organ of criticism in this country was there so much knowledge, so much play of mind; but these could not save it. The *Dublin Review* subordinates play of mind to the practical business of English and Irish Catholicism, and lives. It must needs be that men should act in sects and parties, that each of these sects and parties should have its organ, and should make this organ subserve the interests of its action; but it would be well, too, that there should be a criticism, not the minister of these interests, not their enemy, but absolutely and entirely independent of them. No other criticism will ever attain any

real authority or make any real way towards its end,—the creating a current of true and fresh ideas.

2. It is because criticism has so little kept in the pure intellectual sphere, has so little detached itself from practice, has been so directly polemical and controversial, that it has so ill accomplished, in this country, its best spiritual work; which is to keep man from a self-satisfaction which is retarding and vulgarising, to lead him towards perfection, by making his mind dwell upon what is excellent in itself, and the absolute beauty and fitness of things. A polemical practical criticism makes men blind even to the ideal imperfection of their practice, makes them willingly assert its ideal perfection, in order the better to secure it against attack; and clearly this is narrowing and baneful for them. If they were reassured on the practical side, speculative considerations of ideal perfection they might be brought to entertain, and their spiritual horizon would thus gradually widen. Sir Charles Adderley says to the Warwickshire farmers:—

> Talk of the improvement of breed! Why, the race we ourselves represent, the men and women, the old Anglo-Saxon race, are the best breed in the whole world. . . . The absence of a too enervating climate, too unclouded skies, and a too luxurious nature, has produced so vigorous a race of people, and has rendered us so superior to all the world.

3. Mr. Roebuck says to the Sheffield cutlers:—

> I look around me and ask what is the state of England? Is not property safe? Is not every man able to say what he likes? Can you not walk from one end of England to the other in perfect security? I ask you whether, the world over or in past history, there is anything like it? Nothing. I pray that our unrivaled happiness may last.

4. Now obviously there is a peril for poor human nature in words and thoughts of such exuberant self-satisfaction, until we find ourselves safe in the streets of the Celestial City.

> Das wenige verschwindet leicht dem Blicke
> Der vorwarts sieht, wie viel noch übrig bleibt—

says Goethe; "the little that is done seems nothing when we look forward and see how much we have yet to do." Clearly this is a better line of reflection for weak humanity, so long as it remains on this earthly field of labour and trial.

5. But neither Sir Charles Adderley nor Mr. Roebuck is by nature inaccessible to considerations of this sort. They only lose sight of them

owing to the controversial life we all lead, and the practical form which all speculation takes with us. They have in view opponents whose aim is not ideal, but practical; and in their zeal to uphold their own practice against these innovators, they go so far as even to attribute to this practice an ideal perfection. Somebody has been wanting to introduce a six-pound franchise, or to abolish church-rates, or to collect agricultural statistics by force, or to diminish local self-government. How natural, in reply to such proposals, very likely improper or ill-timed, to go a little beyond the mark, and to say stoutly, "Such a race of people as we stand, so superior to all the world! The old Anglo-Saxon race, the best breed in the whole world! I pray that our unrivalled happiness may last! I ask you whether, the world over or in past history, there is anything like it!" And so long as criticism answers this dithyramb by insisting that the old Anglo-Saxon race would be still more superior to all others if it had no church-rates, or that our unrivalled happiness would last yet longer with a six-pound franchise, so long will the strain, "The best breed in the whole world!" swell louder and louder, everything ideal and refining will be lost out of sight, and both the assailed and their critics will remain in a sphere, to say the truth, perfectly unvital, a sphere in which spiritual progression is impossible. But let criticism leave church-rates and the franchise alone, and in the most candid spirit, without a single lurking thought of practical innovation, confront with our dithyramb this paragraph on which I stumbled in a newspaper immediately after reading Mr. Roebuck:—

> A shocking child murder has just been committed at Nottingham. A girl named Wragg left the workhouse there on Saturday morning with her young illegitimate child. The child was soon afterwards found dead on Mapperly Hills, having been strangled. Wragg is in custody.

6. Nothing but that; but in juxtaposition with the absolute eulogies of Sir Charles Adderley and Mr. Roebuck, how eloquent, how suggestive are those few lines! "Our old Anglo-Saxon breed, the best in the whole world!"—how much that is harsh and ill-favoured there is in this best! *Wragg!* If we are to talk of ideal perfection, of "the best in the whole world," has any one reflected what a touch of grossness in our race, what an original shortcoming in the more delicate spiritual perceptions, is shown by the natural growth amongst us of such hideous names,—Higginbottom, Stiggins, Bugg! In Ionia and Attica they were luckier in this respect than "the best race in the world"; by the Ilissus there was no Wragg, poor thing! And "our unrivalled happiness";— what an element of grimness, bareness, and hideousness mixes with it

and blurs it; the workhouse, the dismal Mapperly Hills,—how dismal those who have seen them will remember;—the gloom, the smoke, the cold, the strangled illegitimate child! "I ask you whether, the world over or in past history, there is anything like it?" Perhaps not, one is inclined to answer; but at any rate, in that case, the world is very much to be pitied. And the final touch,—short, bleak, and inhuman: *Wragg is in custody*. The sex lost in the confusion of our unrivalled happiness; or (shall I say?) the superfluous Christian name lopped off by the straightforward vigour of our old Anglo-Saxon breed! There is profit for the spirit in such contrasts as this; criticism serves the cause of perfection by establishing them. By eluding sterile conflict, by refusing to remain in the sphere where alone narrow and relative conceptions have any worth and validity, criticism may diminish its momentary importance, but only in this way has it a chance of gaining admittance for those wider and more perfect conceptions to which all its duty is really owed. Mr. Roebuck will have a poor opinion of an adversary who replies to his defiant songs of triumph only by murmuring under his breath, *Wragg is in custody*; but in no other way will these songs of triumph be induced gradually to moderate themselves, to get rid of what in them is excessive and offensive, and to fall into a softer and truer key.

7. It will be said that it is a very subtle and indirect action which I am thus prescribing for criticism, and that by embracing in this manner the Indian virtue of detachment and abandoning the sphere of practical life, it condemns itself to a slow and obscure work. Slow and obscure it may be, but it is the only proper work of criticism. The mass of mankind will never have any ardent zeal for seeing things as they are; very inadequate ideas will always satisfy them. On these inadequate ideas reposes, and must repose, the general practice of the world. That is as much as saying that whoever sets himself to see things as they are will find himself one of a very small circle; but it is only by this small circle resolutely doing its own work that adequate ideas will ever get current at all. The rush and roar of practical life will always have a dizzying and attracting effect upon the most collected spectator, and tend to draw him into its vortex; most of all will this be the case where that life is so powerful as it is in England. But it is only by remaining collected, and refusing to lend himself to the point of view of the practical man, that the critic can do the practical man any service; and it is only by the greatest sincerity in pursuing his own course, and by at last convincing even the practical man of his sincerity, that he can escape misunderstandings which perpetually threaten him.

8. For the practical man is not apt for fine distinctions, and yet in these distinctions truth and the highest culture greatly find their account. But it is not easy to lead a practical man,—unless you reassure him as to your practical intentions, you have no chance of leading him,—to see that a thing which he has always been used to look at from one side only, which he greatly values, and which, looked at from that side, quite deserves, perhaps, all the prizing and admiring which he bestows upon it,—that this thing, looked at from another side, may appear much less beneficent and beautiful, and yet retain all its claims to our practical allegiance. Where shall we find language innocent enough, how shall we make the spotless purity of our intentions evident enough, to enable us to say to the political Englishman that the British Constitution itself, which, seen from the practical side, looks such a magnificent organ of progress and virtue, seen from the speculative side,—with its compromises, its love of facts, its horror of theory, its studied avoidance of clear thoughts,—that, seen from this side, our august Constitution sometimes looks,—forgive me, shade of Lord Somers!—a colossal machine for the manufacture of Philistines? How is Cobbett to say this and not be misunderstood, blackened as he is with the smoke of a life-long conflict in the field of political practice? how is Mr. Carlyle to say it and not be misunderstood, after his furious raid into this field with his *Latterday Pamphlets*? how is Mr. Ruskin, after his pugnacious political economy? I say, the critic must keep out of the region of immediate practice in the political, social, humanitarian sphere, if he wants to make a beginning for that more free speculative treatment of things, which may perhaps one day make its benefits felt even in this sphere, but in a natural and thence irresistible manner.

9. Do what he will, however, the critic will still remain exposed to frequent misunderstandings, and nowhere so much as in this country. For here people are particularly indisposed even to comprehend that without this free disinterested treatment of things, truth and the highest culture are out of the question. So immersed are they in practical life, so accustomed to take all their notions from this life and its processes, that they are apt to think that truth and culture themselves can be reached by the processes of this life, and that it is an impertinent singularity to think of reaching them in any other. "We are all *terrae filii*," cries their eloquent advocate; "all Philistines together. Away with the notion of proceeding by any other course than the course dear to the Philistines; let us have a social movement, let us organize and combine a party to pursue truth and new thought, let us call it *the liberal party*, and let us all stick to each other, and back each other up. Let us have

no nonsense about independent criticism, and intellectual delicacy, and the few and the many. Don't let us trouble ourselves about foreign thought; we shall invent the whole thing for ourselves as we go along. If one of us speaks well, applaud him; if one of us speaks ill, applaud him too; we are all in the same movement, we are all liberals, we are all in pursuit of truth." In this way the pursuit of truth becomes really a social, practical, pleasurable affair, almost requiring a chairman, a secretary, and advertisements; with the excitement of an occasional scandal, with a little resistance to give the happy sense of difficulty overcome; but, in general, plenty of bustle and very little thought. To act is so easy, as Goethe says; to think is so hard! It is true that the critic has many temptations to go with the stream, to make one of the party movement, one of these *terrae filii*; it seems ungracious to refuse to be a *terrae filius*, when so many excellent people are; but the critic's duty is to refuse, or, if resistance is vain, at least to cry with Obermann: *Périssons en résistant.*

10. But stop, some one will say; all this talk is of no practical use to us whatever; this criticism of yours is not what we have in our minds when we speak of criticism; when we speak of critics and criticism, we mean critics and criticism of the current English literature of the day; when you offer to tell criticism its function, it is to this criticism that we expect you to address yourself. I am sorry for it, for I am afraid I must disappoint these expectations. I am bound by my own definition of criticism: *a disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world.* How much of current English literature comes into this "best that is known and thought in the world"? Not very much, I fear; certainly less, at this moment, than of the current literature of France or Germany. Well, then, am I to alter my definition of criticism, in order to meet the requirements of a number of practising English critics, who, after all, are free in their choice of a business? That would be making criticism lend itself just to one of those alien practical considerations, which, I have said, are so fatal to it. One may say, indeed, to those who have to deal with the mass—so much better disregarded—of current English literature, that they may at all events endeavour, in dealing with this, to try it, so far as they can, by the standard of the best that is known and thought in the world; one may say, that to get anywhere near this standard, every critic should try and possess one great literature, at least, besides his own; and the more unlike his own, the better. But, after all, the criticism I am really concerned with,—the criticism which alone can much help us for the future, the criticism which, throughout Europe, is at

the present day meant, when so much stress is laid on the importance of criticism and the critical spirit,—is a criticism which regards Europe as being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working to a common result; and whose members have, for their proper outfit, a knowledge of Greek, Roman, and Eastern antiquity, and of one another. Special, local, and temporary advantages being put out of account, that modern nation will in the intellectual and spiritual sphere make most progress, which most thoroughly carries out this programme. And what is that but saying that we too, all of us, as individuals, the more thoroughly we carry it out, shall make the more progress?

11. There is so much inviting us!—what are we to take? what will nourish us in growth towards perfection? That is the question which, with the immense field of life and of literature lying before him, the critic has to answer; for himself first, and afterwards for others. In this idea of the critic's business the essays brought together in the following pages [1] have had their origin; in this idea, widely different as are their subjects, they have, perhaps, their unity.

12. I conclude with what I said at the beginning: to have the sense of creative activity is the great happiness and the great proof of being alive, and it is not denied to criticism to have it; but then criticism must be sincere, simple, flexible, ardent, ever widening its knowledge. Then it may have, in no contemptible measure, a joyful sense of creative activity; a sense which a man of insight and conscience will prefer to what he might derive from a poor, starved, fragmentary, inadequate creation. And at some epochs no other creation is possible.

13. Still, in full measure, the sense of creative activity belongs only to genuine creation; in literature we must never forget that. But what true man of letters ever can forget it? It is no such common matter for a gifted nature to come into possession of a current of true and living ideas, and to produce amidst the inspiration of them, that we are likely to underrate it. The epochs of Aeschylus and Shakespeare make us feel their pre-eminence. In an epoch like those is, no doubt, the true life of a literature; there is the promised land, towards which criticism can only beckon. That promised land it will not be ours to enter, and we shall die in the wilderness: but to have desired to enter it, to have saluted it from afar, is already, perhaps, the best distinction among contemporaries; it will certainly be the best title to esteem with posterity.

[1] See item 16 in study material following the article.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. In the title and in the first sentence appears the word "criticism," which occurs often in the article. Look it up in your dictionary and decide whether Arnold uses it in its more common or its less common meaning. Look up the word "practical" (line 6) in the same way. List a few other words whose meanings are made clearer to you as you read the article.
2. In the third sentence of the first paragraph one of the relative clauses beginning with "which" changes or "restricts" the meaning of the noun it modifies. How does this difference in the character of the two clauses affect the punctuation immediately before "which"?
3. Do Arnold's long sentences make for easy understanding of his ideas or do they hinder it? Compare the length and general structure of his sentences with the same aspects of sentences in articles by other more recent writers in this section and elsewhere in the volume.
4. Arnold's essay, printed here in thirteen paragraphs, was written by him in ten. How does the essay compare in this respect with the slightly shorter article by Walter Lippmann which follows? Try to develop for yourself an effective paragraph structure which will present to your reader relatively small but well unified ideas in logical sequence.
5. Early in the first paragraph occurs an expression which has been quoted or referred to again and again, often by writers not at all aware that Arnold was responsible for it. Note Huxley's use of it in paragraph 17 of "Science and Culture" elsewhere in this volume. Do you agree with Arnold that the business of criticism is *only* "to know the best that is known and thought in the world, and by in its turn making this known, to create a current of true and fresh ideas"?
6. In the next several sentences of this first, long paragraph, Arnold condemns criticism "in this country." What country? Is the criticism in which you engage, is that of your acquaintances, is the discussion of political and social questions which you read in the newspapers, or hear over the radio, at all subject to Arnold's charge that it is governed by "practical ends," that is, by self interest?

7. What magazine or newspaper do you know which you consider entitled to the high praise that Arnold in paragraph 1 gives to the *Revue des Deux Mondes?* Try a classification of magazines or newspapers in this country after the manner of Arnold's classification of the *Edinburgh Review,* the *Quarterly Review,* the *British Quarterly Review,* the *Times,* and the *Dublin Review.*
8. How far do you agree with Arnold's insistence at the end of paragraph 1 that no other criticism than the kind he demands can ever bring about "a current of true and fresh ideas"?
9. In paragraph 2 how do you react to the patriotic fervor of Sir Charles Adderley and Mr. Roebuck? Do you or do you not agree that the quotation from Goethe states a more defensible attitude toward one's country or one's home community?
10. In paragraph 5 the expressions "six-pound franchise" and "church-rates" may be unfamiliar to you, but they will give you no difficulty with the meaning of the paragraph. How far do you accept Arnold's view that to claim that things are pretty good as they are is not an effective argument against a proposal for some change?
11. Is the Wragg incident a good antidote to the enthusiastic patriotism of Adderley and Roebuck? How convincing is Arnold's contrast between British names and those of Ionia and Attica? Do you feel at all that Arnold makes more of the Wragg incident than its importance merits?
12. Do you believe with Arnold in paragraph 7 that "the mass of mankind will never have any ardent zeal for seeing things as they are"? If, as he says, "whoever sets himself to see things as they are will find himself one of a very small circle," what appeal would such an objective have for you? What advantages in this case or in general would there be in going with the majority?
13. If a thing deserves approval in spite of imperfections what, if any, advantage is there in seeing its imperfections, as suggested in the second sentence of paragraph 8? Are you familiar with any local, state, or national institution which you would classify somewhat as Arnold does the British Constitution?
14. If the critic takes the position recommended by Arnold at the end of paragraph 8 how will his influence ever be felt "in the political, social, humanitarian sphere"?
15. In what way other than "by the processes of this life" referred to in paragraph 9 may truth and culture be acquired? Could you fairly apply to any campus or other organization Arnold's criticism in this paragraph of *"the liberal party"*? How de-

fensible in practice do you consider this method of running an organization? As a member of some organization how free would you consider yourself to criticize it where opponents could hear your criticism? Are the Latin and French expressions in paragraph 9 obstacles to you? Arnold takes it for granted that you will understand them.

16. Arnold's refusal at the beginning of paragraph 10 to apply himself to "the current English literature of the day" is explained in part by the fact that this essay is the introduction to his volume *Essays in Criticism* (First Series, 1865). This work confines itself largely to a discussion of principles illustrated in the lives of thinkers and writers—Latin, German, French, Dutch—all foreign to Great Britain. Do you consider adequate Arnold's justification of this procedure in paragraph 10 and again in paragraph 11?
17. In the last two sentences of paragraph 10 note the passage referred to both by Huxley in paragraph 17 of "Science and Culture" and by Arnold in paragraph 3 of "Literature and Science," both elsewhere in this volume.
18. Although Arnold's ideas in this essay are for the most part relatively easy to understand, he does insist on straight thinking with reference to fundamental points of view toward life. Select some idea that appeals to you for brief treatment, and whether you agree or disagree, give your own opinion of it in a single paragraph.
19. Or think your way through to a conclusion you can defend on some issue raised by Arnold and present your views in a paper of such length as your instructor may direct. For this treatment or the briefer one in item 18, you will find many suggestions in items 2-17.

The Indispensable Opposition

WALTER LIPPMANN

In the effort to develop and to clarify the principles of democracy in America Walter Lippmann (1889–) has been an important factor. Since 1913 he has written many books and much for magazine and newspaper publication. Perhaps nothing he has done more nearly typifies the spirit of his pen than does the article here reprinted. He presents an interesting interpretation of the freedom of speech of which he has been an insistent advocate. [*Atlantic Monthly*, 164:186–190, August, 1939. By permission of the author and the publisher.]

1. WERE THEY PRESSED hard enough, most men would probably confess that political freedom—that is to say, the right to speak freely and to act in opposition—is a noble ideal rather than a practical necessity. As the case for freedom is generally put to-day, the argument lends itself to this feeling. It is made to appear that, whereas each man claims his freedom as a matter of right, the freedom he accords to other men is a matter of toleration. Thus, the defense of freedom of opinion tends to rest not on its substantial, beneficial, and indispensable consequences, but on a somewhat eccentric, a rather vaguely benevolent, attachment to an abstraction.

2. It is all very well to say with Voltaire, "I wholly disapprove of what you say, but will defend to the death your right to say it," but as a matter of fact most men will not defend to the death the rights of other men: if they disapprove sufficiently what other men say, they will somehow suppress those men if they can.

3. So, if this is the best that can be said for liberty of opinion, that a man must tolerate his opponents because everyone has a "right" to say what he pleases, then we shall find that liberty of opinion is a luxury, safe only in pleasant times when men can be tolerant because they are not deeply and vitally concerned.

4. Yet actually, as a matter of historic fact, there is a much stronger foundation for the great constitutional right of freedom of speech, and as a matter of practical human experience there is a much more com-

pelling reason for cultivating the habits of free men. We take, it seems to me, a naïvely self-righteous view when we argue as if the right of our opponents to speak were something that we protect because we are magnanimous, noble, and unselfish. The compelling reason why, if liberty of opinion did not exist, we should have to invent it, why it will eventually have to be restored in all civilized countries where it is now suppressed, is that we must protect the right of our opponents to speak because we must hear what they have to say.

5. We miss the whole point when we imagine that we tolerate the freedom of our political opponents as we tolerate a howling baby next door, as we put up with the blasts from our neighbor's radio because we are too peaceable to heave a brick through the window. If this were all there is to freedom of opinion, that we are too good-natured or too timid to do anything about our opponents and our critics except to let them talk, it would be difficult to say whether we are tolerant because we are magnanimous or because we are lazy, because we have strong principles or because we lack serious convictions, whether we have the hospitality of an inquiring mind or the indifference of an empty mind. And so, if we truly wish to understand why freedom is necessary in a civilized society, we must begin by realizing that, because freedom of discussion improves our own opinions, the liberties of other men are our own vital necessity.

6. We are much closer to the essence of the matter, not when we quote Voltaire, but when we go to the doctor and pay him to ask us the most embarrassing questions and to prescribe the most disagreeable diet. When we pay the doctor to exercise complete freedom of speech about the cause and cure of our stomachache, we do not look upon ourselves as tolerant and magnanimous, and worthy to be admired by ourselves. We have enough common sense to know that if we threaten to put the doctor in jail because we do not like the diagnosis and the prescription it will be unpleasant for the doctor, to be sure, but equally unpleasant for our own stomachache. That is why even the most ferocious dictator would rather be treated by a doctor who was free to think and speak the truth than by his own Minister of Propaganda. For there is a point, the point at which things really matter, where the freedom of others is no longer a question of their right but of our own need.

7. The point at which we recognize this need is much higher in some men than in others. The totalitarian rulers think they do not need the freedom of an opposition: they exile, imprison, or shoot their opponents. We have concluded on the basis of practical experience,

which goes back to Magna Carta and beyond, that we need the opposition. We pay the opposition salaries out of the public treasury.

8. In so far as the usual apology for freedom of speech ignores this experience, it becomes abstract and eccentric rather than concrete and human. The emphasis is generally put on the right to speak, as if all that mattered were that the doctor should be free to go out into the park and explain to the vacant air why I have a stomachache. Surely that is a miserable caricature of the great civic right which men have bled and died for. What really matters is that the doctor should tell *me* what ails me, that I should listen to him; that if I do not like what he says I should be free to call in another doctor; and that then the first doctor should have to listen to the second doctor; and that out of all the speaking and listening, the give-and-take of opinions, the truth should be arrived at.

9. This is the creative principle of freedom of speech, not that it is a system for the tolerating of error, but that it is a system for finding the truth. It may not produce the truth, or the whole truth all the time, or often, or in some cases ever. But if the truth can be found, there is no other system which will normally and habitually find so much truth. Until we have thoroughly understood this principle, we shall not know why we must value our liberty, or how we can protect and develop it.

II

10. Let us apply this principle to the system of public speech in a totalitarian state. We may, without any serious falsification, picture a condition of affairs in which the mass of the people are being addressed through one broadcasting system by one man and his chosen subordinates. The orators speak. The audience listens but cannot and dare not speak back. It is a system of one-way communication; the opinions of the rulers are broadcast outwardly to the mass of the people. But nothing comes back to the rulers from the people except the cheers; nothing returns in the way of knowledge of forgotten facts, hidden feelings, neglected truths, and practical suggestions.

11. But even a dictator cannot govern by his own one-way inspiration alone. In practice, therefore, the totalitarian rulers get back the reports of the secret police and of their party henchmen down among the crowd. If these reports are competent, the rulers may manage to remain in touch with public sentiment. Yet that is not enough to know what the audience feels. The rulers have also to make great

decisions that have enormous consequences, and here their system provides virtually no help from the give-and-take of opinion in the nation. So they must either rely on their own intuition, which cannot be permanently and continually inspired, or, if they are intelligent despots, encourage their trusted advisers and their technicians to speak and debate freely in their presence.

12. On the walls of the houses of Italian peasants one may see inscribed in large letters the legend, "Mussolini is always right." But if that legend is taken seriously by Italian ambassadors, by the Italian General Staff, and by the Ministry of Finance, then all one can say is heaven help Mussolini, heaven help Italy, and the new Emperor of Ethiopia.

13. For at some point, even in a totalitarian state, it is indispensable that there should exist the freedom of opinion which causes opposing opinions to be debated. As time goes on, that is less and less easy under a despotism; critical discussion disappears as the internal opposition is liquidated in favor of men who think and feel alike. That is why the early successes of despots, of Napoleon I and of Napoleon III, have usually been followed by an irreparable mistake. For in listening only to his yes men—the others being in exile or in concentration camps, or terrified—the despot shuts himself off from the truth that no man can dispense with.

14. We know all this well enough when we contemplate the dictatorships. But when we try to picture our own system, by way of contrast, what picture do we have in our minds? It is, is it not, that anyone may stand up on his own soapbox and say anything he pleases, like the individuals in Kipling's poem who sit each in his separate star and draw the Thing as they see it for the God of Things as they are. Kipling, perhaps, could do this, since he was a poet. But the ordinary mortal isolated on his separate star will have an hallucination, and a citizenry declaiming from separate soapboxes will poison the air with hot and nonsensical confusion.

15. If the democratic alternative to the totalitarian one-way broadcasts is a row of separate soapboxes, then I submit that the alternative is unworkable, is unreasonable, and is humanly unattractive. It is above all a false alternative. It is not true that liberty has developed among civilized men when anyone is free to set up a soapbox, is free to hire a hall where he may expound his opinions to those who are willing to listen. On the contrary, freedom of speech is established to achieve its essential purpose only when different opinions are expounded in the same hall to the same audience.

16. For, while the right to talk may be the beginning of freedom, the necessity of listening is what makes the right important. Even in Russia and Germany a man may still stand in an open field and speak his mind. What matters is not the utterance of opinions. What matters is the confrontation of opinions in debate. No man can care profoundly that every fool should say what he likes. Nothing has been accomplished if the wisest man proclaims his wisdom in the middle of the Sahara Desert. This is the shadow. We have the substance of liberty when the fool is compelled to listen to the wise man and learn; when the wise man is compelled to take account of the fool, and to instruct him; when the wise man can increase his wisdom by hearing the judgment of his peers.

17. That is why civilized men must cherish liberty—as a means of promoting the discovery of truth. So we must not fix our whole attention on the right of anyone to hire his own hall, to rent his own broadcasting station, to distribute his own pamphlets. These rights are incidental; and though they must be preserved, they can be preserved only by regarding them as incidental, as auxiliary to the substance of liberty that must be cherished and cultivated.

18. Freedom of speech is best conceived, therefore, by having in mind the picture of a place like the American Congress, an assembly where opposing views are represented, where ideas are not merely uttered but debated, or the British Parliament, where men who are free to speak are also compelled to answer. We may picture the true condition of freedom as existing in a place like a court of law, where witnesses testify and are cross-examined, where the lawyer argues against the opposing lawyer before the same judge and in the presence of one jury. We may picture freedom as existing in a forum where the speaker must respond to questions; in a gathering of scientists where the data, the hypothesis, and the conclusion are submitted to men competent to judge them; in a reputable newspaper which not only will publish the opinions of those who disagree but will reëxamine its own opinion in the light of what they say.

19. Thus the essence of freedom of opinion is not in mere toleration as such, but in the debate which toleration provides: it is not in the venting of opinion, but in the confrontation of opinion. That this is the practical substance can readily be understood when we remember how differently we feel and act about the censorship and regulation of opinion purveyed by different media of communication. We find then that, in so far as the medium makes difficult the confrontation of opinion in debate, we are driven towards censorship and regulation.

20. There is, for example, the whispering campaign, the circulation of anonymous rumors by men who cannot be compelled to prove what they say. They put the utmost strain on our tolerance, and there are few who do not rejoice when the anonymous slanderer is caught, exposed, and punished. At a higher level there is the moving picture, a most powerful medium for conveying ideas, but a medium which does not permit debate. A moving picture cannot be answered effectively by another moving picture; in all free countries there is some censorship of the movies, and there would be more if the producers did not recognize their limitations by avoiding political controversy. There is then the radio. Here debate is difficult: it is not easy to make sure that the speaker is being answered in the presence of the same audience. Inevitably, there is some regulation of the radio.

21. When we reach the newspaper press, the opportunity for debate is so considerable that discontent cannot grow to the point where under normal conditions there is any disposition to regulate the press. But when newspapers abuse their power by injuring people who have no means of replying, a disposition to regulate the press appears. When we arrive at Congress we find that, because the membership of the House is so large, full debate is impracticable. So there are restrictive rules. On the other hand, in the Senate, where the conditions of full debate exist, there is almost absolute freedom of speech.

22. This shows us that the preservation and development of freedom of opinion are not only a matter of adhering to abstract legal rights, but also, and very urgently, a matter of organizing and arranging sufficient debate. Once we have a firm hold on the central principle, there are many practical conclusions to be drawn. We then realize that the defense of freedom of opinion consists primarily in perfecting the opportunity for an adequate give-and-take of opinion; it consists also in regulating the freedom of those revolutionists who cannot or will not permit or maintain debate when it does not suit their purposes.

23. We must insist that free oratory is only the beginning of free speech; it is not the end, but a means to an end. The end is to find the truth. The practical justification of civil liberty is not that self-expression is one of the rights of man. It is that the examination of opinion is one of the necessities of man. For experience tells us that it is only when freedom of opinion becomes the compulsion to debate that the seed which our fathers planted has produced its fruit. When that is understood, freedom will be cherished not because it is a vent for our opinions but because it is the surest method of correcting them.

24. The unexamined life, said Socrates, is unfit to be lived by man.

This is the virtue of liberty, and the ground on which we may best justify our belief in it, that it tolerates error in order to serve the truth. When men are brought face to face with their opponents, forced to listen and learn and mend their ideas, they cease to be children and savages and begin to live like civilized men. Then only is freedom a reality, when men may voice their opinions because they must examine their opinions.

III

25. The only reason for dwelling on all this is that if we are to preserve democracy we must understand its principles. And the principle which distinguishes it from all other forms of government is that in a democracy the opposition not only is tolerated as constitutional but must be maintained because it is in fact indispensable.

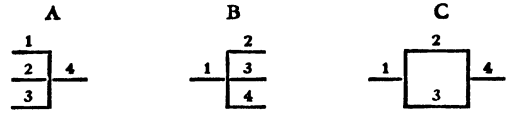
26. The democratic system cannot be operated without effective opposition. For, in making the great experiment of governing people by consent rather than by coercion, it is not sufficient that the party in power should have a majority. It is just as necessary that the party in power should never outrage the minority. That means that it must listen to the minority and be moved by the criticisms of the minority. That means that its measures must take account of the minority's objections, and that in administering measures it must remember that the minority may become the majority.

27. The opposition is indispensable. A good statesman, like any other sensible human being, always learns more from his opponents than from his fervent supporters. For his supporters will push him to disaster unless his opponents show him where the dangers are. So if he is wise he will often pray to be delivered from his friends, because they will ruin him. But, though it hurts, he ought also to pray never to be left without opponents; for they keep him on the path of reason and good sense.

28. The national unity of a free people depends upon a sufficiently even balance of political power to make it impracticable for the administration to be arbitrary and for the opposition to be revolutionary and irreconciliable. Where that balance no longer exists, democracy perishes. For unless all the citizens of a state are forced by circumstances to compromise, unless they feel that they can affect policy but that no one can wholly dominate it, unless by habit and necessity they have to give and take, freedom cannot be maintained.

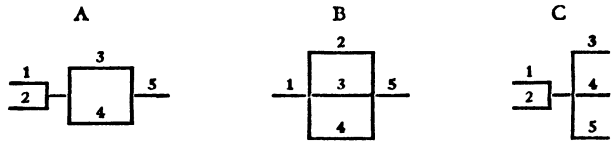
Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Consult Appendix B-I and then decide which of graphs A, B, and C best indicates the structure of paragraph 1.



Defend your choice.

2. As in item 1 choose the most accurate graph for paragraph 6.



3. Make a précis of paragraph 5. Of paragraph 16. Of paragraph 19.
4. Is the last sentence of paragraph 16 simple, complex, or compound? What words constitute the first element of the series? What is the grammatical structure of each element? Why is the semicolon a better mark of separation here than the comma?
5. As in item 4 study the structure and the punctuation of the fourth sentence in paragraph 8. Of the second sentence in paragraph 17. Of the last sentence in paragraph 18. Of the last sentence in paragraph 28.
6. When Mr. Lippmann connects main clauses with coordinating conjunctions, what punctuation does he use to separate the clauses? See among others the one sentence of paragraph 2, the first sentence of paragraph 4, the last two sentences of paragraph 10, the last sentence of paragraph 17, and the two sentences of paragraph 25. Why is the punctuation not uniform?
7. What do you think of the quotation from Voltaire in paragraph 2? Do you believe that persons with ideas violently opposed to yours (those of the majority) should be allowed freely to express themselves? Test this by an extreme case, say the right of anarchists to preach overthrow of the government.
8. Explain how "freedom of discussion improves our own opinions," as suggested in paragraph 5.
9. In the analogy of paragraph 6 how is the doctor like the unpopular minority? How different? Note the extension of the analogy in paragraph 8. How effective do you consider it?

10. What was gained by Magna Carta that shows the value of the opposition?
11. In the light of paragraph 9 how far would you support freedom of speech in this country, on the campus, in the classroom, in your own particular circle? How would your answer be affected by conditions of peace or war?
12. In paragraph 10 study the second important analogy. In presenting it as being "without any serious falsification" what idea in the last sentence of the paragraph does Mr. Lippmann possibly have in mind? Note how this analogy is subordinated, though not abandoned, through paragraphs 11-14 and then comes back into the foreground in combination with the soap-box analogy in paragraph 15.
13. How far do you agree with the view of paragraphs 15-16 that the necessity of listening is inherently a part of the right of free speech? How does the doctor analogy apply here?
14. Comparatively how clean a bill of health on free speech does the picture in paragraph 18 give our country? Do you agree?
15. How many of the limitations on freedom of speech suggested in paragraph 20 do you approve? If censorship is based on the principle stated in the last sentence of paragraph 19 and illustrated in paragraph 20 should Mr. Lippmann's own controversial writings in the daily newspapers or, say, in the *Atlantic Monthly* be subject to censorship? Does paragraph 21 convincingly justify freedom of newspapers from the censorship imposed on moving pictures and the radio?
16. How far is paragraph 23 a statement of a new principle and how far a restatement of the principle of paragraph 9?
17. Do you accept the distinction made in paragraph 25 between democracy and "all other forms of government"?
18. What bearing does the argument in paragraphs 26-28 have on the desirability of landslides in national, state, or local elections?
19. Have you known of any case in which the right of free speech has been denied or in which an attempt has been made to deny it? Had those interfered with made adequate provision for debate? Do you consider the suppression or attempt at suppression justified? Was the law or the pressure of public opinion used in the suppression?
20. Write a single paragraph or a short paper on some topic suggested in items 7-19. Or in a longer paper state in some detail your own view of free speech in America or elsewhere. Write with firmness and conviction but with moderation. Let your paper show how you have broadened your own narrow experience by reading in this section and possibly in other related sections of this volume.

On the Purpose of This Volume

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

James Harvey Robinson (1863–1936) exercised a profound influence on American life. His textbook *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, published in 1903, and his lectures at the University of Pennsylvania and at Columbia University did much in the study of history to change the emphasis from war and politics to the social and the natural sciences. Professor Robinson held that we cling to outworn ideas largely because we accept them without inquiring whether they really do fit present actual conditions. The article here reprinted constitutes a good brief introduction not only to *The Mind in the Making*, but to Robinson's entire philosophy as well. [Section 1 of *The Mind in the Making*, Harper, 1921. By permission of the publisher.]

1. If some magical transformation could be produced in men's ways of looking at themselves and their fellows, no inconsiderable part of the evils which now afflict society would vanish away or remedy themselves automatically. If the majority of influential persons held the opinions and occupied the point of view that a few rather uninfluential people now do, there would, for instance, be no likelihood of another great war; the whole problem of "labor and capital" would be transformed and attenuated; national arrogance, race animosity, political corruption, and inefficiency would all be reduced below the danger point. As an old Stoic proverb has it, men are tormented by the opinions they have of things, rather than by the things themselves. This is eminently true of many of our worst problems to-day. We have available knowledge and ingenuity and material resources to make a far fairer world than that in which we find ourselves, but various obstacles prevent our intelligently availing ourselves of them. The object of this book is to substantiate this proposition, to exhibit with entire frankness the tremendous difficulties that stand in the way of such a beneficent change of mind, and to point out as clearly as may be some of the measures to be taken in order to overcome them.

2. When we contemplate the shocking derangement of human affairs which now prevails in most civilized countries, including our own, even the best minds are puzzled and uncertain in their attempts to grasp the situation. The world seems to demand a moral and economic regeneration which it is dangerous to postpone, but as yet impossible to imagine, let alone direct. The preliminary intellectual regeneration which would put our leaders in a position to determine and control the course of affairs has not taken place. We have unprecedented conditions to deal with and novel adjustments to make—there can be no doubt of that. We also have a great stock of scientific knowledge unknown to our grandfathers with which to operate. So novel are the conditions, so copious the knowledge, that we must undertake the arduous task of reconsidering a great part of the opinions about man and his relations to his fellow-men which have been handed down to us by previous generations who lived in far other conditions and possessed far less information about the world and themselves. We have, however, first to create an *unprecedented attitude of mind to cope with unprecedented conditions, and to utilize unprecedented knowledge.* This is the preliminary, and most difficult, step to be taken—far more difficult than one would suspect who fails to realize that in order to take it we must overcome inveterate natural tendencies and artificial habits of long standing. How are we to put ourselves in a position to come to think of things that we not only never thought of before, but are most reluctant to question? In short, how are we to rid ourselves of our fond prejudices and *open our minds*?

3. As a historical student who for a good many years has been especially engaged in inquiring how man happens to have the ideas and convictions about himself and human relations which now prevail, the writer has reached the conclusion that history can at least shed a great deal of light on our present predicaments and confusion. I do not mean by history that conventional chronicle of remote and irrelevant events which embittered the youthful years of many of us, but rather a study of how man has come to be as he is and to believe as he does.

4. No historian has so far been able to make the whole story very plain or popular, but a number of considerations are obvious enough, and it ought not to be impossible some day to popularize them. I venture to think that if certain seemingly indisputable historical facts were generally known and accepted and permitted to play a daily part in our thought, the world would forthwith become a very different place from what it now is. We could then neither delude ourselves in the

simple-minded way we now do, nor could we take advantage of the primitive ignorance of others. All our discussions of social, industrial, and political reform would be raised to a higher plane of insight and fruitfulness.

5. In one of those brilliant divagations with which Mr. H. G. Wells is wont to enrich his novels he says:

> When the intellectual history of this time comes to be written, nothing, I think, will stand out more strikingly than the empty gulf in quality between the superb and richly fruitful scientific investigations that are going on, and the general thought of other educated sections of the community. I do not mean that scientific men are, as a whole, a class of supermen, dealing with and thinking about everything in a way altogether better than the common run of humanity, but in their field they think and work with an intensity, an integrity, a breadth, boldness, patience, thoroughness, and faithfulness—excepting only a few artists—which puts their work out of all comparison with any other human activity. . . . In these particular directions the human mind has achieved a new and higher quality of attitude and gesture, a veracity, a self-detachment, and self-abnegating vigor of criticism that tend to spread out and must ultimately spread out to every other human affair.

6. No one who is even most superficially acquainted with the achievements of students of nature during the past few centuries can fail to see that their thought has been astoundingly effective in constantly adding to our knowledge of the universe, from the hugest nebula to the tiniest atom; moreover, this knowledge has been so applied as to well-nigh revolutionize human affairs, and both the knowledge and its applications appear to be no more than hopeful beginnings, with indefinite revelations ahead, if only the same kind of thought be continued in the same patient and scrupulous manner.

7. But the knowledge of man, of the springs of his conduct, of his relation to his fellow-men singly or in groups, and the felicitous regulation of human intercourse in the interest of harmony and fairness, have made no such advance. Aristotle's treatises on astronomy and physics, and his notions of "generation and decay" and of chemical processes, have long gone by the board, but his politics and ethics are still revered. Does this mean that his penetration in the sciences of man exceeded so greatly his grasp of natural science, or does it mean that the progress of mankind in the scientific knowledge and regulation of human affairs has remained almost stationary for over two thousand

years? I think that we may safely conclude that the latter is the case. It has required three centuries of scientific thought and of subtle inventions for its promotion to enable a modern chemist or physicist to center his attention on electrons and their relation to the mysterious nucleus of the atom, or to permit an embryologist to study the early stirrings of the fertilized egg. As yet relatively little of the same kind of thought has been brought to bear on human affairs.

8. When we compare the discussions in the United States Senate in regard to the League of Nations with the consideration of a broken-down car in a roadside garage the contrast is shocking. The rural mechanic thinks scientifically; his only aim is to avail himself of his knowledge of the nature and working of the car, with a view to making it run once more. The Senator, on the other hand, appears too often to have little idea of the nature and workings of nations, and he relies on rhetoric and appeals to vague fears and hopes or mere partisan animosity. The scientists have been busy for a century in revolutionizing the *practical* relation of nations. The ocean is no longer a barrier, as it was in Washington's day, but to all intents and purposes a smooth avenue closely connecting, rather than safely separating, the eastern and western continents. The Senator will nevertheless unblushingly appeal to policies of a century back, suitable, mayhap, in their day, but now become a warning rather than a guide. The garage man, on the contrary, takes his mechanism as he finds it, and does not allow any mystic respect for the earlier forms of the gas engine to interfere with the needed adjustments.

9. Those who have dealt with natural phenomena, as distinguished from purely human concerns, did not, however, quickly or easily gain popular approbation and respect. The process of emancipating natural science from current prejudices, both of the learned and of the unlearned, has been long and painful, and is not wholly completed yet. If we go back to the opening of the seventeenth century we find three men whose business it was, above all, to present and defend common sense in the natural sciences. The most eloquent and variedly persuasive of these was Lord Bacon. Then there was the young Descartes trying to shake himself loose from his training in a Jesuit seminary by going into the Thirty Years' War, and starting his intellectual life all over by giving up for the moment all he had been taught. Galileo had committed an offense of a grave character by discussing in the mother tongue the problems of physics. In his old age he was imprisoned and sentenced to repeat the seven penitential psalms for differing from Aristotle and Moses and the teachings of the theologians.

On hearing Galileo's fate, Descartes burned a book he had written, *On the World*, lest he, too, get into trouble.

10. From that time down to the days of Huxley and John Fiske the struggle has continued and still continues—the Three Hundred Years War for intellectual freedom in dealing with natural phenomena. It has been a conflict against ignorance, tradition, and vested interests in church and university, with all that preposterous invective and cruel misrepresentation which characterize the fight against new and critical ideas. Those who cried out against scientific discoveries did so in the name of God, of man's dignity, and of holy religion and morality. Finally, however, it has come about that our instruction in the natural sciences is tolerably free; although there are still large bodies of organized religious believers who are hotly opposed to some of the more fundamental findings of biology. Hundreds of thousands of readers can be found for Pastor Russell's exegesis of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse to hundreds who read Conklin's *Heredity and Environment* or Slosson's *Creative Chemistry*. No publisher would accept a historical textbook based on an explicit statement of the knowledge we now have of man's animal ancestry. In general, however, our scientific men carry on their work and report their results with little or no effective hostility on the part of the clergy or the schools. The social body has become tolerant of their virus.

11. This is not the case, however, with the social sciences. One cannot but feel a little queasy when he uses the expression "social science," because it seems as if we had not as yet got anywhere near a real science of man. I mean by social science our feeble efforts to study man, his natural equipment and impulses, and his relations to his fellows in the light of his origin and the history of the race. This enterprise has hitherto been opposed by a large number of obstacles essentially more hampering and far more numerous than those which for three hundred years hindered the advance of the natural sciences. Human affairs are in themselves far more intricate and perplexing than molecules and chromosomes. But this is only the more reason for bringing to bear on human affairs that critical type of thought and calculation for which the remunerative thought about molecules and chromosomes has prepared the way.

12. I do not for a moment suggest that we can use precisely the same kind of thinking in dealing with the quandaries of mankind that we use in problems of chemical reaction and mechanical adjustment. Exact scientific results, such as might be formulated in mechanics, are, of course, out of the question. It would be unscientific to expect to apply

them. I am not advocating any particular method of treating human affairs, but rather such a *general frame of mind, such a critical open-minded attitude,* as has hitherto been but sparsely developed among those who aspire to be men's guides, whether religious, political, economic, or academic. Most human progress has been, as Wells expresses it, a mere "muddling through." It has been man's wont to explain and sanctify his ways, with little regard to their fundamental and permanent expediency. An arresting example of what this muddling may mean we have seen during these recent years in the slaying or maiming of fifteen million of our young men, resulting in incalculable loss, continued disorder, and bewilderment. Yet men seem blindly driven to defend and perpetuate the conditions which produced the last disaster.

13. Unless we wish to see a recurrence of this or some similar calamity, we must, as I have already suggested, create a new and unprecedented attitude of mind to meet the new and unprecedented conditions which confront us. *We should proceed to the thorough reconstruction of our mind, with a view to understanding actual human conduct and organization.* We must examine the facts freshly, critically, and dispassionately, and then allow our philosophy to formulate itself as a result of this examination, instead of permitting our observations to be distorted by archaic philosophy, political economy, and ethics. As it is, we are taught our philosophy first, and in its light we try to justify the facts. We must reverse this process, as did those who began the great work in experimental science; we must first face the facts, and patiently await the emergence of a new philosophy.

14. A willingness to examine the very foundations of society does not mean a desire to encourage or engage in any hasty readjustment, but certainly no wise or needed readjustment *can* be made unless such an examination is undertaken.

15. I come back, then, to my original point that in this examination of existing facts history, by revealing the origin of many of our current fundamental beliefs, will tend to free our minds so as to permit honest thinking. Also, that the historical facts which I propose to recall would, if permitted to play a constant part in our thinking, automatically eliminate a very considerable portion of the gross stupidity and blindness which characterize our present thought and conduct in public affairs, and would contribute greatly to developing the needed scientific attitude toward human concerns—in other words, to ***bringing the mind up to date.***

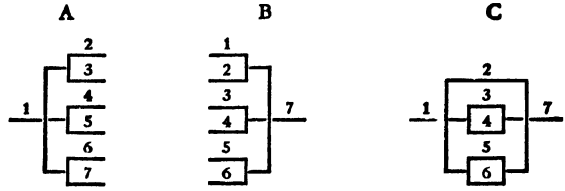
Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. If you do not know the meaning of "arrogance" and "animosity" in the second sentence of paragraph 1, how does the context help you to decide whether they name favorable or unfavorable qualities?
2. In line 24 how is the word "regeneration" related to "generate"; to "general"; to "generous"? What Latin root is reflected in these three words? What other English words go back to the same root?
3. In line 40 what meaning does "inveterate" have in common with "veteran"? Is it related to "veterinary"?
4. What common language source have "instance" (line 6), "obstacles" (line 14), "constantly" (lines 85-86), and "stationary" (line 101)? What other English words come from the same root? Is "stand" one of them? Is "stare"? Is "state"?
5. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and write in your notebook the meaning appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation.

attentuated (l. 8)
substantiate (ll. 15-16)
derangement (l. 20)
copious (l. 31)
arduous (l. 32)
predicaments (l. 49)
irrelevant (ll. 50-51)
indisputable (l. 57)
delude (l. 60)
divagations (l. 65)
wont (l. 66)
veracity (l. 80)
self-abnegating (ll. 80-81)
superficially (l. 83)
nebula (l. 86)
atom (l. 87)
scrupulous (l. 91)
felicitous (l. 93)
treatises (l. 95)
ethics (l. 97)
seminary (l. 136)
theologians (l. 142)
vested (l. 148)
invective (l. 149)
exegesis (l. 157)
virus (l. 164)
queasy (l. 166)
expediency (l. 191)
incalculable (l. 193)
dispassionately (l. 202)
archaic (l. 204)
gross (l. 218)

6. Identify—with the aid of a dictionary, encyclopedia, or other reference work if necessary—the following proper names: Stoic (l. 10), Aristotle (l. 95), Lord Bacon (l. 135), Descartes (l. 135), Jesuit (l. 136), Galiléo (l. 138), Huxley (l. 145), John Fiske (l. 145), Pastor Russell (l. 157).

7. Consult Appendix B-I and then explain why each of the following graphs does or does not give an accurate representation of the structure of paragraph 8.



8. Make a précis of paragraph 8 or paragraph 9.
9. In the second sentence of paragraph 1, exactly what are the subjects and the verbs of the three main clauses? What subordinate idea belongs to the idea of all three main clauses? Show how the commas and the semicolons help the reader to keep the thought relations clear.
10. In the last sentence of paragraph 1 what series do you find? What punctuation separates the units of the series one from another? Is the punctuation here consistent with that referred to in item 7 above?
11. Do you see how the evils referred to in paragraph 1 can result from "men's ways of looking at themselves and their fellows"?
12. How serious is the problem stated in the italicized expressions of paragraph 2? How practicable do you consider its solution to be?
13. How does your experience with the study of history agree with that suggested in paragraph 3? Do you consider the right kind of study of history as important as paragraphs 3 and 4 represent it to be?
14. Do paragraphs 6 and 7 challenge or support the quotation from H. G. Wells in paragraph 5? Do you agree with the estimates as to the comparative advances made by the mechanical sciences and the science of human relations? Can you illustrate your view by any present situation?
15. Do you think the contrast between the Senator and the garage man in paragraph 8 a fair one? If so, is the Senator or something else to blame?
16. Can you cite any recent or older incidents suggested by the punishment of Galileo referred to in paragraph 9?
17. What historical allusion is there in paragraph 10 in "the Three Hundred Years' War for intellectual freedom"?
18. How satisfactory do you find the explanation in paragraph 11 of the slow advance of the social sciences? How does the

point of view in this paragraph agree with that of Thomas Henry Huxley in paragraphs 48-49 of "Science and Culture," reprinted elsewhere in this volume?

19. If man could achieve *such a critical open-minded attitude* as the author advocates in paragraph 12, do you see any reason why he could not apply "the same kind of thinking in dealing with the quandaries of mankind that we use in problems of chemical reaction and mechanical adjustment"?
20. What "arresting example" is referred to in paragraph 12?
21. Are human relations not so well handled now as at the time of the Inquisition, or during the witchcraft days of Massachusetts, or during the period of slavery in the South? What essentially are the "new and unprecedented conditions which confront us" and which require the "new and unprecedented attitude of mind" called for in paragraph 13?
22. How far do you accept the view in paragraph 13 that we must reverse our usual procedure in developing our attitude toward human relations? In building up your own philosophy of life do you begin with the facts?
23. What are some of the "very foundations of society" which paragraph 14 suggests we should be willing to examine? Which of these touch your own personal interests?
24. Recalling that Robinson wrote in 1921, compare human relationships socially, politically, and otherwise then and now. Is the comparison a hopeful one?
25. Taking a suggestion from items 11-24, write either a single paragraph or a short paper, as your instructor may direct. Approve, qualify, or reject Robinson's views as they agree or not with your own experiences.

How to Detect Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS

The following statement is from a recent special report issued by the Institute: "The Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Inc., was established in October, 1937, to conduct objective, non-partisan studies in the field of propaganda and public opinion. A non-profit organization, it seeks to help the intelligent citizen to detect and analyze propaganda, by revealing the agencies, techniques, and devices used by the propagandist. The Institute publishes the results of its researches in monthly bulletins and in special reports. . . At the same time, it conducts an educational program in adult study groups, and in junior high schools, high schools and colleges." [From *Propaganda Analysis,* Vol. I, No 2, November, 1937. By permission of Professor A. M. Lee, President of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.]

1. WE ARE FOOLED by propaganda chiefly because we don't recognize it when we see it. It may be fun to be fooled but, as the cigarette ads used to say, it is more fun to know. We can more easily recognize propaganda when we see it if we are familiar with the seven common propaganda devices. These are:

1. The Name Calling Device
2. The Glittering Generalities Device
3. The Transfer Device
4. The Testimonial Device
5. The Plain Folks Device
6. The Card Stacking Device
7. The Band Wagon Device

2. Why are we fooled by these devices? Because they appeal to our emotions rather than to our reason. They make us believe and do something we would not believe or do if we thought about it calmly, dispassionately. In examining these devices, note that they work most effectively at those times when we are too lazy to think for ourselves; also, they tie into emotions which sway us to be "for" or "against" nations, races, religions, ideals, economic and political policies and

practices, and so on through automobiles, cigarettes, radios, toothpastes, presidents, and wars. With our emotions stirred, it may be fun to be fooled by these propaganda devices, but it is more fun and infinitely more to our own interests to know how they work.

3. Lincoln must have had in mind citizens who could balance their emotions with intelligence when he made his remark: ". . . but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

Name Calling

4. "Name Calling" is a device to make us form a judgment without examining the evidence on which it should be based. Here the propagandist appeals to our hate and fear. He does this by giving 'bad names" to those individuals, groups, nations, races, policies, practices, beliefs, and ideals which he would have us condemn and reject. For centuries the name "heretic" was bad. Thousands were oppressed, tortured, or put to death as heretics. Anybody who dissented from popular or group belief or practice was in danger of being called a heretic. In the light of today's knowledge, some heresies were bad and some were good. Many of the pioneers of modern science were called heretics; witness the cases of Copernicus, Galileo, Bruno. (See "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology," Andrew Dickson White, D Appleton & Co.) Today's bad names include: [sic] Fascist, demagogue, dictator, Red, financial oligarchy, Communist, muckraker, alien, outside agitator, economic royalist, Utopian, rabble-rouser, troublemaker, Tory, Constitution wrecker.

5. "Al" Smith called Roosevelt a Communist by implication when he said in his Liberty League speech, "There can be only one capital, Washington or Moscow." When "Al" Smith was running for the presidency many called him a tool of the Pope, saying in effect, "We must choose between Washington and Rome." That implied that Mr. Smith, if elected President, would take his orders from the Pope. In these cases some propagandists have tried to make us form judgments without examining essential evidence and implications. "Al Smith is a Catholic. He must never be President." "Roosevelt is a Red. Defeat his program."

6. Use of "bad names" without presentation of their essential meaning, without all their pertinent implications, comprises perhaps the most common of all propaganda devices. Those who want to *maintain* the status quo apply bad names to those who would change it. For example, the Hearst press applies bad names to Communists and Socialists. Those who want to *change* the status quo apply bad names

to those who would maintain it. For example, the Daily Worker and the American Guardian apply bad names to conservative Republicans and Democrats.

Glittering Generalities

7. "Glittering Generalities" is a device by which the propagandist identifies his program with virtue by use of "virtue words." Here he appeals to our emotions of love, generosity, and brotherhood. He uses words like truth, freedom, honor, liberty, social justice, public service, the right to work, loyalty, progress, democracy, the American way, Constitution defender. These words suggest shining ideals. All persons of good will believe in these ideals. Hence the propagandist, by identifying his individual group, nation, race, policy, practice, or belief with such ideals, seeks to win us to his cause. As Name Calling is a device to make us form a judgment to *reject and condemn,* without examining the evidence, Glittering Generalities is a device to make us *accept and approve,* without examining the evidence.

8. For example, use of the phrases, "the right to work" and "social justice" may be a device to make us accept programs for meeting the labor-capital problem which, if we examined them critically, we would not accept at all.

9. In the Name Calling and Glittering Generalities devices, words are used to stir up our emotions and to befog our thinking. In one device "bad words" are used to make us mad; in the other "good words" are used to make us glad. (See "The Tyranny of Words," by Stuart Chase, in *Harpers Magazine* for November, 1937.)

10. The propagandist is most effective in use of these devices when his words make us create devils to fight or gods to adore. By his use of the "bad words," we personify as a "devil" some nation, race, group, individual, policy, practice, or ideal; we are made fighting mad to destroy it. By use of "good words," we personify as a godlike idol some nation, race, group, etc. Words which are "bad" to some are "good" to others, or may be made so. Thus, to some the New Deal is "a prophecy of social salvation" while to others it is "an omen of social disaster."

11. From consideration of names, "bad" and "good," we pass to institutions and symbols, also "bad and "good." We see these in the next device

Transfer

12. "Transfer" is a device by which the propagandist carries over

the authority, sanction, and prestige of something we respect and revere to something he would have us accept. For example, most of us respect and revere our church and our nation. If the propagandist succeeds in getting church or nation to approve a campaign in behalf of some program, he thereby transfers its authority, sanction, and prestige to that program. Thus we may accept something which otherwise we might reject.

13. In the Transfer device symbols are constantly used. The cross represents the Christian Church. The flag represents the nation. Cartoons like Uncle Sam represent a consensus of public opinion. Those symbols stir emotions. At their very sight, with the speed of light, is aroused the whole complex of feelings we have with respect to church or nation. A cartoonist by having Uncle Sam disapprove a budget for unemployment relief would have us feel that the whole United States disapproves relief costs. By drawing an Uncle Sam who approves the same budget, the cartoonist would have us feel that the American people approve it. Thus, the Transfer device is used both for and against causes and ideas.

Testimonial

14 The "Testimonial" is a device to make us accept anything from a patent medicine or a cigarette to a program of national policy In this device the propagandist makes use of testimonials. "When I feel tired, I smoke a Camel and get the grandest 'lift.'" "We believe the John Lewis plan of labor organization is splendid; C. I. O. should be supported" This device works in reverse also; counter-testimonials may be employed. Seldom are these used against commercial products like patent medicines and cigarettes, but they are constantly employed in social, economic, and political issues. "We believe that the John Lewis plan of labor organization is bad; C. I O should not be supported."

Plain Folks

15 "Plain Folks" is a device used by politicians, labor leaders, business men, and even by ministers and educators to win our confidence by appearing to be people like ourselves—"just plain folks among the neighbors." In election years especially do candidates show their devotion to little children and the common, homey things of life. They have front porch campaigns. For the newspaper men they raid the kitchen cupboard, finding there some of the good wife's apple pie They go to country picnics; they attend service at the old frame

church; they pitch hay and go fishing; they show their belief in home and mother. In short, they would win our votes by showing that they're just as common as the rest of us—"just plain folks,"—and, therefore, wise and good. Business men often are "plain folks" with the factory hands. Even distillers use the device. "It's our family's whiskey, neighbor; and neighbor, it's your price."

Card Stacking

16 "Card Stacking" is a device in which the propagandist employs all the arts of deception to win our support for himself, his group, nation, race, policy, practice, belief or ideal. He stacks the cards against the truth. He uses under-emphasis and over-emphasis to dodge issues and evade facts. He resorts to lies, censorship, and distortion He omits facts. He offers false testimony. He creates a smoke-screen of clamor by raising a new issue when he wants an embarrassing matter forgotten. He draws a red herring across the trail to confuse and divert those in quest of facts he does not want revealed. He makes the unreal appear real and the real appear unreal. He lets half-truth masquerade as truth. By the Card Stacking device, a mediocre candidate, through the "build-up," is made to appear an intellectual titan; an ordinary prize fighter a probable world champion, a worthless patent medicine a beneficent cure. By means of this device propagandists would convince us that a ruthless war of aggression is a crusade for righteousness. Card Stacking employs sham, hypocrisy, effrontery.

The Band Wagon

17. The "Band Wagon" is a device to make us follow the crowd, to accept the propagandist's program en masse. Here his theme is: "Everybody's doing it." His techniques range from those of medicine show to dramatic spectacle. He hires a hall, fills a great stadium, marches a million men in parade. He employs symbols, colors, music, movement, all the dramatic arts. He appeals to the desire, common to most of us, to "follow the crowd." Because he wants us to "follow the crowd" in masses, he directs his appeal to groups held together by common ties of nationality, religion, race, environment, sex, vocation. Thus propagandists campaigning for or against a program will appeal to us as Catholics, Protestants, or Jews; as members of the Nordic race or as Negroes; as farmers or as school teachers; as housewives or as miners. All the artifices of flattery are used to harness the fears and hatreds, prejudices, and biases, convictions and ideals common to

the group; thus emotion is made to push and pull the group on to the Band Wagon. In newspaper articles and in the spoken word this device is also found. "Don't throw your vote away. Vote for our candidate. He's sure to win." Nearly every candidate wins in every election—before the votes are in.

Propaganda and Emotion

18. Observe that in all these devices our emotion is the stuff with which propagandists work. Without it they are helpless; with it, harnessing it to their purposes, they can make us glow with pride or burn with hatred, they can make us zealots in behalf of the program they espouse. As we said in our first letter, propaganda as generally understood is expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to predetermined ends. Without the appeal to our emotion—to our fears and to our courage, to our selfishness and unselfishness, to our loves and to our hates—propagandists would influence few opinions and few actions.

19. To say this is not to condemn emotion, an essential part of life, or to assert that all predetermined ends of propagandists are "bad." What we mean is that the intelligent citizen does not want propagandists to utilize his emotions, even to the attainment of "good" ends, without knowing what is going on. He does not want to be "used" in the attainment of ends he may later consider "bad." He does not want to be gullible. He does not want to be fooled. He does not want to be duped, even in a "good" cause. He wants to know the facts and among these is included the fact of the utilization of his emotions.

20. For better understanding of the relationship between propaganda and emotion see Ch. 1 of *Folkways* by William Graham Sumner (Ginn and Company). This shows why most of us tend to feel, believe, and act in traditional patterns. See also *Mind in the Making* by James Harvey Robinson (Harper Bros.). This reveals the nature of the mind and suggests how to analyze propaganda appealing to traditional thought patterns.

21. Keeping in mind the seven common propaganda devices, turn to today's newspapers and almost immediately you can spot examples of them all. At election time or during any campaign, Plain Folks and Band Wagon are common. Card Stacking is hardest to detect because it is adroitly executed or because we lack the information necessary to nail the lie. A little practice with the daily newspapers in detecting these propaganda devices soon enables us to detect them else-

where—in radio, news-reel, books, magazines, and in expression of labor unions, business groups, churches, schools, political parties. 210

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Do you find entirely satisfactory the definition of propaganda in the third sentence of paragraph 18? If not, write a paragraph criticizing or supplementing it as you think desirable.
2. Which of the seven devices do you consider most harmful? Are any or all of them capable of beneficial use? Give specific reasons for your answers.
3. Can you add any propagandist devices to the seven here listed? If so, define and illustrate them, using the methods of paragraphs 4-17.
4. Make a list of "bad names" and "virtue words" commonly applied to college students, teachers, courses, examinations, extra-curricular activities, and members of the opposite sex.
5. Do you consider yourself a propagandist? For what? Consider your answer carefully.
6. Is this article itself propaganda? If so, for what, and is it justifiable? What test will enable you to answer this question, for this or any other article? Ponder carefully the entire article, especially paragraphs 18-19, before formulating your answer
7. Do you know of any instances in which you or any of your friends have been led by propaganda in advertisements to purchase anything which did not measure up to your expectations? In what ways, if any, can the consumer protect himself against misleading advertisements?
8. Which newspapers, magazines, radio programs, or other organs of opinion do you consider most unscrupulous in their use of propaganda? Which, by contrast, do you consider most fair and reliable?
9. Make a collection of editorials, cartoons, advertisements, and other efforts to influence the public, and analyze them in terms of the seven devices.
10. Listen carefully to several news broadcasts and write an account of any propaganda, open or disguised, which you find in them.
11. Get up a discussion with an acquaintance or a group of acquaintances on some highly controversial subject. Make mental notes of the propaganda devices which come into the discussion, and afterward write an analytical account of the whole affair, not omitting any such devices which you may have caught yourself using.

Propaganda in Our Time

MAX LERNER

Max Lerner (1902–) has a long record of contributions to modern democratic thought He has been a teacher in several colleges, a prolific writer of magazine articles, managing editor of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* and editor of *The Nation.* He is at present editor of *PM* and a contributing editor to *The New Republic* His books include *It Is Later Than You Think, Ideas Are Weapons, Ideas for the Ice Age,* and *The Mind and Faith of Justice Holmes.* The following essay appeared in *The New Republic,* August 26, 1940, as a book review of *War Propaganda and the United States,* by Harold Lavine and James Wechsler, published by the Yale University Press. [It is here reprinted by permission of Mr. Lerner.]

1. THE EXCELLENCES of the new Institute of Propaganda book belong to its authors; its weaknesses belong to the intellectual climate of our time. Both are considerable.

2. To start with, Mr. Lavine and Mr. Wechsler have done a first-rate job of craftsmanship—large masses of material well handled, a lively and intimate sense of the channels through which opinion is formed, details fitted into a colorful mosaic. They have written as complete a record as we have thus far of the attempts by Britain, France, Germany and Russia (in a descending order of emphasis and importance) to influence American opinion and policy on the war. They have treated censorship as well as propaganda, dealt with the radio, the movies, the newspaper columns, the drama, the pulp magazines; examined the official handouts and the unofficial "plants" for correspondents; looked "inside the lie factories." In one sense they are a step ahead of the standard American works on the propaganda of the First World War. While Lasswell and Millis and Peterson had to wait until their war was over before they studied it, the present authors have photographed the bird on the wing.

3. But that has its dangers. Like almost everyone else, the authors seem to have been unprepared for the change in the character of the

war. One gathers that most of the book was written before the invasion of Norway, and the final chapter added within a week after the invasion. The book is thus on the propaganda of the Sitzkrieg rather than of the Blitzkrieg. More serious (the greatest single weakness of the book) is its failure to deal adequately with German propaganda while dealing more than adequately with the Allied propaganda.

4. Why have the authors failed here? Largely, I think, because they start with a false notion about what propaganda is. And that in turn has less to do with them than with the widespread disease of sloppy thinking about propaganda in our time.

5. Let me quote from the introduction to the book, signed by two directors of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis, Clyde Miller and E. C. Lindeman. It defines propaganda as "a method utilized for influencing the conduct of others on behalf of predetermined ends." From this it follows unerringly that "every articulate person with a purpose is a propagandist." But this is to regard as propaganda the whole range of intellectual activity, and to reduce the effort at propaganda analysis to an absurdity. In these terms a book on war propaganda and the United States would have logically to be a book surveying the words and activities of every articulate person who has sought to influence American policy according to his ends. And if this is true, then the truism with which the introduction opens, "we live in a propaganda age," would be no truer of our age than of any other.

6. I have no particular animus against this conception of propaganda, other than its uselessness. If we interpret all efforts to shape our foreign policy as propaganda, how shall we distinguish between a Presidential message, an editorial in The New Republic, a Coughlin broadcast, a classroom discussion, a speech by Joe McWilliams, a congressional debate, a column by Westbrook Pegler, a communiqué from the German army staff, a manifesto by the Harvard Defense Group, a broadcast by Elmer Davis, an appeal for relief funds, a photograph of mangled children, a sermon by Father Curran? Anything that holds them all together must be a clumsy receptacle indeed.

7. It is little wonder that in such a mental climate we have become a nation of amateur detectives looking for concealed propaganda in every effort to awaken America to the real nature of Nazi world strategy It may be because we have felt cheated and disenchanted by our role in the last war, and are determined never again to be tricked The result is reminiscent of the rural visitor to the World's

Fair, who had heard so much of the pickpockets, the sirens and the false enchantments of the big city that he spent all his time eluding their snares and at the end found that he had failed to see anything. For America today the important thing has become to *see* the dimensions and conditions of our world. And we shall never do that if we reject as propaganda every fact in it which may lead to action. To view, as this book tends to, the whole realm of opinion as one of "competing propagandas," and every effort at persuasion as an effort at propaganda is to see the world through the word instead of through the thought and deed, in monstrously inflated terms. The consequence is a collective indecision which makes us powerless against the single-minded intelligence and the ruthless will of Hitlerism And, curiously, this same bland envelopment in a universal skepticism, which paralyzes our action and strips us of all sense of values, leaves us in the end a prey to the real propaganda and the real Fifth Columnism of Hitler's agents. A mind without beliefs is incapable of criticism, heroism, or tragedy. If you suspect everything indiscriminately you end by suspecting nothing very strongly.

8. What conception of propaganda then would be a usable one? I suggest toward a working definition, first: that not all efforts at persuasion for predetermined ends are propaganda, but that the beginning of wisdom here lies in making distinctions. I do not mean distinctions between "good" and "bad" propaganda, which seem to me worse than useless, since those terms have meaning only in a subjective estimate made by the observer I suggest, second: that the propagandist is primarily a manipulator of beliefs, emotions, symbols. When I call him a manipulator I say that his primary concern is to find the symbol or argument that will work, that he concentrates only on the relation of his device to his end I suggest, therefore, third: that for the propagandist the validity of his material or the sincerity of his own belief in what he is saying are irrelevant. He may be stating what is factually so, or he may not: even Goebbels has been known to say truthful things or, for all his cynicism, things he believed But if what the propagandist says is valid or sincere it is in the deepest sense an accident—*i.e.* beside the point. I suggest, fourth (and most important): that there is always in the propagandist some crucial concealment, some relevant duplicity. He sees all the cards, you do not. And the card he is not showing you is the very card which, if you saw it, would deflect you from the belief the propagandist intends you to have or the action he wills you to take. From this standpoint

the talk about "a propaganda of reason" simply makes no sense.

9. Any such attempt at definition must be judged by whether it enables us to salvage out of the wreck of beliefs some materials for a critical credo. I disagree strongly with the impassioned isolationism of Charles Beard: but that does not make him a propagandist, since however predetermined his ends may be, his passion is spent in analyzing and urging rather than manipulating. William Allen White's Committee to Aid Britain may echo Lord Lothian's appeal for the sale of American destroyers, but that does not make the committee a propagandist group unless it deliberately conceals some crucial item such as (if it were true) the fact that America cannot spare the destroyers, or (again if it were true) that the committee has hidden connections with the British government. Hitler may well believe his own anti-Semitism as Goebbels may disbelieve his, yet both are propagandists, just as Coughlin is, since they never reveal that anti-Semitism is for them primarily a device for power through spreading confusion and hatred. The Nazi talk of the American threat to the sovereignties of the Latin-American countries is propaganda: partly because the aim is not to help Latin-America but to entangle it, and partly because on the record the Nazi solicitude about the sovereignty of nations is hypocritical. Whether Lindbergh is a propagandist or only a naive and confused young man depends upon what relations he may have with the Bundist and native Fifth Column groups who staged his mass meeting, since the concealment of such a relation would indicate that his attempt was not to persuade for American ends but to manipulate opinion for Nazi ends. Always there are as the basic tests the intent to manipulate, the irrelevance of validity or sincerity, the concealment of some crucial ingredient of belief.

10 All this is difficult. But the lumping of all degrees of propaganda and persuasion is worse than difficult—it is destructive. If we could get along without propaganda as a concept, I should be the first to rejoice over its embers. But since we must have it, let us restrict it, make it wieldy and sharp, and turn its sharpness against the possibility of a propaganda-dominated world. And we shall do that only if we use propaganda analysis to create, and not to avoid, a body of belief.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and write in your notebook the meaning appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation.

mosaic (l. 7)
Sitzkrieg (l. 23)
Blitzkrieg (l. 24)
articulate (l. 35)
truism (l. 42)
animus (l. 45)
communiqué (l 50)
manifesto (l. 51)
receptacle (l. 54)
sirens (l. 61)
indiscriminately (l. 77)
subjective (l. 84)
symbol (l. 88)
validity (l. 90)
irrelevant (l. 91)
cynicism (l. 93)
crucial (l 96)
duplicity (l. 97)
sovereignties (l. 118)
solicitude (l. 120)

2. Compare the definition of propaganda quoted in paragraph 5 with the definition in paragraph 18 of "How to Detect Propaganda." Is there any essential difference between them?
3. Do you agree with the inferences stated in the last three sentences (ll 36-44) of paragraph 5? Give reasons for your answer.
4. State in your own words Mr. Lerner's objections to the Institute's concept of propaganda. To what extent do you consider the objections justified?
5. Of what generalization are the examples in paragraph 6 offered in support? How effective are these examples?
6. Would Mr. Lerner recognize any form of propaganda as desirable? What differentiation does he wish to substitute for the Institute's differentiation between good propaganda and bad? Which differentiation do you consider most useful? Why?
7. Paragraph 7 contains a warning against "the single-minded intelligence and the ruthless will of Hitlerism." Is this warning obsolete, now that Hitler is presumably dead? Give reasons for your answer.
8. Mr. Lerner has said in a letter to *The New Republic*, "I have no intent to do injury to any group with whose social outlook I am in as great agreement as with the Institute for Propaganda Analysis." What purposes do you think Mr. Lerner and the Institute have in common? Do they differ only as to

the means of attaining these purposes, or have they also some differences as to purpose?

9. What relation do you see between ideas expressed in paragraph 7 of this essay and those expressed in paragraphs 27-29 of Herbert Agar's "Culture versus Colonialism in America," elsewhere in this volume?

10 In a short paper summarize the essentials of Mr. Lerner's position and that of the Institute, together with essential points at issue between them. Which position accords best with the "disinterestedness" and the "free play of mind" recommended by Matthew Arnold? (See the first essay in this Section.) Which with the "thorough reconstruction of our mind" recommended by James Harvey Robinson? (See the third essay in this Section.) Which is most serviceable to the cause of democracy at the present time?

The Barons of Opinion

MAX LERNER

For biographical data, see the headnote to the preceding article In his foreword to the book from which the following essay is taken, Mr. Lerner says, "If there is any passion in this book, it is the passion for making democracy militant enough and collectivism democratic enough to survive If there is any thinking in it, it is thinking about the conditions of that survival. If there is any vision, it is the straining to pierce the future for the utmost possibilities of a democratic and humanist culture." [From Chapter V of *It Is Later Than You Think*, Viking Press, 1938. By permission of the author.]

1. LITERACY for the common people is a fine thing But it is also a dangerous thing unless the common people can have some control over what is given them to read in the press and to hear over the radio Literacy may only make the cattle ripe for slaughter Some of the more literate of the American states were Ku Klux centers in the nineteen-twenties; and I shall miss my guess if the growth of fascism does not follow somewhat the same pattern. There are no automatic mechanisms, with ideas any more than with food, by which the organism can select what is good and reject what is poisonous The problem of mass education has gone beyond statistics on literacy and the work of Americanization classes; it has become a problem in political power and order, a problem in the control of the press and radio and cinema and school system.

2 Between those who stand for corporate capitalism and those who stand for democratic collectivism there is a mortal struggle going on today, a struggle for the minds and souls of the common people. The superiority of one way of organizing the economic system over another, the merits of democratic control as against oligarchical—these are important matters. But they must enter the consciousness of the vast majority before that majority can become an effective force to displace minority rule. And the ironic fact is that, for the present at least, it is the minority that is in control of the methods of influencing the

majority mind. Capitalism can say in the words of Emerson's "Brahma": "When me they fly, I am the wings." Or to use a less mystical parallel, the situation is similar to that in Malraux's *Man's Fate,* where the Chinese revolutionists find that in order to overthrow the Nationalists, they must first storm their armories to equip themselves with weapons.

3. There are today two armories of such weapons. One has been stacked through the creation of social myths and symbols, the material out of which political opinion is shaped. The second consists in the controls that the oligarchs exercise over the channels of communication, the paths along which alone one can have access to the minds of the majority or, conversely, along which alone the common man can have access to the facts of society.

4. I use myth in the sense of a symbol-cluster—partly fabrication by ideologists and partly unconscious growth in the mass mind—which moves men strongly to action and passion. The truth or falsehood of such a symbol-structure is irrelevant; what is alone important is its evocative power. Some myths are patently unscientific, such as that of "Aryan" racial purity and superiority; others, like that of the class struggle or of the British capacity to muddle through, are attested by the evidence of history Every nationalism is a myth, yet since each premises the possession of all excellences by a particular national group, no more than one can be logically true and all are likely to be highly colored. The men who make the myths of a culture are by that fact the men who make its gods; they are the authors, teachers, preachers, editors, lawyers, orators, and more recently the publicity experts. Plato understood the essence of the social myth, as did Jesus; it was a fable, or parable, told to the people to cement their belief. And the men in the big New York advertising and publicity firms whose job it is to "sell" Big Business to the people, who coin slogans against trade-union organization and put together skeleton Citizens' Committees which use the middle class in smashing strikes—these men, without the poetic depth of Plato or the love that Jesus bore to the masses, nevertheless also understand the essence of a social myth. They care not who fashions the laws that govern men's actions, provided they are permitted to fashion the stereotypes that form the counters of their thinking.

5. To do their jobs effectively, the barons of opinion require a control over the channels of communication that tends always toward monopoly. In the case of the radio, this monopoly is subject to close government regulation, yet it is none the less achieved through a com-

bination of technical and financial controls. In the case of universities and research organizations it is secured through endowment by the vested interests and through the tenacity of vested ideas In the case of the press, which is naturally a congeries of small competitive units, it is secured through the large-scale enterprise of the chain newspapers, the wire services, and the syndicates, and through the power that the advertisers and bankers exercise. But whatever the methods, there can be little doubt of the result: that the principal channels for influencing mass opinion in America have become virtually a class monopoly

6. It is worth distinguishing this situation from the one that Germany, Italy, and Russia are in. A totalitarian press represents a hundred-percent monopoly; but it is a state monopoly. The press in America is, at the present writing and to judge from the way in which it reflects the anti-New Deal opinion of corporate capitalism, a seventy to ninety-percent monopoly; but it is the monopoly of a class rather than of the state. The difference is important; for when the governmental machinery is in the control of the majority, as it is in America during one of the periodic democratic thrusts at power, the result is a pitting of the strength of the state against the strength of the barons of opinion, rather than the outright control exercised by a totalitarian state over a totalitarian press. It is significant, however, that President Roosevelt, in order to reach the people at all, had to lean heavily upon his weekly press conferences, upon a rapid succession of dramatic acts and statements that the press could not afford to ignore, and upon his "fireside chats," in which he talked to the majority over the head of the newspaper publishers. It is especially significant that he found it important to refer to the press distortions on every possible occasion, seeking thus to shake the faith that the common man still had in the authority of the press.

7 What has happened to the American press is clear disproof of the contention of the classic liberals that a capitalist press is a guarantee of democracy because it must give the people what they want For generations the liberals have alternately inveighed against the press for lowering its standards to suit the popular taste and hugged it for being a democratic instrument responsive to its circulation Actually, neither has been wholly true The "yellow press" has not stooped to the taste of the people; it has, on the whole, degraded and corrupted that taste. And it has done so deliberately to win and hold a body of readers who could be influenced politically Nor has it proved true that newspapers have, as profit-making business enterprises, sought to

maximize their circulation by adopting the most popular political line. If the Hearst papers had chosen to adopt an out-and-out New Deal position, the Hearst financial empire would not be in its present precarious state. One may hazard the suspicion that the Scripps-Howard papers have been willing to sacrifice some circulation to an ever more open anti-New Deal line. The fact is that newspaper publishing is as much a matter of power as it is of profits. It is not rare to find a press lord with a Northcliffe complex who hopes to make and break governments by the power of his headlines and editorials.

8. I am not saying that the profit motive has ceased to operate among newspaper publishers. The press is today a big business, corporate in structure, banker-controlled, responsive to the moods and interests of Big Business, basically anti-labor in its attitude, as befits a group of big employers. But because its stock-in-trade consists of myths and stereotypes, it is *par-excellence* the class-conscious segment of Big Business. It is the part that speaks for the whole And, speaking for the whole, it is fulfilling its power-function more completely when it is willing to push the reactionary position as far as the limits of tolerance of its readers will allow, even at the expense of some circulation. The risk is of course partly hedged by the fact that the big advertisers approve of such a course, and are themselves willing to forego immediate business principles in order to reward it.

9. This tendency in the press has made the editorial page the one to which many readers devote their most intelligent neglect. To remedy this situation the syndicated columnist has been found useful. Starting at first as part of the revolt against the anonymity, the pomposusness, and the archaic views of the editorial page, the columnists have become the most important part of a newspaper, most eagerly turned to, most avidly read, most passionately discussed. What promised at the start to give them an enormous significance in denting the solid reactionary phalanx of the press was their vaunted independence of speech. Yet it was quixotic to think that the barons of opinion would tolerate such autonomous states within states. The way in which the Hearst chain has edited or omitted Walter Winchell's column, and the cavalier manner in which the Scripps-Howard general staff has shifted, omitted, and cut the columns of Heywood Broun and even of Westbrook Pegler and Hugh Johnson, as if they were strategic links in a military line, are proof that columnists' independence is by no means an absolute.

10 But even more dangerous to the columnist's future than these restraints by his boss is his own urge toward omniscience The chances

are that in most cases the ignorance of a columnist is not any greater than that of his fellow-newspapermen. It seems greater only because he feels constrained to deploy it over a broader terrain and to give his opinion on a variety of topics that would tax the resources of even a research organization.

11 The case of the radio differs from that of the press chiefly by reason of the dependence of the broadcasting corporations upon government licenses for their use of the air. This puts the corporations on their guard so long as there is a progressive government in power. Most of the radio's energy goes into amusement. Politics is treated as a puerile debating-society affair, with the exception of the presumably independent news commentators, who are sponsored by big commercial advertisers and whose reactionary influence on opinion exceeds even that of the colmunists. Yet with all that, the radio is not yet playing in the political struggle the role it is likely to play during our generation. The broadcasters are sparring until their position becomes less precarious. The movies too are devoting themselves mainly to recreation, but even in that capacity they are embedding the stereotypes of our capitalist culture in the minds of the American majority with a vividness and permanence that neither the press nor the radio can achieve

12 The universities, dependent upon endowments and gifts from rich men, are passing through the agony of squaring this dependence with the ideals of the liberal tradition. While in most instances a university president and his businessmen directors will not risk the public censure of too flagrant a dismissal of an instructor for his views, their anxiety leads to a level of teaching and thinking that is thoroughly sterile Eventually problems of freedom of teaching do not arise, since few teachers have anything to say that would require daring. But it is these mediocre factories that turn out the stereotypes which are retailed to the children of the masses through the public-school system A recent development is the endowed research foundation, which has presumably developed because the universities are too busy teaching the truth to give any time to discovering it But thus far the only function of the foundation seems to have been to throw the mantle of research over the naked shoulders of reaction.

13 Here then is the mechanism, tangled and complex yet somehow efficient, by which the barons of opinion seek to form and control the mind of the majority. There is a current story about a man who was standing at a bar drinking a glass of beer. Someone comes in and shouts: "O'Leary, your house is on fire" The man puts down his

beer, dashes through the door, streaks up the street. He has run five or six blocks when suddenly he stops, struck by a thought. "Darn it all," he mutters to himself, "my name isn't O'Leary." That is a picture of the common man today The barons of opinion blare through microphone and newspaper headlines, from pulpit and column: "O'Leary, your house is on fire." And the common man grows hysterical and runs, even if his name is not O'Leary, even if it is not his house that is on fire, even if it is not his interests that are at stake. The problem that the leaders of the majority face is to immunize their followers against becoming the butt of this vast joke, prevent them from serving as the pawns of the minority, teach them that their name isn't O'Leary.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and write in your notebook the meaning appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation

literacy (l. 1)
corporate (l. 14)
capitalism (l. 14)
democratic (l. 15)
collectivism (l. 15)
oligarchical (l. 18)
fabrication (l. 36)
ideologists (l. 37)
evocative (l. 39)
patently (l. 40)
premises (l. 44)
cement (l. 50)
essence (l. 56)
stereotypes (l. 58)
tenacity (l. 66)
totalitarian (l. 75)
inveighed (l. 97)
precarious (l. 107)
reactionary (l. 122)
anonymity (l. 130)
archaic (l. 131)
phalanx (l. 135)
quixotic (l. 136)
autonomous (l. 137)
cavalier (l. 139)
omniscience (l. 145)
puerile (l. 156)
flagrant (l. 171)
sterile (l. 173)
mediocre (l. 175)

2. Translate into literal English the figurative statement, "Literacy may only make the cattle ripe for slaughter," in paragraph 1. Criticize both the content and the form of the statement.
3. What is the full name of the "Ku Klux" mentioned in paragraph 1? What is, or was, the organization so designated?

4. What prophecy concerning fascism is offered in paragraph 1? Is this prophecy, made in 1938, still relevant?
5. What two conflicting "ways of organizing the economic system" are mentioned in paragraph 2? What are the principal differences between corporate capitalism and democratic collectivism? What other kinds of capitalism and collectivism are there? Would it make sense to speak of corporate collectivism and democratic capitalism? Explain
6. In what sense is *myth* used in paragraph 4? How, if at all, does this use of the word differ from the uses to which you have been accustomed? What examples of myths does Mr. Lerner cite? Can you give any additional examples?
7. Do you agree with the conclusion stated in the last sentence of paragraph 5? What evidence can you adduce either for or against it?
8. What do you know of the conflict between President Roosevelt and the press discussed in paragraph 6? Why would the President desire "to shake the confidence that the common man still had in the authority of the press"? Is there any evidence that he succeeded in doing so? Do you know of any predictions made by the press in connection with the elections of 1936, 1940, and 1944, and what degree of accuracy these predictions later turned out to possess?
9. What is meant by "the yellow press" mentioned in paragraph 7? By "a Northcliffe complex"?
10. Do you believe the assertion, made in paragraph 7, that the masses of people tend to accept what is offered by press, radio, and screen, rather than demand what they want? What evidence supports your answer?
11. Does the description of the press in the second sentence of paragraph 8 apply to your favorite home town newspaper? How, in inspecting any newspaper, would you go about discovering whether this description applies to it?
12. Do you agree with the statements concerning editorial pages and syndicated columns in paragraph 9? What columns do you read often enough to have an opinion of their quality? How do they measure up to the standards set forth in this and the two preceding essays? Do you detect in them any symptoms of the urge to omniscience mentioned in paragraph 10?
13. What evidence can you adduce for or against the assertions concerning radio and movies in paragraph 11?
14. Does your experience confirm the assertions about teachers and colleges in paragraph 12? Can you defend your own college against the charge of being one of the "mediocre factories that turn out stereotypes"?

15 State in your own words the point of the O'Leary story in paragraph 13 What evidence can you find to indicate either that it does or that it does not fairly represent the relation between the public and the "barons of opinion"?

16 Can you mention any agencies which in your opinion are contributing to a solution of the problem set forth in the last sentence of paragraph 13?

17. Does Mr. Lerner's criticism of journalism have any parallels with Matthew Arnold's? (See especially the first paragraph of 'The Function of Criticism," earlier in this Section)

18. What, according to Mr Lerner, would be the chief characteristics of a good newspaper? If you know a newspaper which has these characteristics, write a somewhat detailed description of it

19 In the light of the standards and ideals set forth in this and the two preceding articles, write a fairly detailed analysis of some newspaper, magazine, columnist, or other organ of public opinion with which you are familiar.

V

What Vision of America Do You See?

It is said that the life of nations and of peoples, as of individuals, runs in cycles. Do you believe this principle to be true of our own land? Can we expect for the future an ever increasing achievement of power and influence? Or must we think of a national glory ultimately faded like that of ancient Egypt and Babylon, of Greece and Rome, of the Empire of Charlemagne, of Spain, or more recently of Germany and Japan?

It is always important for the people of this country, and especially the young people, to think earnestly and intelligently about what it means to be a good American. The essays which you are about to study, together with much of what you currently read and hear, will suggest to you many reasons why such earnest and intelligent thought is particularly needful at the present time.

The word America once stood for something more than a geographic locality. Not only to patriots of this country but to generous spirits in all lands, America was the name of a bright vision—the vision of a society where justice prevails, where no one who is willing to work need live in poverty, where every person has opportunity to develop the best possibilities that are in him, where the means for a happy, self-respecting, and abundant life are accessible to all.

Why has this vision been so imperfectly translated into reality? What are its chances for survival in such a world as we now live in? What changes, if any, need to be made in its details, as a consequence of recent world-shaking events? By what dangers, within and without our country, is its realization threatened? To questions such as these, the following selections will help you to think out your own answers.

The Unimagined America

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

Archibald MacLeish (1893–), graduate of Yale University and holder of honorary degrees from many American universities, has had a varied career. In World War I he enlisted as a private and was discharged as a captain, with 12 months' service in France. Although known primarily as a poet, with the Pulitzer prize for *Conquistador* in 1932, he has written various prose pieces since 1940. He became Librarian of Congress in 1939. In war service after 1941 he was successively Director of the U. S. Office of Facts and Figures, Assistant Director of the Office of War Information, and Under Secretary of State. In 1942 he was Rede lecturer at Cambridge University, England [*The Atlantic Monthly* 171.59-63, June, 1943. By permission of the author and the publisher.]

1. THE PROPOSITION can be put as follows: that the American future is in issue in our time as it has been in issue only twice before; that in so far as the determination of the American future depends upon the American people, it depends upon their power to imagine such a future as they want and can believe in; that they have not imagined such a future, but seem rather to be unable or unwilling to consider what they wish their lives to be; that this failure of imagination will affect our victory in this war and may, indeed, lose us our victory.

2. I think it will not be questioned that the American future is in issue. There are some, I know, who do not wish to think so. There are some who would like to suppress the future for the duration of the war and to forbid the people to discuss it. They are noisy but not numerous. The great majority of the American people understand very well that this war is not a war only, but an end and a beginning —an end to things known and a beginning of things unknown. We have smelled the wind in the streets that changes weather We know that whatever the world will be when the war ends, the world will be different.

3. There is hardly a meeting of three men in earnestness that does

not say so. The talk about war aims, about peace aims, about post-war plans, is talk, at bottom, about nothing else but this. It is not the formal negotiation of a treaty of peace which concerns us, but the human negotiation of our personal lives: not the determination of the frontiers or the ratification of the international agreements, but the actual and present world that men will live in when the war ends.

4 It will not be too seriously questioned either, I believe, that the determination of the American future in this time of change depends, in so far as it depends upon ourselves, upon our power to imagine such a future as we can believe in. There is, it is true, a theory that the future of any society depends very little on the purposes of men themselves—that their systems of industry and economics determine what they must become.

5. That theory has not appealed to Americans. We remember that a hundred and sixty-seven years ago, at another moment of decision in our history, our predecessors did imagine such a future as they could believe in, and that the image they conceived had consequences. We remember also that after another war, a war that many living men took part in, we left the future to the laws of economics to construct. And we recall that future, it is now our past. We recall a future that should have been peace and freedom and became the radio, the automobile, and the depression of 1929.

6 There may be some who would like to repeat that future with cheap planes in the place of the automobile, and plastics succeeding refrigerators. There may be some, but not many. Most of us have learned the lesson once for all. Most of us know now that you do not fight a war for the privilege of buying things and then not buying them—for the privilege of becoming the world's most numerous consumers and thereafter the world's most numerous unemployed. Most of us know now that if you leave your future to the markets and the manufacturers to plan, you will get the future that the markets and the manufacturers can think of. And we know that future. Planes instead of cars, plastics instead of radios—we know it all. We know it and have lived it, and we don't propose, I think, to live it through again.

7 Nevertheless,—and this is the strange and contradictory heart of our dilemma,—nevertheless, we are apparently not willing to propose our future for ourselves. We are unwilling or we are unable to commit the act of the imagination for ourselves—to say for ourselves what we mean our lives to be. We know, if we know anything, that the disaster of 1929 was a failure not of wealth but of will, and not of

will so much as of the purpose of the will. Starvation in the midst of plenty is not a paradox. It is a declaration of moral and intellectual bankruptcy. For if the means to cure the ill exist and are not used, the failure is a failure of decision, and inability to choose. And yet, in all our present talk of change, there is no talk of choice, no talk of affirmative purpose—none, to be blunt, of a people's dream of its future, a people's vision of the future it proposes to create.

8. There is, it is true, a deep, unreasoning conviction in the minds of people here, as in the minds of people elsewhere, that this war, whatever was true of wars before, *must* have consequences—that anything that costs in life and suffering what this war is costing *must* purchase, not merely an end to itself, but something else, something admirable, something of human worth and human significance. It is a profoundly held conviction and one that neither the superior wisdom of wise men nor the cheapening cynicism of cynical men can dispose of. Those indeed who try to silence that conviction, or to laugh it off, or trick it, will end certainly where the cynical and the wise who fool with the terrible sincerity of the people have always ended. The people of the world *believe* that all the anguish of this generation cannot go for nothing. They believe it in spite of the lessons of history. They believe it in spite of the last war and the war before that and the war before that one.

9. But their belief is the passive belief of powerful hope, not the active belief of determined purpose. All our talk is of the world we should avoid and of the ways we should avoid it—how to police our enemies, how to disarm the aggressors, how to avoid unemployment, how to escape the errors of the peace we made before At the worst we talk like fortune-tellers of the dangers we foresee At the best we talk like lawyers of devices—ways and means.

10. We debate bitterly whether business should do it or government should do it, but what it is that government should do or that private business should do, we do not even ask. We argue whether to do it by air, and, if so, on what conditions; we consider the question whether to do it at home or to do it abroad, but what we propose to do by the use of the air or at home or wherever, we have not said—what we propose to do in terms of men, of men's lives, of human realities. Never at any point or by any mouth have we talked as a virile and creative people talks in its moments of decision—as men, for example, talked in Philadelphia in a certain summer when they pledged their sacred honor, and their lives.

11. Our silence on these things, moreover, is not merely silence. We are not all of us mute and dumb. We have words to say. But the words are contemptuous words. We are shamefaced and self-conscious when we hear the talk of purposes—of our purpose as a nation, of our purpose to construct the greatness of this nation. The word itself and the whole conception of "planning" distress us. We think of ourselves—some of us anyway think of ourselves—as a practical, hard-headed people who aren't taken in by utopias, who can't be fooled by the talk about better worlds, who know too much for talk like that—a people famous for salt, ironical, practical, hard good-sense who can't be bamboozled with talk about dreams and visions.

2

12. It is a strange and curious picture of Americans. If ever a people had behind them a tradition of great purposes, tremendous dreams, the people of America have that tradition. There is not one of us, there is not a child in this Republic, who does not know the story. The whole history of our continent is a history of the imagination. Men imagined land beyond the sea and found it. Men imagined the forests, the great plains, the rivers, the mountains—and found these plains, these mountains. No force of terror, no pressure of population, drove our ancestors across this continent. They came, as the great explorers crossed the Atlantic, because of the imagination of their minds—because they imagined a better, a more beautiful, a freer, a happier world; because they were men not only of courage, not only of strength and hardiness, but of warm and vivid desire; because they desired; because they had the power to desire.

13. And what was true of the continent was true of the Republic we created Because our forefathers were able to conceive a free man's government, they were able to create it. Because those who lived before us in this nation were able to imagine a new thing, a thing unheard of in the world before, a thing the skeptical and tired men who did not trust in dreams had not been able to imagine, they erected on this continent the first free nation—the first society in which mankind was to be free at last.

14. The courage of the Declaration of Independence is a far greater courage than the bravery of those who risked their necks to sign it. The courage of the Declaration of Independence is the courage of the act of the imagination. Jefferson's document is not a call to revolution only. Jefferson's document is an image of a life, a plan of life, a dream —indeed a dream. And yet there were men as careful of their own

respect, as hardheaded, as practical, as eager to be thought so, as any now in public life, who signed that Declaration for the world to look at.

15. The *truth* is that the tradition of imagination is behind us as behind no people in the history of the world. But our right to live as we imagine men should live is not a right drawn from tradition only. There are nations of the earth in which the act of the imagination would be an act *in* the imagination only—an action of escape. But not with us.

16. We have, and we know we have, the abundant means to bring our boldest dreams to pass—to create for ourselves whatever world we have the courage to desire. We have the metal and the men to take this country down, if we please to take it down, and to build it again as we please to build it. We have the tools and the skill and the intelligence to take our cities apart and to put them together, to lead our roads and rivers where we please to lead them, to build our houses where we want our houses, to brighten the air, to clean the wind, to live as men in this Republic, free men, should be living. We have the power and the courage and the resources of good-will and decency and common understanding—a long experience of decency and common understanding—to enable us to live, not in this continent alone but in the world, as citizens in common of the world, with many others.

17 We have the power and the courage and the resources of experience to create a nation such as men have never seen. And, more than that, we have the moment of creation in our hands. Our forefathers, when they came to the New England valleys or the Appalachian meadows, girdled the trees and dragged the roots into fences and built themselves shelters and, so roughly sheltered, farmed the land for their necessities. Then, later, when there were means to do it, when there was time, when the occasion offered, they burned the tangled roots and rebuilt their fences and their houses—but rebuilt them with a difference: rebuilt them as villages, as neighborhoods; rebuilt them with those lovely streets, those schools, those churches which still speak of their conception of the world they wanted. When the means offered, when the time offered, men created, on the clearings of the early useful farms, the towns that made New England and the Alleghenies.

18 Now is the time for the re-creation, the rebuilding, not of the villages and towns but of a nation. Now is the time to consider that the trees are down, that the land has been broken, that the means are available and the continent itself must be rebuilt. Our necessities have

been accomplished as men have always accomplished their necessities—with wastefulness, with ugliness, with cruelty, as well as with the food of harvests. Our necessities have been accomplished with the roots of the broken trees along the fences, the rough shelters, the lonely lives. Now is the time to build the continent itself—to take down and to rebuild; and not the houses and the cities only, but the life itself, raising upon the ready land the brotherhood that can employ it and delight in it and use it as a people such as ours should use it.

19 We stand at the moment of the building of great lives, for the war's end and our victory in the war will throw that moment and the means before us. But to seize the moment and the means we must agree, as men in those New England valleys were agreed, upon the world we mean to bring about. We must agree upon the image of that world.

3

20. And this precisely is the thing we have not done and seem incapable of doing. Neither in these years of war nor in the years before them; never since America became a land of wealth, a country of abundance, a nation which could bring its dreams to pass; never since the industrialization of the continent and the opening of its vast American resources of men and ore and grain and cloth and cattle—never have we considered as a people what we meant to be, what we desired.

21 When we speak of our ideal conception of ourselves, we speak still in terms of the agricultural and sparsely settled nation Thomas Jefferson and his contemporaries had in mind. The ideal landscape of America which Jefferson painted hangs unaltered in the American imagination—a clean, small landscape with its isolated figures, its pleasant barns, its self-reliant rooftrees, its horizons clear of the smoke and the fumes of cities, its air still, its frontiers protected by month-wide oceans, year-wide wildernesses. No later hand has touched it, except Lincoln's maybe, deepening the shadow, widening the sky, broadening the acreage of the name of freedom, giving the parts a wholeness that in brighter, sharper light they lacked. For fifty years and longer it has been a landscape of a world that no man living could expect to see except behind him, a landscape no Americans could bring to being, a dream—but of the past, and not the future.

22. And yet we keep this image in our minds. This, and not the world beyond us, is the world we turn to: the lost, nostalgic image of a world that was the future to a generation dead a hundred years. No

other image has been made to take its place. No one has dreamed a new American dream of the new America—the industrial nation of the huge machines, the limitless earth, the vast and skillful population, the mountains of copper and iron, the mile-long plants, the delicate laboratories, the tremendous dams. No one has imagined this America —what its life should be; what life it should lead with its great wealth and the tools in its hands and the men to employ them.

23 The plants and the factories and their products have been celebrated often enough—perhaps too often. The statistics have been added up The camera has held its mirror to the great machines. But the central question we have never asked. What are they *for*, these plants and products, these statistics? *What are they for in terms of a nation of men*—in Jefferson's terms? What is the ideal landscape of this new America? What are we trying to become, to bring about? What is our dream of ourselves as a great people? What would we be if we could. what would our lives be? And how will we use this skill, this wealth, this power to create those lives?

24 What is demanded of us in this time of change, what our whole history and our present need demand of us, is that we find the answers to these questions—that we consider what we wish this new America to be For what we wish to be we can become.

25 And if we cannot wish—we shall become that also.

4

26. There are men, it is true, who believe there are no answers. There are men, and among the wisest of our time, who do not believe that an image of this new America can be conceived—who do not believe in a world of plenty; do not believe in it with their hearts whatever their senses tell them; do not believe that the lives of men can be good lives in the industrialized society which alone makes plenty possible

27. Judge Learned Hand spoke not for Mr. Justice Brandeis alone, but for many others, when he summarized the Justice's position as resting on the strong belief that "most of our positive ills have directly resulted from great size. With it has indeed come the magic of modern communication and quick transport; but out of these has come the sinister apparatus of mass suggestion and mass production. . . The herd is regaining its ancient and evil primacy . These many inventions are a step backward . . . our security has actually diminished as our demands have become more exacting: our comforts we purchase at the cost of a softer fiber, a feebler will, and an infantile suggestibility."

28 And in the concluding sentences of his noble tribute to the great Justice, Judge Hand used words which many of the best of his contemporaries would speak after him without the alteration of a syllable: "You may build your Towers of Babel to the clouds; you may contrive ingeniously to circumvent Nature by devices beyond even the understanding of all but a handful; you may provide endless distractions to escape the tedium of your barren lives; you may rummage the whole planet for your ease and comfort. It shall avail you nothing; the more you struggle the more deeply you will be enmeshed."

29. They are eloquent words and noble words. They respond to a strong strain in the American character. But are they necessarily and inevitably true? Is it inevitable that men who contrive ingeniously to circumvent nature should live tedious and barren lives and fall into the fatness of the spirit we, as well as Justice Brandeis, have seen and hated? Is it inconceivable that men should achieve a life with the machines as disciplined and honorable and as free as the life that Jefferson believed they could achieve with mules and oxen? Is it certain that the human spirit can survive and flourish only in a world where need and hardship drive with stinging whips?

30. Is the fault with the machines or with ourselves? Is it because we have automobiles to ride in, because we can purchase certain commodities easily, because our presses can turn out tons of printed paper in a day, that our fiber is soft, our will feeble, our suggestibility infantile? Or is it because we do not use these things as we should use them—because we have not made them serve our moral purpose as a people, but only contribute to our private comfort as their owners?

31. Is the whole question indeed not a question of ourselves instead of our devices? Is it not for us to *say* how these devices, these inventions, should be used? Does their use not rest upon the purpose of their use? And does the purpose not depend upon our power to conceive the purpose—our power as a people to conceive the purpose of the tools we use; our power as a people to conceive and to imagine?

32. A hundred and fifty years ago de Crèvecoeur asked a famous question which has echoes now: "What then is the American, this new man?" But what then *is* he? What then is he now? A man incapable of the act of the imagination or a man to whom it is native and natural? A man to dare the dream of plenty with all its risks and dangers, or a man to hold to the old nostalgic landscape with the simple virtues safely forced upon him by the necessary self-denial?

33 A man who has the courage—or the foolishness perhaps—to

think a nation may have physical abundance and still retain, or still not lose, its soul? Or a man to accept the shamefaced verdict of the twenty years just past and return to the discipline of want and hunger?

34. A man who has the hardihood or the courage to believe that the machines which have enslaved his fathers will make his children free —free as no human beings in the world have yet known freedom; free of the twisting miseries and hungers; free to become themselves? Or a man to reject the hope of that enfranchised freedom and to seek his independence in the ancient narrow circle of his old dependence on himself?

35 Which of these two men is the American? We should have said a while ago we knew We should have said the American character was self-evident: A restless man. A great builder and maker and shaper, a man delighting in size and height and dimensions: the world's tallest; the town's biggest. A man never satisfied—never—with anything: his house or the town where his grandfather settled or his father's profession or even his own, for that matter An inveterate voyager and changer and finder. A man naturally hopeful; a believing man, believing that things progress, that things get forwarder. A skillful man with contraptions of one kind and another—machines, engines, various devices; familiar with all of them. A man of certain unquestioned convictions—of a strong, natural attachment to certain ideas and to certain ideals. But first of all and foremost of all a restless man and a believing man, a builder and changer of things and of nations.

36 We should have said, a generation back, there was no possible doubt or question of the will and power of this nation to propose the kind of future for itself which would employ the means of plenty for a human purpose. We should have said the principal characteristic of the American people was a confidence in the future and themselves—confidence that the future was the thing they'd make it. I cannot think, for myself, we have so changed that we do not believe this now. I cannot believe we are so changed that we'll let ourselves go with the drag and the current of history—that we'll let the future happen to us as the future happens to chips on a river or sheep in a blizzard; that we'll let the peace make us: not us the peace. I cannot believe we have so changed that we do not believe in ourselves and the future.

37 And yet we have not done what must be done if we believe the future is the thing we'll make it. We have not named that future.

38. And the time is short.

39. It is many years since Matthew Arnold saw his generation standing between two worlds, one dead, the other waiting to be born. Our time is still the time between these worlds; and the wars we suffer, the disasters, the uneasiness, are natural to the time we live in like the continuing and violent storms that drive the days between the seasons. We shall not have peace in truth, peace for our lives, peace for the purposes of our lives, until the world we wait for has been born. But it will not be born until we recognize it, until we shape it with our expectation and our hope. The new worlds do not bring themselves to being Men's minds, when they are ready for them, find them. The labor and the longing must be ours.

40 They must be ours as men and also—and this is the truth our generation in this country must accept—as Americans. For the future is America's to make. It is not our future, as a few Americans have asked us to believe, to master or exploit. It is not an American future for some vast imperial enterprise, some huge dominion of the earth or sky. And yet it is our future. It is ours to shape. It is ours to shape, not because we have many planes or great numbers of ships or rich industrial resources but for a different reason: because we have the power as a people to conceive so great a future as mankind must now conceive—because we have behind us a tradition of imagination in the people.

41 But because we have the power we have also a responsibility to use the power. While there still is time.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Note how the single sentence of paragraph 1 is built. How is the idea from the beginning down to the colon related to what follows? How are the ideas between the semicolons related to one another? How are they when taken together related to the idea preceding the colon?
2. Note now the structure of the sentence. Where is the language in the form of a complete sentence and where in the form of dependent clauses? How is punctuation used to show the structure of the ideas and the language?
3. Now consider the sentence in relation to the paragraphs of the first section. With what paragraphs can you identify the first "that" clause? The second? The third? The fourth? With

which clauses is the identification easy? With which is it difficult?

4. Now consider the sentence in relation to the entire essay With which sections can you identify the four "that" clauses? Is the identification easy or difficult? What lesson for clearness in your own writing and speaking can you learn from the way Mr. MacLeish has used this opening sentence?
5. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary From the various meanings given for each, select and put in your notebook the meaning which is appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Note also the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation

issue (l. 2)
suppress (l. 11)
predecessors (l. 35)
conceived (l. 36)
consequences (l. 36)
commit (l. 58)
paradox (l 62)
decision (l 64)
starvation (l 61)
inability (l 64)

6. Treat the following words as you have treated those in the preceding list. Also note that the two members of each pair derive from a common root. Trace them back to this root, and find examples of other words also derived from it Also state what elements of the original meaning of the root are to be found in the derivatives.

proposition (l. 1), purpose (l. 288)
predecessors (l. 35), succeeding (l. 43)
manufacturers (l. 50), significance (l. 73)
contradictory (l. 55), verdict (l. 301)
continent (l. 116), retain (l. 300)

7. How important in the future of a people do you consider imagination to be? What is its relation to other factors? In paragraph 1 does Mr. MacLeish overstate the case against American imagination?
8. Would the theory stated in the last sentence of paragraph 4 eliminate imagination as a factor in human development? How does a particular industrial and economic system come into being? What bearing has the theory on the control of the business cycle?
9. Do you believe that Mr. MacLeish in paragraphs 1 and 5 has correctly rated previous crises in American history? To what periods does he refer? What do you consider the great American crises? How do you rate them?

10 What "affirmative purpose" have you for the future? Can it withstand the challenge of paragraphs 6 and 7?

11 What does Mr MacLeish at the end of section 1 think of the "practical, hard-headed people who aren't taken in by utopias"? Is the idealism he proposes in paragraphs 8-11 "hard good-sense"?

12 Does paragraph 14 correctly analyze the Declaration of Independence? What is the practical difference between this "act of the imagination" and the sort of "act *in* the imagination only" which as suggested in paragraph 15 might occur in some countries? What is "an action of escape"?

13 In *The Story of Utopias* Lewis Mumford speaks of "utopias of escape" and "utopias of reconstruction." In which kind do the ideas of paragraph 16 belong?

14 How do you like the analogy of paragraph 17? As applied to the remainder of section 2 how convincing is it?

15 What two contrasting images of America does Mr MacLeish present in section 3? How accurate are they?

16 What answers have you for the questions in paragraph 23?

17 Paragraphs 26-29 state a life philosophy held by many as paragraph 26 says, "among the wisest of our time." How do you answer the summarizing question at the end of paragraph 29?

18 What answer to the question of item 17 do paragraphs 30-34 suggest? Do paragraphs 35-36 suggest that Mr MacLeish is confident America will find the wise answer? What help toward the answer do the remaining paragraphs give?

19 Paragraph 38 and the final sentence of the essay suggest that we cannot postpone our act of imagination Why can we not? How do paragraphs 5 and 6 bear on the answer? Recalling that Mr MacLeish wrote in mid-1943, how do events since that time bear on the answer?

20. Take some idea suggested in the preceding items and comment on it in a single paragraph.

21 In a longer paper discuss "The Unimagined America" as a whole, perhaps as an introduction to section V Or accept the challenge to imagine America as you wish it to be What gadgets does your imagination see in the future? What besides? Or take some idea that occurred to you independently in reading the essay and treat it as you see fit Whatever topic you choose and at whatever length you discuss it, use it as an opportunity to improve your own skill in communication

Democratic Vistas

WALT WHITMAN

In 1855 Walt Whitman (1819–1892) published the first of many editions of his *Leaves of Grass*, a book of free verse which Carl Sandburg has called "America's most classic advertisement of itself as having purpose, destiny, banners and beacon-fires." By his innovations in style and by the almost Biblical plainness of speech with which he celebrated his doctrine that all natural phases of life are sacred, he offended many of the genteel readers and critics of the time, and it was not until after his death that he was generally accepted as the most original and significant poet that America has produced. However, though he suffered greatly from neglect and condemnation, he was never wholly without appreciation, and through the efforts of friends his personal character and literary purposes gradually became better understood. A knowledge of his devotion to American ideals, of his well-nigh saintly ministrations to the sick and wounded during the Civil War, and of the attention which his works received in Europe helped to correct some of the unfavorable impressions which had been current concerning him. In his later years he was the center of a growing circle of friends and admirers to whom the sturdy old patriot and lover of humanity became an object of almost religious veneration.

Democratic Vistas, from which the following passages are taken, is perhaps Whitman's most important prose work. It was first published in 1871, during one of the two worst periods of political corruption and economic unrest in our history. The hopes and fears which Whitman then felt for his America have not lost their relevance with the passing of time. [*Democratic Vistas*, 1871, *passim*.]

1. AMERICA, filling the present with greatest deeds and problems, cheerfully accepting the past, including feudalism, (as, indeed, the present

is but the legitimate birth of the past, including feudalism,) counts, as I reckon, for her justification and success, (for who, as yet, dare claim success?) almost entirely on the future. Nor is that hope unwarranted. To-day, ahead, though dimly yet, we see, in vistas, a copious, sane, gigantic offspring. For our New World I consider far less important for what it has done, or what it is, than for results to come. Sole among nationalities, these States have assumed the task to put in forms of lasting power and practicality, on areas of amplitude rivaling the operations of the physical kosmos, the moral political speculations of ages, long, long deferr'd, the democratic republican principle, and the theory of development and perfection by voluntary standards, and self-reliance. Who else, indeed, except the United States, in history, so far, have accepted in unwitting faith, and, as we now see, stand, act upon, and go security for these things?

2. To him or her within whose thought rages the battle, advancing, retreating, between democracy's convictions, aspirations, and the people's crudeness, vice, caprices, I mainly write this essay. I shall use the words America and democracy as convertible terms. Not an ordinary one is the issue. The United States are destined either to surmount the gorgeous history of feudalism, or else prove the most tremendous failure of time. Not the least doubtful am I on any prospects of their material success. The triumphant future of their business, geographic and productive departments, on larger scales and in more varieties than ever, is certain. In those respects the republic must soon (if she does not already) outstrip all examples hitherto afforded, and dominate the world.

3. Let me illustrate further, as I write, with current observations, localities, etc. The subject is important, and will bear repetition. After an absence, I am now again (September, 1870) in New York city and Brooklyn, on a few weeks' vacation. The splendor, picturesqueness, and oceanic amplitude and rush of these great cities, the unsurpass'd situation, rivers and bay, sparkling seatides, costly and lofty new buildings, façades of marble and iron, of original grandeur and elegance of design, with the masses of gay color, the preponderance of white and blue, the flags flying, the endless ships, the tumultuous streets, Broadway, the heavy, low, musical roar, hardly ever intermitted, even at night; the jobbers' houses, the rich shops, the wharves, the great Central Park, and the Brooklyn Park of hills, (as I wander among them this beautiful fall weather, amusing, watching, absorbing)—the assemblages of the citizens in their groups, conversations, trades, evening amusements, or along the by-quarters—these, I say, and the like of

these, completely satisfy my senses of power, fulness, motion, etc., and give me, through such senses and appetites, and through my esthetic conscience, a continued exaltation and absolute fulfilment. Always and more and more, as I cross the East and North rivers, the ferries, or with the pilots in their pilot-houses, or pass an hour in Wall street, or the gold exchange, I realize, (if we must admit such partialisms,) that not Nature alone is great in her fields of freedom and the open air, in her storms, the shows of night and day, the mountains, forests, seas—but in the artificial, the work of man too is equally great—in this profusion of teeming humanity—in these ingenuities, streets, goods, houses, ships—these hurrying, feverish, electric crowds of men, their complicated business genius, (not least among the geniuses,) and all this mighty, many-threaded wealth and industry concentrated here.

4. But sternly discarding, shutting our eyes to the glow and grandeur of the general superficial effect, coming down to what is of the only real importance, Personalities, and examining minutely, we question, we ask, Are there, indeed, *men* here worthy of the name? Are there athletes? Are there perfect women, to match the generous material luxuriance? Is there a pervading atmosphere of beautiful manners? Are there crops of fine youths, and majestic old persons? Are there arts worthy freedom and a rich people? Is there a great moral and religious civilization—the only justification of a great material one? Confess that to severe eyes, using the moral microscope upon humanity, a sort of dry and flat Sahara appears, these cities, crowded with petty grotesques, malformations, phantoms, playing meaningless antics. Confess that everywhere, in shop, street, church, theatre, bar-room, official chair, are pervading flippancy and vulgarity, low cunning, infidelity—everywhere the youth puny, impudent, foppish, prematurely ripe—everywhere an abnormal libidinousness, unhealthy forms, male, female, painted, padded, dyed, chignon'd, muddy complexions, bad blood, the capacity for good motherhood deceasing or deceas'd, shallow notions of beauty, with a range of manners, or rather lack of manners, (considering the advantages enjoy'd,) probably the meanest to be seen in the world.

5. I say we had best look our times and lands searchingly in the face, like a physician diagnosing some deep disease. Never was there, perhaps, more hollowness at heart than at present, and here in the United States. Genuine belief seems to have left us. The underlying principles of the States are not honestly believ'd in, (for all this hectic glow, and these melodramatic screamings), nor is humanity itself believ'd in. What penetrating eye does not everywhere see through

the mask? The spectacle is appalling. We live in an atmosphere of hypocrisy throughout. The men believe not in the women, nor the women in the men. A scornful superciliousness rules in literature. The aim of all the *littérateurs* is to find something to make fun of. A lot of churches, sects, etc., the most dismal phantasms I know, usurp the name of religion. Conversation is a mass of badinage. From deceit in the spirit, the mother of all false deeds, the offspring is already incalculable. An acute and candid person, in the revenue department in Washington, who is led by the course of his employment to regularly visit the cities, north, south and west, to investigate frauds, has talk'd much with me about his discoveries. The depravity of the business classes of our country is not less than has been supposed, but infinitely greater. The official services of America, national, state, and municipal, in all their branches and departments, except the judiciary, are saturated in corruption, bribery, falsehood, maladministration; and the judiciary is tainted. The great cities reek with respectable as much as non-respectable robbery and scoundrelism. In fashionable life, flippancy, tepid amours, weak infidelism, small aims, or no aims at all, only to kill time. In business, (this all-devouring modern word, business,) the one sole object is, by any means, pecuniary gain. The magician's serpent in the fable ate up all the other serpents; and money-making is our magician's serpent, remaining today sole master of the field. The best class we show, is but a mob of fashionably dress'd speculators and vulgarians. True, indeed, behind this fantastic farce, enacted on the visible stage of society, solid things and stupendous labors are to be discover'd, existing crudely and going on in the background, to advance and tell themselves in time. Yet the truths are none the less terrible. I say that our New World democracy, however great a success in uplifting the masses out of their sloughs, in materialistic development, products, and in a certain highly-deceptive superficial popular intellectuality, is, so far, an almost complete failure in its social aspects, and in really grand religious, moral, literary, and esthetic results. In vain do we march with unprecedented strides to empire so colossal, outvying the antique, beyond Alexander's, beyond the proudest sway of Rome. In vain have we annex'd Texas, California, Alaska, and reach north for Canada and south for Cuba. It is as if we were somehow being endow'd with a vast and more and more thoroughly-appointed body, and then left with little or no soul.

6. Of all this, and these lamentable conditions, to breathe into them the breath recuperative of sane and heroic life, I say a new founded literature, not merely to copy and reflect existing surfaces, or pander

to what is called taste—not only to amuse, pass away time, celebrate the beautiful, the refined, the past, or exhibit technical, rhythmic, or grammatical dexterity—but a literature underlying life, religious, consistent with science, handling the elements and forces with competent power, teaching and training men—and, as perhaps the most precious of its results, achieving the entire redemption of woman out of these incredible holds and webs of silliness, millinery, and every kind of dyspeptic depletion—and thus insuring to the States a strong and sweet Female Race, a race of perfect Mothers—is what is needed.

7. As to the political section of Democracy, which introduces and breaks ground for further and vaster sections, few probably are the minds, even in these republican States, that fully comprehend the aptness of that phrase, "*The Government of the People, By the People, For the People,*" which we inherit from the lips of Abraham Lincoln; a formula whose verbal shape is homely wit, but whose scope includes both the totality and all minutiae of the lesson.

8. To practically enter into politics is an important part of American personalism. To every young man, north and south, earnestly studying these things, I should here, as an offset to what I have said in former pages, now also say, that may-be to views of very largest scope, after all, perhaps the political, (perhaps the literary and sociological,) America goes best about its development its own way—sometimes, to temporary sight, appalling enough. It is the fashion among dillettants and fops (perhaps I myself am not guiltless,) to decry the whole formulation of the active politics of America, as beyond redemption, and to be carefully kept away from. See you that you do not fall into this error. America, it may be, is doing very well upon the whole, notwithstanding these antics of the parties and their leaders, these half-brain'd nominees, and many ignorant ballots, and many elected failures and blatherers. It is the dillettants, and all who shirk their duty, who are not doing well. As for you, I advise you to enter more strongly yet into politics. I advise every young man to do so. Always inform yourself; always do the best you can; always vote. Disengage yourself from parties. They have been useful, and to some extent remain so; but the floating, uncommitted electors, farmers, clerks, mechanics, the masters of parties—watching aloof, inclining victory this side or that side—such are the ones most needed. present and future. For America, if eligible at all to downfall and ruin, is eligible within herself, not without; for I see clearly that the combined foreign world could not beat her down. But these savage, wolfish parties alarm me

Owning no law but their own will, more and more combative, less and less tolerant of the idea of *ensemble* and of equal brotherhood, the perfect equality of the States, the ever-overarching American ideas, it behooves you to convey yourself implicitly to no party, nor submit blindly to their dictators, but steadily hold yourself judge and master over all of them.

9. The average man of a land at last only is important. He, in these States, remains immortal owner and boss, deriving good uses, somehow, out of any sort of servant in office, even the basest; (certain universal requisites, and their settled regularity and protection, being first secured,) a nation like ours, in a sort of geological formation state, trying continually new experiments, choosing new delegations, is not served by the best men only, but sometimes more by those that provoke it—by the combats they arouse. Thus national rage, fury, discussion, etc., better than content. Thus, also, the warning signals, invaluable for after times.

10. The eager and often inconsiderate appeals of reformers and revolutionists are indispensable, to counterbalance the inertness and fossilism making so large a part of human institutions. The latter will always take care of themselves—the danger being that they rapidly tend to ossify us. The former is to be treated with indulgence, and even with respect. As circulation to air, so is agitation and a plentiful degree of speculative license to political and moral sanity. Indirectly, but surely, goodness, virtue, law, (of the very best,) follow freedom. These, to democracy, are what the keel is to the ship, or saltness to the ocean.

11. The true gravitation-hold of liberalism in the United States will be a more universal ownership of property, general homesteads, general comfort—a vast, intertwining reticulation of wealth. As the human frame or, indeed, any object in this manifold universe, is best kept together by the simple miracle of its own cohesion, and the necessity, exercise and profit thereof, so a great and varied nationality, occupying millions of square miles, were firmest held and knit by the principle of the safety and endurance of the aggregate of its middling property owners. So that, from another point of view, ungracious as it may sound, and a paradox after what we have been saying, democracy looks with suspicious, ill-satisfied eye upon the very poor, the ignorant, and on those out of business. She asks for men and women with occupations, well-off, owners of houses and acres, and with cash in the bank—and with some cravings for literature, too; and must have them, and hastens to make them. Luckily, the seed is already well-sown, and has taken ineradicable root.

12. Of course, in these States, for both man and woman, we must entirely recast the types of highest personality from what the oriental, feudal, ecclesiastical worlds bequeath us, and which yet possess the imaginative and esthetic fields of the United States, pictorial and melodramatic, not without use as studies, but making sad work, and forming a strange anachronism upon the scenes and exigencies around us. Of course, the old undying elements remain. The task is, to successfully adjust them to new combinations, our own days. Nor is this so incredible. I can conceive a community, to-day and here, in which, on a sufficient scale, the perfect personalities, without noise meet; say in some pleasant western settlement or town, where a couple of hundred best men and women, of ordinary worldly status, have by luck been drawn together, with nothing extra of genius or wealth, but virtuous, chaste, industrious, cheerful, resolute, friendly and devout. I can conceive such a community organized in running order, powers judiciously delegated—farming, building, trade, courts, mails, schools, elections, all attended to; and then the rest of life, the main thing, freely branching and blossoming in each individual, and bearing golden fruit. I can see there, in every young and old man, after his kind, and in every woman after hers, a true personality, develop'd, exercised proportionately in body, mind, and spirit. I can imagine this case as one not necessarily rare or difficult, but in buoyant accordance with the municipal and general requirements of our times. And I can realize in it the culmination of something better than any stereotyped *éclat* of history or poems. Perhaps, unsung, undramatized, unput in essays or biographies—perhaps even some such community already exists, in Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, or somewhere, practically fulfilling itself, and thus outvying, in cheapest vulgar life, all that has been hitherto shown in best ideal pictures.

13. Political democracy, as it exists and practically works in America, with all its threatening evils, supplies a training-school for making first-class men. It is life's gymnasium, not of good only, but of all. We try often, though we fall back often. A brave delight, fit for freedom's athletes, fills these arenas, and fully satisfies, out of the action in them, irrespective of success. Whatever we do not attain, we at any rate attain the experiences of the fight, the hardening of the strong campaign, and throb with currents of attempt at least. Time is ample. Let the victors come after us. Not for nothing does evil play its part among us. Judging from the main portions of the history of the world, so far, justice is always in jeopardy, peace walks amid hourly pitfalls, and of slavery, misery, meanness, the craft of tyrants and the

credulity of the populace, in some of their protean forms, no voice can at any time say, They are not. The clouds break a little, and the sun shines out—but soon and certain the lowering darkness falls again, as if to last forever. Yet is there an immortal courage and prophecy in every sane soul that cannot, must not, under any circumstances, capitulate. *Vive,* the attack—the perennial assault! *Vive,* the unpopular cause—the spirit that audaciously aims—the never-abandon'd efforts, pursued the same amid opposing proofs and precedents.

14. Even to-day, amid these whirls, incredible flippancy, and blind fury of parties, infidelity, entire lack of first-class captains and leaders, added to the plentiful meanness and vulgarity of the ostensible masses—that problem, the labor question, beginning to open like a yawning gulf, rapidly widening every year—what prospects have we? We sail a dangerous sea of seething currents, cross and under-currents, vortices—all so dark, untried—and whither shall we turn? It seems as if the Almighty had spread before this nation charts of imperial destinies, dazzling as the sun, yet with many a deep intestine difficulty, and human aggregate of cankerous imperfection,—saying, lo! the roads, the only plans of development, long and varied with all terrible balks and ebullitions. You said in your soul, I will be empire of empires, overshadowing all else, past and present, putting the history of old-world dynasties, conquests behind me, as of no account—making a new history, a history of democracy, making old history a dwarf—I alone inaugurating largeness, culminating time. If these, O lands of America, are indeed the prizes, the determinations of your soul, be it so. But behold the cost, and already specimens of the cost. Thought you greatness was to ripen for you like a pear? If you would have greatness, know that you must conquer it through ages, centuries—must pay for it with a proportionate price. For you too, as for all lands, the struggle, the traitor, the wily person in office, scrofulous wealth, the surfeit of prosperity, the demonism of greed, the hell of passion, the decay of faith, the long postponement, the fossil-like lethargy, the ceaseless need of revolutions, prophets, thunderstorms, deaths, births, new projections and invigorations of ideas and men.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and write in your notebook the meaning appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation.

ingenuities (l. 53)
libidinousness (l. 72)
chignon'd (l. 73)
hectic (l. 82)
superciliousness (l. 87)
phantasms (l. 89)
badinage (l. 90)
pecuniary (l. 104)
recuperative (l. 124)
dyspeptic (l. 133)
depletion (l. 133)
minutiae (l. 142)
dillettants (l. 149)
formulation (l. 151)
requisites (l. 176)
fossilism (l. 184)
ossify (l. 186)
reticulation (l. 194)
cohesion (l. 196)
aggregate (l. 199)
ineradicable (l. 207)
ecclesiastical (l. 210)
anachronism (l. 213)
protean (l. 249)
perennial (l. 254)
vortices (ll. 262-3)
ebullitions (l. 268)
culminating (l. 272)
scrofulous (l. 278)
surfeit (l. 278)
demonism (l. 279)
lethargy (l. 280)

2. Treat the following words as you have treated those in the preceding list. Also note that the members of each pair or triplet derive from a common root. Trace them back to this root, and find examples of other words also derived from it. Also state what elements of the original meaning of the root are to be found in the derivatives.

vistas (l. 6), visible (l. 109)
façades (l. 35), superficial (l. 58)
current (l. 29), course (l. 93)
absence (l. 31), present (l. 163)
artificial (l. 52), fashionable (l. 101), imperfection (l. 266)
unprecedented (l. 117), successfully (ll. 214-15)
incredible (l. 216), credulity (l. 249)
attended (l. 224), ostensible (l. 259)
capitulate (l. 254), captains (l. 258)

3. You will probably not find in your dictionary the words "kosmos" (l. 11), "partialisms" (l. 49), or "personalism"

(l. 144). What is the usual spelling of "kosmos"? What does Whitman seem to mean by the other two words?

4. Whitman believed that the English language, especially in America, should freely take to itself words from other languages. What words in lines 88, 168, and 232 are borrowed from another language? What language? What do the words mean? Are they now good English? Would you italicize them if you were using them today?
5. Whitman's prose style exhibits some of the same sweeping freedom and unconventionality that characterize his verse. Compare his style with the styles of other writers in this section, taking account of such features as choice of words, structure and length of sentences and paragraphs, coherence, and grammatical and logical precision. Point out good and bad features of Whitman's style. Give reasons why you would or would not consider it a good style for you and your classmates to imitate.
6. What, according to paragraph 1, is the distinctive mission of the United States of America?
7. To what positive achievements of the United States does Whitman refer in paragraphs 2 and 3?
8. What criticisms of American life are set forth in paragraphs 4 and 5? How many of these criticisms are applicable today?
9. What remedy is called for in paragraph 6? Does such a remedy exist today? If so, mention examples of it.
10. What sort of political conduct is recommended in paragraph 8? Do you consider the recommendation a good one? What are your reasons?
11. What faith is expressed in paragraph 9? Is it justified?
12. What attitude toward political radicalism is stated in paragraph 10? Do you agree with that attitude?
13. What according to paragraph 11, is the relation between property and democracy? Explain the paradox of which Whitman speaks. If the doctrine expressed in this paragraph is true, has this country been progressing toward democracy or away from it during the past twenty years?
14. What sort of community is portrayed in paragraph 12? Are you acquainted, either through reading or through observation, with any such community?
15. What attitude toward the future is expressed in paragraphs 13 and 14? How accurately do these paragraphs portray the situation of America today?
16. With your answers to questions 6-15 before you, make a simple outline of this essay.

17. What thoughts and images are brought to your mind by the following phrases: "the people's crudeness, vice, caprices" (ll. 18-19), "the gorgeous history of feudalism" (ll. 21-22), "oceanic amplitude and rush of these great cities" (l. 33), "these cities, crowded with petty grotesques" (ll. 67-68), "the youth puny, impudent, foppish, prematurely ripe" (ll. 71-72), "tepid amours" (l. 102), "this all-devouring modern word, business" (ll. 103-4), "superficial popular intellectuality" (ll. 114-15), "the breath recuperative of sane and heroic life" (l. 124), "a strong and sweet Female Race" (l. 134), "these half-brain'd nominees, . . . and many elected failures and blatherers" (ll. 154-156), "the floating, uncommitted electors" (l. 161), "the craft of tyrants and the credulity of the populace" (ll. 248-9), "scrofulous wealth" (l. 278), "new projections and invigorations of ideas and men" (ll. 281-2)?
18. Out of the suggestions that come to you from one or more of the phrases just quoted, you may perhaps derive material for a paragraph or a short paper; or perhaps you may prefer to write a general criticism of Whitman's Americanism or a statement of its bearings upon some contemporary social, economic, or political situation.

Culture Versus Colonialism in America

HERBERT AGAR

Herbert Agar (1897–) was educated at Columbia and Princeton Universities, receiving his Ph.D. in English from Princeton in 1922. He has been a London correspondent for American newspapers, a syndicated columnist, literary editor of the (London) *English Review,* and editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal.* He has published poetry, criticism, and fiction. His books include *The People's Choice* (Pulitzer prize for history, 1934), *Land of the Free* (1935), *Who Owns America?* (edited, with Allen Tate, 1936), *What Is America?* (1936), *Pursuit of Happiness* (1938), *A Time for Greatness* (1942). In both world wars he served with the United States Navy. Recently he has been a special assistant to the American Ambassador in London and Director of the British Division of the (American) Office of War Information. [*Southern Review* 1:1-19, July, 1935. Reprinted, with slight changes, in *Land of the Free,* 1935. By permission of Mr. Agar and Houghton Mifflin Company.]

1. HAVING BEEN TOLD many times that the future must be a strife between communism and fascism, a number of Americans are beginning to believe it. But their hearts are not given to either side; so the belief leads to pessimism, to the conviction that America is sold out and that there is nothing left to do but complain cleverly.

2. Such an attitude has the merit of completeness. It satisfies the part of the human mind that cries for an answer at any cost, even at the cost of suicide. But there is no excuse, as yet, for Americans to seek this shoddy comfort. We have a harder task and a more exciting. It is our job to save a corner of the world from the twin despotisms that encroach on Europe. If we do this we shall take a proud place in history. If we fail to do it we shall take no place at all; we shall just be a colony; a huge but awkward copy of the parent civilization.

3. If we are to seize our chance for greatness we must fight both

the defeatism of the pessimists and the greedy optimism of those whose picture of a pretty future is a return to 1928. Our hope lies in the fact that we once had a political tradition which could give an answer in terms of freedom to this false fascist-or-communist dilemma. We have weakened that tradition shamefully, by taking its name in vain. We have betrayed it item by item while assuring each other that we were merely adapting it to the modern progress. It will not be easily revived today. Yet there is our job. All over the United States men are waking to that knowledge at last.

4. The first step toward reviving native America is to define it. And before it can be defined it has to be isolated. The "real" America, from which a native Culture can grow, has to be distinguished from colonial America which seeks only to copy Europe. The present essay tries to make this distinction even at the risk of overstating the differences.

5. During six years of living in England I learned one basic fact about my own country. I learned that the best traits in American life are not the traits we have copied faithfully from Europe but the traits we have freely adapted, or else originated—the traits which are our own. I learned that in so far as America is an imitation of Europe, she is not so good as the original. This merely means that in so far as we are a colonial race we share the usual shortcomings of colonialism. "Society" life in the big cities of America is an example. "Society" has of course become ridiculous all over the Western world. The bourgeois revolution of the nineteenth century, the rise of the stock-market wealth to a power and prestige overshadowing landed wealth, doomed urban "society" to a comic-section end. But granting that it is absurd everywhere, "society" in New York or Chicago is more absurd than in London. In London, something that once had dignity and purpose has grown sick and silly; in Chicago something sick and silly has been carefully improvised. A colonial status is a poor one at best; it becomes abject in a period when the model is not worth copying.

6. Modern American art offers a similar example. In so far as our art is a copy of French Modernism, it is colonial and inferior. As Mr. Thomas Craven writes:

> Those who regard art as modish decoration, as inarticulate embellishment, have every reason to favor French Modernism, and every incentive to buy it. And it is more sensible to buy the original manufactures than the American imitations. Truly, they order these material things better in France. In the exhi-

bition at the Chicago Fair, the French painters of the Modern School of Paris made the American painters attached to that school look seedy and second-rate.

But there is another American art, such as that of Mr. Thomas Hart Benton, which has nothing to do with French Modernism, with Bohemia's abstract aloofness from Europe's passion and despair. This other art deals with American life; for side by side with our colonialism there is an America which makes an original contribution to the culture of Christendom.

7. The town of Sheridan, in the Middle West, illustrates the two Americas, and also the half-conscious fight taking place between them —a fight that will determine our future.

8. Sheridan is a suburb of one of our giant cities. Its population increased from thirty-seven thousand in 1920 to sixty-three thousand in 1930. But Sheridan is not yet "suburban." Having a strong local pride it has thus far kept its own identity. It has not become merely another dormitory to the giant city. It still has the character of a Middle Western small town. But it will not have this character for long, if recent tendencies continue unchecked into the future. For Sheridan is living on its spiritual capital. It is using the virtues that are left over from the past rather than tending the soil from which these virtues grew. Native America will not win its fight unless it grows more conscious of the danger, more vigilant in defense.

9. The most striking feature of life in Sheridan is that a feeling of equality is still almost universal, at least among the whites. It is an unforced equality, which is so widely accepted that it does not need to call attention to itself. A delivery-boy will meet the wife of a college professor on the street, and will wave his hand at her and call out, "Hello there, Mrs. Holt, you're looking just fine today." The clerk at the grocery store will say, "Good morning, Mrs. Holt. Why, you've washed your hair." And the ice-man will find Mrs. Holt digging in her garden, and will stop to tell her, "Don't plant your tulips there—it's too shady. Plant them over by that wall, where they'll have a chance to grow."

10. Social democracy of this sort is of course widespread in rural America. But there are few towns, and fewer suburbs to great cities, where it still is dominant. And in the big cities themselves it is giving way more and more to a nasty caricature of equality: a defensive smartness that has none of the virtues of equality and none of the virtues of a class-system.

11. It is heartening to find Sheridan preserving its social democracy on the doorstep of a giant city where "equality" has no meaning at all, where a landless, toolless Marxian proletariat faces a Marxian bourgeoisie. There are several reasons why Sheridan has been able to do this. In the first place, it has kept a high standard in its public schools. Practically all the children of the town, therefore, are sent to these schools, so that the boy who grows up to be an ice-man and the girl who grows up to be the wife of a college professor may have sat side by side in class. This is often said to be customary in America; but it has long been quite uncustomary among people who, like many citizens of Sheridan, could afford to send their children to private school.

12. In the second place, there is no class of very rich people in Sheridan, and hardly any very poor. Though there is a wide range of income, there is no fantastic gulf of the sort that makes "equality" a joke. In the third place, the sense of civic pride among the citizens has been so strong that the town provides a number of amenities for all—not only cultural amenities, but abundant tennis courts, swimming beaches, and the like. These are well kept, with the result that the rich feel no need of having their own tennis courts, their own bathing houses and strips of beach. And not being over-rich they feel no need of advertising their pride. So they all use the communal facilities. In the fourth place there is a university in Sheridan, and the university has a large group of students from Middle Western farms where social democracy is as natural as breathing.

13. This equality which still lingers in Sheridan, making the half-hour drive from the huge neighboring city seem a bridge between two worlds, is a vital part of American culture. But what of the city, the antithesis to Sheridan? If the giant city grows and flourishes, Sheridan will die. And the city, with its skyscrapers, millionaires, gangsters, and polyglot proletariat—is it not the city typical of America, too? Yes: but it is not typical of American culture. It is my thesis that the city stands for the other America—big, loud, and un-selfconfident as a new boy at school, but not half so native as Sheridan, not half so well rooted, and in the end not half so strong.

14. Since Sheridan survived 1929, it may never be engulfed. It is still threatened, but its old character is not yet gone. Perhaps Sheridan will turn back and save the institutions which gave it that character, instead of accepting its metropolitan doom. If it does, the moment when the tide turns, the moment when the city stops encroaching on its tiny neighbor, will be an important moment in the story of American culture, and an important moment in world history. In order to

show how I can hope for such an event, I must explain what I mean by the phrase, "American culture." In common speech the phrase has little meaning, or else a meaning that is clear but trivial.

15. In the advertising columns of the *American Magazine* for November, 1934, there is a sample of the popular use of the word, culture. "At Palm Beach and Nassau, California and Cannes," reads the caption under a picture, "every year they flock by scores—those smart cultured women with enough money to indulge the slightest whim. And the number of them who use Listerine Tooth Paste is amazing."

16. And in the *Saturday Evening Post* for December 1, 1934, in an article called "An Industrial Design for Living," the following sentences occur: "Our nation has been on the receiving end of a cultural movement the like of which would be hard to imagine. All the colleges, all the magazines, the newspapers and the movies, have been indoctrinating people with the idea of beauty in person, in clothing and in background, until they have developed an appetite for such things beyond ordinary comprehension."

17. Here we have two of the commonest uses of the word: culture as female wealth and smartness, and culture as a consumer's demand for beauty, a demand that has been whipped up by "all the colleges, all the magazines, the newspapers and the movies." The first use of the word is silly enough to be harmless. People are in no danger of believing that a cultured nation is a nation composed chiefly of beautiful bare young women "with enough money to indulge the slightest whim." But the second use is evil, for it leads to misunderstanding. It is a form of the heresy that culture is a thing which can be stored in libraries and museums. Culture, in this sense, is not a way of life but something you learn at school, like plane geometry, or something you catch, like measles. If you have learned it or caught it, if you have "been on the receiving end of a cultural movement," then you will know about beauty and will want some of it. And if you want beauty you will go to the shops where it is for sale and buy as much as you can afford, or as much as you have room for at home.

18. This is the industrial-commercial view of culture, as is made clear in the *Saturday Evening Post* article, which continues as follows: "The old-time pioneers who pushed beyond the Alleghanies felt that they had a continent to explore, and, if your mind runs that way, to exploit. But we who came after them, or rather, out of them, have lived into a time when the pioneering has come into something richer than a green continent. It is a fertile region that lies somewhere between the human intelligence and the human soul. Developing it will

provide plenty of work for all the machines that can be contrived and all the labor that exists."

19. The last sentence is perfect. The "pioneers" are done with exploring North America, and they find themselves with quite a lot of redundant machinery on their hands. So they decide to "develop" the "fertile region that lies somewhere between the human intelligence and the human soul." By "developing" it they mean making it "beauty-conscious"; they mean teaching it to want goods and gadgets that have "eye-appeal." If you are in the market for goods with "eye-appeal," you have culture. Your "fertile region" has been developed. Of course, as the inventors turn out more and more machines, we shall have to get more and more cultured. In time, even our tooth paste and our telephones will have "eye-appeal." Everything we buy will be beautiful, and we'll buy an astonishing lot (for yesterday's eye-appeal can always be made into today's eyesore). In this way America should become the most cultured nation in the world's history.

20. This industrial-commercial view of culture, which sees it as the next field for industry "to explore, and, if your mind runs that way, to exploit," flourished during the years when Big Business was glorified. During the 1920's there were people who thought that as soon as Mr. Hoover finished solving the problem of poverty, Americans would apply sound business principles to the Higher Life and would shortly be delivering large packages of beauty and truth to every taxpayer. Today such people, though less hopeful about Mr. Hoover, still think that culture can be "laid on" like gas or water. They believe that if only a group of technocrats, or bureaucrats, or commissars, would organize things so that the whole working population would have mechanical jobs for four hours a day and freedom for twenty, the national demand for Higher Life would be too surprising for words. They may be right, for what they mean by higher life is reading "good books," going to concerts and picture galleries, and listening to lectures. None of these pastimes has any necessary connection with culture. The American public, for example, might spend its time reading Greek and Roman literature, looking at Italian and Dutch paintings, hearing German and Russian music, and attending lectures by visiting playwrights from Vienna and Budapest. The result would probably be a nation of prigs. I see no reason to think it would be a nation with culture. "If I read as many books as that man," said Hobbes, "I'd be as big a fool as he." "Beware of the man who would rather read than write," warns Bernard Shaw. Beware of the nation whose culture means admiring the creativeness of other people.

21. The Pittsburgh *Sun-Telegraph* for February 25, 1935, ran the following editorial:

> Andrew W. Mellon, former Secretary of the Treasury, spent more than $4,000,000 to buy six famous paintings, five of them from Soviet Russia. He planned to build a great art museum in Washington to house his famous collection of pictures, worth about $19,000,000.
>
> One by one he bought at huge prices great works of art from European collections in order to realize his dream of making Washington the art capital of the world.
>
> Mr. Mellon is proof of the utter falsity of the conception, once so widespread abroad, of American millionaires as ruthless money-grubbing materialists.
>
> In no other nation on earth, at no other time in history, have great individual fortunes so generously served the permanent scientific and artistic interests of mankind as here.

This is the perfect expression of false, colonial, imitative culture. The thought that Washington could become "the art capital of the world" by becoming the storehouse for a lot of Italian and Flemish and Byzantine paintings is a thought that does no honor to the human mind. Just as a city is a place where people live, not a place where they are buried, so an art capital is a place where art is produced, not a place where it is put away.

22. If the industrial-commercial concept of culture is dismissed to its proper home in the advertising columns, how can the word be redefined so that it can throw light on American life? As a prelude to trying such a redefinition, American life must be placed in a scheme of world history.

23. The old division of history into Ancient, Medieval, and Modern is being scrapped. It was a division which cut straight across the facts, separating events that belonged together and joining others that had nothing in common. Instead of one long gratifying advance, with ourselves as the latest and most improved model of humanity, what history really shows is a series of high Cultures passing through similar stages of growth and decay. In China, in Mexico, in India, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, and now at last in our own West, we can trace this pattern. Out of a group of farming settlements a new culture is born, no one knows why. The challenge of life is suddenly met by a new affirmation. A new statement is made of man's old faith that life has a meaning and that the meaning is good. In our case, in the years between 500 and 1000 A.D. this birth took place in Western Europe.

The Christian affirmation defined itself; it permeated the spirit of Western man; it began to find expression in social institutions which were to form the thought and manners of a continent.

24. The new culture, of course, may be much influenced by the remains of a previous civilization which occupied the same, or neighboring, lands—just as the emerging Western culture was influenced by the Classical. But the basic affirmation of the new culture, though it may be built on many foreign contributions, will be its own, will be characteristic. The Christianity of the West clearly rests on Hebrew, Classical, and Arabian foundations. Yet the religion of Western man is not just a version of a religion from Asia Minor, or from any other part of the dying Roman world. It is a new thing, born with Western culture and unlikely to survive it.

25. No historian can say why this new thing came to birth during those centuries, and in just that part of the world. But once the thing is born (and assuming that it is given a chance to grow, that it is not wiped out by force), the historian can predict certain stages through which it is likely to pass. He can predict, in the first place, that the life-drama of the new Culture will take the form of a conflict between the deep instinctive faith which is the essence of the Culture and an abstractly rationalizing self-destructive element which is a feature of man's mind. He can predict that religion (the expression of this deep faith) will dominate in the early period of the Culture, that art and abstract thought will for a time be religion's servant. (For Western man, this is the period from the birth of his Culture to about the end of the thirteenth century.)

26. The historian can predict that a little later there will be a second stage, where a more even balance is attained. The inquiring, self-probing mind becomes steadily more confident. Art and thought are secularized, though they are still for the most part in harmony with religion. They have not yet begun their final task of tearing up their own roots. (This is the period corresponding, roughly, to the years 1300–1700 in Western Europe.)

27. The historian could also predict the character of the third period —which has proved the last great period of every previous Culture. In this period the perilous balance between faith and critical thought slowly breaks down. The questioning, nihilistic mind, which in the beginning was religion's servant, and in the second period its ally, becomes its master. The instinctive faith weakens; the critical and analytical power is left undirected. In its new freedom it knows a burst of energy. The ardor of the human spirit, which was once shared

between heaven and earth, is now lavished solely on practical ends. The results are impressive. In every culture this is the time of imperial expansion, of great world cities, of mechanical triumphs: the giant buildings of Luxor, the Great Wall of China, the straight proud Roman roads across the body of Europe, the straight proud steel belittling the American sky. This is the time when man learns to do so many striking things that his brain is warped with his own grandeur and he makes the mistake of thinking he understands the forces he is using. This is the period reached by Western man in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

28. The historian could go still further. On the basis of the same analogy with other cultures he could predict what is likely to be the mood and meaning of Western man's next stage. There is clearly no proof to these predictions; they are not a doom imposed upon us; but they are a useful warning, for hitherto none of the many cultures of which we have knowledge has escaped this final stage. Seeing what happened in the period comparable to our twentieth century in the Classical world, in the Cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia, India and China, the historian can say that instead of being on the verge of a final triumph Western man is probably on the verge of despair. For the crowning work of man's criticism, having discredited the thought and religion of the past, is to discredit the mind that criticizes. At the moment when intelligence dreams it is about to reach out and explain all things, it wakes to the annihilating theory that explanations are relative, that one is often as good—or as bad—as another. The mind which has dissolved the basic faith on which the whole culture rested, ends by dissolving itself, ends in Classical scepticism, ends in Eastern despair, ends in European nihilism and relativity. For the rootless intellect means nothing, leads nowhere, and cannot even sustain the will to struggle. At the highest point of the Civilization's physical achievement, this poisonous doubt strikes it, and it falls.

29. When a people have reached this stage of disillusionment, the rest of their story can be imagined. They can still do all their mechanical tricks, but the heart has gone out of such tricks except for the silly few who can enjoy themselves doing nothing but making money. The old faith in religion has faded under the attacks of the critical mind; the new faith in reason has proved a fraud under the self-slaughtering honesty of the same mind. And then appears one of the strangest but most often repeated facts of history. Man is stricken with sterility. In his giant cities he finds himself too bored or too unzestful even to breed normally. Rome was weak with depopulation

long before the barbarians pulled her down. Just as the birth of every culture-cycle is marked by a new affirmation of life, the end is marked by a hospitality to death. Man lies down tired in the midst of his marvels. His numbers dwindle, his cities stand half empty, and once again the beasts of the wilderness prowl among ruined buildings.

30. Spengler reminds us that "Samarra was abandoned by the tenth century; Pataliputra, Asoka's capital, was an immense and completely uninhabited waste of houses when the Chinese traveller, Hsinan-tang, visited it about A.D. 635." And he cites a whole group of late Classical writers—Polybius, Strabo, Pausanias, Dio Chrysostom, Avienus—who tell "of old, renowned cities in which the streets have become lines of empty crumbling shells, where the cattle browse in forum and gymnasium, and the amphitheatre is a sown field, dotted with emergent statues and herms." And Mr. Charles Francis Atkinson adds that in the days of the Roman decline, "the amphitheatres of Nimes and Arles were filled up by mean townlets that used the outer wall as their fortifications." The turn of the population-tide in the Western world is clearly foreshadowed today.

31. In succeeding ages, after such a decline has run its course, the dwindled population takes refuge in the countryside, where, if not attacked from without, it multiplies until it pushes on the limits of subsistence, until it reaches the state of the teeming agricultural East.

32. A civilization, therefore, may simply fall into inner desuetude, enduring for millenniums as the booty of successive conquerors, like Egypt, or China, or India. But a civilization may also die suddenly, not merely looted but murdered, as happened to Mexico at the hands of the Spaniards. Here was one of the most dramatic confrontations in history: an old civilization where doubt and relativity had clearly done their corrosive work, and a group of energetic bandits from a world that still had trust in itself.

33. This cyclical view of history need not breed pessimism. Spengler, the great popularizer of the view, has used it to vent a pathological despair. As if driven to expiate some enormous guilt he offers the whole Western world as sacrifice to Fate, and he knows no words too impolite for the victim who demurs. With a scream of italics and exclamation marks, Spengler falls upon him: This is what *has* to be! History cannot be interfered with! Bare your throats and *don't argue*!

34. I should think, however, that a sincere Christian would be bound to argue, would be bound to insist that a pattern may have repeated itself eight or ten times and still be only a pattern, not a doom. For instance, it is reasonable to predict a sorry end for a man who has

become a steady, sodden drunkard; but it would be stupid to say the man was doomed to such an end. He might have a religious conversion and become a saint. The only safe prediction we can make is that if nothing unusual happens the man will die a sot. Similarly, the only safe prediction about our cosmopolitan civilization is that if nothing unusual happens it will not turn out to be the start of a splendid new era, but the start of another dreary decline. In Europe, the unusual happening might be a revival of Christianity; in America it might be a strengthening of our native, as opposed to our colonial tradition.

35. While taking this hopeful view it would be wrong to ignore the warnings implicit in the new theory of history. It is right to reject determinism; it is right to insist that if we have the moral energy we can still save our Christian civilization from the fate which struck all the great civilizations that have gone down to the grave; but it is wrong to let ourselves be soothed by the silly dream that good must somehow triumph in the end since man has already progressed all the way from the mud to Mr. Henry Ford. Man has certainly progressed; but the point of the story told by modern archeology and history is that man has also declined, and with sinister regularity. He has not pushed steadily on, with a few temporary setbacks. On the contrary, he has risen again and again to what has seemed the top of his powers, and fallen again and again to a level not far above where he began. There are signs today that he may be preparing to fall once more, and though my own view of America's future is a hopeful one, it would be stupid not to take these signs into account, not to present my hope against the background of a real danger.

36. The great dividing line in the history of a high culture (such as the Classical, the Egyptian, or that of Western man) is the line between the second and third periods. On the one side of that line there is still a fruitful tension between instinct and intellect; on the other side the balance has been destroyed and the nihilistic mind has silenced the faith on which the whole culture rested. Spengler uses the word Culture for the period before that fatal division, and the word Civilization for the period that follows. The use of the words in this sense is arbitrary; but the distinction he makes is useful for an understanding of America today.

37. In these terms, Sheridan stands for American Culture, the giant city for Civilization. According to the pessimists, who have seized on the cyclical theory of history to justify their best fears, the giant city must win. And it is true that in the past, once the period of civilization has been reached, the clock has never turned back. The giant world-

city, with its cosmopolitanism, its scepticism, its falling birth-rate, its lack of morals, its imitative and then its decadent art—in the past, each time this recurring prodigy has appeared, the stage has been set for an age of Caesars, of wars and dictatorships and aimless crowds kept quiet by doles, or by bread and circuses. In every characteristic detail, we seem to be giving our own Western version of the dejecting picture. Where our religious life, for example, has not been killed by scepticism, it shows signs of decaying into an eclectic superstition. Like the Romans who brought Isis and Ariman to the Tiber, many Westerners today flirt with Buddhism, or follow Hindu fakirs, or make strange mixtures of their own, adding a dash of neo-Platonism to a smattering of Lao-Tse.

38. There are good reasons for pessimism. And I agree with the most despairing that if Civilization (the point of view of the world-city) became dominant in America, if the judgments, the ambitions, the interests, the conditions and habits of life, represented by Chicago and New York became the standard of the country, we would be old without ever having been young. We would be as old as Europe, but ours would be a graceless old age. No maturity, no serene memories, no wisdom—only decrepitude and loss of purpose. We should not be a rich culture drawing to an end with dignity; we should be just another colonial nation going down hill with (or perhaps before) the parent stock, without ever having been anything on our own. We should deserve the jibe flung at us by Mr. Belloc in a magnificent passage where he gives the European Christian's answer to the pessimism that assails Europe:

> Our Europe cannot perish. Her religion—which is also mine—has in it those victorious energies of defence which neither merchants nor philosophers can understand, and which are yet the prime condition of establishment. Europe, though she must always repel attacks from within and from without, is always secure; the soul of her is a certain spirit, at once reasonable and chivalric. And the gates of hell shall not prevail against her. . . .
>
> Her component peoples have merged and remerged. Her particular famous cities have fallen down. Her soldiers have believed the world to have lost all, because a battle turned against them, Hittin or Leipzig. Her best has at times grown poor and her worst rich. Her colonies have seemed dangerous for a moment from the insolence of their power, and then again (for a moment) from the contamination of their decline. . . . She will certainly remain.

39. It is a proud boast. And even the attack on America is not unworthy. An American who has lived long abroad knows too well why foreigners take this view. They hear nothing about us except news from our world-cities, plays and books about our world-cities (or else plays and books and news about our country-side from the point of view of our world-cities). They know America as a Civilization; America as an attempt at a Culture they do not know at all. And how should they? After six years in London I began to wonder, myself, whether there was such an America, or whether I had made it up and called it memory.

40. Why should Europe respect us as a big-city Civilization? As a Civilization we are derivative and second-hand; we have the instability of people who are not themselves. As a Civilization we are somebody else's Culture grown old. But we, the people, are not old. And the combination, though surprising, does not breed confidence. In art, in talk, in lack of morals, in cosmopolitan nihilism, New York is old. As old as Vienna, yet as vital as a gold-rush camp. The vitality would be attractive if it were lavished on something young; it is bizarre when it is lavished on decay.

41. There is no capital in Europe where cynicism and defeatism are more constant than in New York. But in Europe they are negative qualities, as fits their nature. In Europe they are a mood of tired disdain. In New York they are boyish and positive as battle-cries. In New York men announce their ironies with a kind of hopeful ardor. The cartoonist, James Thurber, is an illustration. In Europe men are puzzled by Mr. Thurber. Not because they are strangers to his withering view of humanity. Thurber's men and women—small, misshapen, and malignant; sub-human because they have no trace of purpose, no memory of hope; sub-bestial because they have none of the dignity of beasts—Europe is accustomed to this view of human nature. From the early Huysmans to Anatole France to Aldous Huxley, half the cleverest minds have been perfecting it for seventy years. But what perplexes Europe is to find this scornful picture combined with such gaiety. Through all these deadly libels there runs a nursery touch. Enormous rabbits, fantastic misplaced seals, huge comforting dogs—if the men and women could be expunged, these drawings would be decorations for a child's bedroom. The mixture, to someone born in Mr. Thurber's world, is telling. But to many Europeans the mixture is merely distressful. They have their own picture of what age and disillusion should resemble. They do not like to know there can be such things as ancient, contemptuous children.

42. The mixture of moods that is found in a Thurber drawing is characteristic of New York. These boisterous pessimists, these hearty drunkards, these perverts who declare their barrenness with a happy grin—they make New York an exciting place, a puzzling place. I can see why Europeans should enjoy it, why they should marvel at it. But I cannot see why they should think well of it. I cannot blame them for predicting, like Mr. Belloc, a swift decline.

43. In Europe, if the soul is growing old, if hope and faith are dying, there is something to fall back on: the eternal tradition of the land, a religion that still makes the lives of millions, a memory of many disasters weathered. But to be old unnaturally, without these memories, without this background, is to be unstable. And Europe, knowing only those spots in America that suffer from abnormal, derivative old age, rightly judges us unstable. Civilization, in America, is derivative. It is colonial, and hence rootless. New York is colonial and rootless. But our provinces are not colonial. American Culture, so far as there has been one, is not colonial. Sheridan is a new thing in the world, a product of American soil. But in all essentials, Chicago and New York are as old as Luxor—and just about as important to the future.

44. These generalizations on Culture and the modern world cannot be proved. They are not offered as revelations. They are offered to suggest the following thoughts about our own Culture: in America we have the beginning of a Culture. It is derived from Europe, of course, and has the same ancestors as the Culture of Europe; but it has been here long enough to take on a native character. If it were let alone we might hope for an American contribution to history. It has not been left alone. It has been overlaid, and hampered increasingly, by an alien imitative old age, a colonial-minded old age. The story of America today is the story of the struggle between these two forces. And there are reasons for hoping that the native America may win.

45. If these generalizations are true, then it is a primary duty for Americans today to be nationally self-conscious, to seek an answer to the question, What is America? If we cannot answer that, we cannot hope to make the real America come true. And if we do nothing, if we drift with the tide of modern history, our country might as well never have been founded. For the tide of modern history, at least in Europe, is not a pretty tide.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and write in your notebook the meaning appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation.

encroach (l. 11)
dilemma (l. 18)
bourgeois (l. 38)
Marxian (l. 97)
proletariat (l. 97)
amenities (l. 110)
communal (l. 115)
antithesis (l. 122)
polyglot (l. 124)
indoctrinating (ll. 149-50)
exploit (l. 173)
redundant (l. 181)
technocrats (l. 202)
bureaucrats (l. 202)
commissars (l. 202)
prigs (l. 213)
affirmation (l. 256)
abstractly (l. 279)
rationalizing (l. 279)
secularized (l. 288)
nihilistic (l. 295)
disillusionment (l. 331)
desuetude (l. 363)
confrontations (l. 367)
corrosive (l. 369)
cyclical (l. 371)
pathological (l. 372)
expiate (l. 373)
archaeology (l. 399)
decadent (l. 424)
recurring (l. 425)
prodigy (l. 425)
fakirs (l. 432)
neo-Platonism (l. 433)
decrepitude (l. 442)
jibe (l. 446)
cynicism (l. 484)
expunged (l. 500)

2. Because of its etymological relationships, the word "metropolitan" (l. 132) is one of the most interesting in this essay. Look it up in your dictionary and break it up into its component parts. How is it related to *politics, police, policy,* and *cosmopolitan*? How many villages or cities can you recall whose names end in *-polis*? What do the names mean?
3. Trace back to their common root the first two nouns in the title of this essay. What are the usual meanings of these two nouns? In what special sense does Mr. Agar use each of them? What other word does he use in a special sense, beginning with paragraph 36?
4. What source of current pessimism is mentioned in paragraph 1? How have recent events altered the nature of this source and of the resulting pessimism?

5. Compare Mr. Agar's conception of "our job," as expressed in paragraph 2, with Whitman's statement of America's mission in paragraph 1 of "Democratic Vistas" earlier in this section.
6. In paragraph 3 there is mention (ll. 15-16) of "those whose picture of a pretty future is a return to 1928." Can you mention any persons whom this label seems to fit?
7. What purposes does Mr. Agar announce in paragraphs 3-4? How well does he succeed in carrying them out?
8. Do you agree with Mr. Agar's comment in paragraph 5 on society in America and in Europe?
9. What two kinds of art are mentioned in paragraph 6? Which of Thomas Hart Benton's pictures do you like best? What other artists can you mention as interpreters of American life? (If you do not know where to find reproductions of pictures by such artists, ask your instructor.)
10. What are chief differences between Sheridan and the great city as discussed in paragraphs 7-13?
11. What purpose is announced in paragraph 14 (ll. 135-7)? In what paragraphs is this purpose fulfilled?
12. What are the characteristics of the "industrial-commercial view of culture" analyzed in paragraphs 17-21? What are the chief objections offered to it in paragraphs 20-21?
13. Paragraph 22 is transitional. Which of the succeeding paragraphs are included in the "prelude" mentioned in line 243?
14. According to paragraph 25, what conflict is central in "the life-drama of Culture"? What instances of such conflict can you mention?
15. How many stages of cultural history are discussed in paragraphs 25-28?
16. What is suggested to your mind by "Classical scepticism, . . . Eastern despair, . . . European nihilism and relativity" (ll. 326-7)?
17. What recent historical events are suggested to you by lines 368-70?
18. What theory of Spengler's is explained in paragraph 33 and rejected in paragraphs 34-35? What are the reasons for the rejection? Is the theory rejected simply because it is unpleasant? Do people ever reject theories simply because the theories are unpleasant? Can you mention any instances?
19. What characteristics of Civilization (in the special sense explained in paragraph 36) are discussed in paragraphs 37-43?
20. Why does Mr. Agar say "their best fears" in line 420, instead of "their worst fears"?
21. Upon what, according to paragraphs 43-45, rests the hope of

a decent future for America? Where in these paragraphs do you find a return to the central thought of paragraph 2?

22. What do you know of Hobbes (l. 214), Bernard Shaw (l. 216), Mesopotamia (ll. 252-3), Luxor (l. 303), Spengler (l. 346), Samarra (l. 346), Asoka (l. 347), Isis and Ariman (l. 431), Buddhism (l. 432), Lao-Tse (l. 434), Mr. Belloc (l. 446), James Thurber (l. 489), Huysmans (l. 495), Anatole France (l. 495), Aldous Huxley (l. 495)? How much have you learned about each of them merely by reading this essay? Where can you find out more about them?
23. What characteristics of Culture and what characteristics of Civilization do you find in your home community? In the college community of which you are now a part?
24. Having read this essay thoughtfully several times and having answered the foregoing questions, you are sure to have in mind a number of topics on which you can write a paragraph or a short paper if asked to do so. The thoughts suggested by question 23 will perhaps most readily shape themselves into a written composition.

VI

The Economic Future

It is sometimes said that students go to college to improve their economic future more often than for any other reason. However true this may be, it is not questioned that the economic motive is an important one What we have not been sure of and what we still do not know when we are wholly honest with ourselves is how far individual welfare may be achieved, in the long run, at the expense of the general welfare, how far the ultimate prosperity of one group or nation requires the prosperity of all There are unmistakable signs that the economic picture is changing, as yet less rapidly in America than in some other countries. Some acquaintance with the conflicting views of those who advocate the change and those who oppose, together with some knowledge of the basic principles at issue, will enable you to play a more intelligent part in the determination of an economic pattern with enduring consequences.

Four Post-War Essentials

R. L. STROUT

Richard Lee Strout (1898–) has been a journalist since graduating from Harvard University in 1919 (M.A. 1923). Beginning with a British newspaper in that year, he was for a time in 1921 a reporter for the *Boston Post*. Since 1921 he has been on the staff of the *Christian Science Monitor*, with the Washington Bureau after 1925. He was a second lieutenant in the First World War [*The New Republic*, 109:244-245, August 23, 1943. By permission of the author and the publisher.]

1. AMERICA'S INTERNATIONAL ROLE will depend, very largely, on her own internal economic well-being. It has been so in the past and is apt to be so in the future. It is the thesis of this article that post-war political collaboration will not by itself bring world peace unless America also adopts economic reforms at home, and that a presidential candidate who advocates international collaboration abroad, but at the same time demands economic back-to-normalcy at home, is really straddling two self-contradicting proposals. In short, that after the war, as now, the domestic and foreign fronts are indivisible.

2. There are four main steps in this reasoning: The post-war world needs America's economic collaboration just as much as her political collaboration; economic collaboration is not feasible without domestic prosperity, domestic prosperity hinges on full employment, full production and an economy of abundance; and an economy of abundance requires a degree of governmental balance incompatible with old-fashioned unrestrained "free enterprise."

3 There will be little dispute with the first proposition, that the world needs America's economic help as much as her political help. The United States is the world's biggest exporter; its second largest importer. The world can't get on without American markets, American dollars. Russia and China need our machinery and technical skill, Europe needs food, Britain needs our aid to restore monetary stabilization Every nation looks to America. The difference between chaos and recovery in dozens of countries hinges on America's willingness to take goods, make loans and give assistance.

4. That leads to the second proposition: America's willingness to cooperate abroad is tied up with her prosperity at home. Professor J. B. Condliffe (in his "Agenda for a Post-War World," W. W. Norton) puts it this way:

> A strong and prosperous United States is the most important contribution that Americans can make to the reorganization of the post-war world. . . . From many points of view the maintenance of employment and national income in the United States, and to a less extent in Great Britain, is the key to the whole world problem.

5. Why is this so? Well, just to cite one thing, when the United States gets the economic jitters it has a habit of reaching for the tariff bottle. If America remains prosperous we may avoid this calamity.

6. In March, 1921, a post-war Republican Congress put through an "emergency tariff" act. It was promptly vetoed by Wilson, who said, "If we wish to have Europe settle her debts, governmental or commercial, we must be prepared to buy from her." Wilson's advice was disregarded and the Fordney-McCumber Act was passed in September, 1922, with higher rates than ever before. Then in turn the Hoover depression was ushered in with the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act of 1930, which set up a Chinese wall unique in modern times. If this did not actually precipitate the Second World War, at least it produced twenty-five retaliatory tariffs in two years. To bring the matter down to the present, the post-war hope of keeping the Hull reciprocal trade agreements intact, which Congress this spring ominously extended for only two, instead of the usual three years, depends in part on America's internal prosperity.

7. In any event, prosperous or not, Congress, of course, may welcome the new Armistice by slapping on an emergency tariff, as it tried to do in Wilson's time—but economic well-being should help to avoid it. If millions of post-war Americans are hungry, cold and unemployed, the first cry will be for protective tariffs to head off imports of "cheap foreign labor." Post-war generosity in a dozen directions will be facilitated by domestic well-being Settlement of Lend-Lease claims, food for the starving in China and Europe, loans and economic assistance will hinge on the state of affairs at home. The Chicago Tribune's cry that America is "playing Santa Claus to the world" will certainly win a wider audience if the United States goes into an economic tailspin.

8. That raises proposition three: Domestic prosperity depends on full employment and production, and on an economy of abundance.

9. The point here is that America isn't really prosperous if she reverts to the violent pre-war economic fluctuations and the accompanying anemia of production. The United States has achieved full employment in the war; is it going to be willing to do the same thing in peace?

10. Even in the boom year, 1929, Brookings Institution economists figured that production could have been increased 20 percent without improvement in methods, or plant, if the consumers' market had been assured. More important, over the fourteen-year average, 1922-1935, the productive mechanism operated at only two-thirds efficiency, and of course unemployment was endemic throughout the whole period.

11. When the war ends, the United States will have an army and labor force of 63,500,000—the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures—and the annual national income may be $150,000,000,000 Unless a violent armistice slump is to be followed by a return to the old business cycle, with its alternating ups and downs, the production of the country must be harnessed permanently at the higher level. The war has shown this can be done in an emergency; it will be a disaster both at home and abroad if it is not done also in peace.

12. There is the further question of post-war trade competition. After the war other governments are going to insist on full production, whether we do or not. If America continues to produce inefficiently, and if her economy suffers cyclical upsets and chronic anemia, then she must protect herself from foreign producers by tariff barriers and trade controls inimical to world collaboration.

13. It is true, of course, that national prosperity evokes its own kind of self-complacency, which disdains the rest of the world. But I submit that the chances of international altruism and leadership are vastly greater from a well fed than from a hungry United States.

14. So that brings us to the fourth and final proposition: To get full production after the war we are going to need a good deal of government control—more, in fact, than we have ever hitherto accepted in peacetime.

15. Many economists now believe that they have found the way to moderate the business cycle and iron out its dangerous fluctuations. By tax measures, by use of public works, by credit controls, they believe they can prolong a period of prosperity and shorten a depression. A recent supplement in Fortune magazine declared, "Poverty is not inevitable any more. . . . If we use these weapons intelligently, we are the masters of our economic fate."

16 The weapons cited are the familiar ones of taxes, public works

and social security. Most economists subscribe to this general thesis. The latest example of it is the report of the President's Conference on Post-war Readjustment, a middle-of-the-road group, which formulated Mr. Roosevelt's six-point soldier-demobilization program:

> The Conference [the unanimous report said] regards the maintenance of full employment as one of the major objectives of the demobilization and readjustment process.
>
> It believes that full employment is a goal not impossible to obtain.
>
> Furthermore, as many have pointed out, we have reached such a state of industrial and general productivity that it is technically possible for us, under conditions of full employment in times of peace, to provide a reasonable standard of living for all our people. .
>
> We must assume, therefore, that it is the intention of the government to foster what may generally be described as a dynamic expansionary economy in the readjustment period.

17 There is nothing revolutionary in this program It is neither communistic nor socialistic. In the main the task depends on private enterprise. But it cannot be achieved without supplementary government action The government has got to stand somewhere near the center of the economic seesaw as it threatens to go up and down, and throw its weight first to one side, then to the other to maintain balance.

18. "In post-war Europe," wrote Professor E. H. Carr, "planned economy, which rests on the assumption that no natural harmony of interests exists, and that interests must be harmonized by state action, became the practice, if not the theory, of every state. In the United States, the persistence of an expanding domestic market staved off this development until after 1929."

19. The nations of the world are certainly not going to drop this practice of harmonizing interests by state action after their experience in state regulation in World War II.

20. The job is too big for either industry or government alone. The government is needed as the flywheel of prosperity, to keep the motive power of private enterprise running smoothly. An American political platform, or a party, that excludes government from this task is voting for a return to the violent fluctuations of the old-fashioned business cycle at home and, incidentally, for economic storms all over the world.

21. So that is the argument; there are the four prospositions. If they are valid it means that the people who want the United States to

play a responsible role in the post-war settlement and to join in a system of collective security thereafter, have got to keep an eye on the home front, too Cooperation abroad may be nullified by unemployment at home.

22. America's importance in the post-war world is going to be so compelling that even our most intimate domestic affairs will be matters of anxious concern to the whole globe. It was so after World War I, only we didn't realize it. Students agree today that the American investment boom in the twenties, followed by the crash in 1929, was, as Alvin Hansen has written, "the central core of the great world depression, and determined mainly its intensity and duration."

23 It took an economic crisis to produce Mussolini; Hitler did not come to power in Germany until one man in three was idle.

24. And so, in post-war America, an "enlightened foreign policy" that neglects the home front will be self-defeating From now on, in peace as in war, the two fronts are joined.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Compare the single sentence of paragraph 2 with the single sentence of paragraph 1 in "The Unimagined America" elsewhere in this volume. How are they alike and how different? In this sentence how is the idea from the beginning down to the colon related to what follows? How are the ideas between the semicolons related to one another? How is each of these ideas related to the idea preceding the semicolon?
2. Note now the structure of the sentence. How does the structure of the language following the colon differ here and in "The Unimagined America"? How and why does the capitalization differ? Does the punctuation differ?
3 Now consider the sentence in relation to the entire article. With which paragraphs can you identify each of the statements following the colon?
4. How does the difference in length of this article and "The Unimagined America" explain the use of centered section numbers in one and not in the other?
5. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and put in your notebook the meaning which is appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation.

precipitate (l. 47)
facilitated (l. 59)
agenda (l. 28)
abundance (l. 14)
reverts (l. 68)
fluctuations (l. 68)
exporter (l. 19)
importer (l. 20)
dispute (l. 17)
intact (l. 50)

6. Treat the following words as you have treated those in the preceding list. Also note that the members of each pair derive from a common root. Trace them back to this root, and find examples of other words also derived from it. Also state what elements of the original meaning of the root are to be found in the derivatives.

collaboration (l. 4)
advocates (l. 6)
maintenance (l. 33)
extent (l. 34)
subscribe (l. 108)
obtain (l. 116)
labor (l. 58)
evokes (l. 92)
continues (l. 88)
intensity (l. 159)
described (l. 123)
maintain (l. 130)

7. Some of the ideas in Mr. Strout's article are highly controversial Look at the four propositions in paragraph 2. With which do you agree? To which do you object? Where does the author place the least controversial point? The most controversial? From the point of view of convincing presentation, is this a good arrangement?
8. Do you believe rationing in the postwar period justified in order to send food and clothing to devastated areas of the United Nations? Of former enemy countries? Would you willingly reduce your own consumption of meat, say, or of cotton goods, in order that large quantities might be sent abroad? Would you be willing to pay taxes or buy bonds to finance UNRRA? Does paragraph 3 suggest that you and Mr. Strout would agree on these points?
9. Do you believe a tariff should be low enough to permit many goods to be imported or high enough to keep most foreign goods from competing with home products? What do you think of "reciprocal trade agreements" in good times? In a depression? What expressions in paragraphs 4-7 indicate Mr Strout's view on these points?
10. Do you believe that war prosperity can be continued into a period of peace and made permanent, or is the "business cycle" of inflation and deflation something we cannot avoid? Is it possible for the people of the United States and the world to use all the goods that full employment could produce? Do

you agree with the answer of Mr. Strout in paragraphs 8-13 or with that of Mr. Scoville elsewhere in this section?

11. At what stage of the business cycle are we today? Is our economy balanced? Is it headed toward inflation? Toward deflation?
12. Do you agree with the *Fortune* quotation in paragraph 15? What use would you make of taxes, public works, and government credit to keep our economy on an even keel?
13. In paragraphs 16-20 there is sketched in barest outline a program for maintaining economic balance which is developed and debated in some detail in the other articles of this section. Consider it to such extent as you can here and keep it in mind as you proceed.
14. What is the function of paragraphs 21-24? Do they relate to some one of the "four main steps" of paragraph 2 or to something else? How useful is a section of this kind at the end of an article?
15 Many controversial ideas are treated in this article. Choose one suggested in the items above or independently by your reading of the article and give your own reaction either in a single paragraph or in a longer paper, as your instructor may direct

Economic Control and Totalitarianism

FRIEDRICH A. HAYEK

Friedrich August von Hayek (1899–), born and educated in Vienna, successively a member of the Austrian Civil Service, Director of the Austrian Institute for Economic Research, and Lecturer in Economics, has been since 1931 Tooke Professor of Economic Science and Statistics in the University of London He has published many books and articles on economics, particularly in its relation to government and politics. *The Road to Serfdom* has been widely read and debated. It opposes the movement which in 1932 initiated the New Deal in America and in 1945 overthrew the Churchill government in Great Britain. Whether your own inclination is toward the Right or toward the Left, Dr. Hayek's chapter will broaden the base for your thinking [Chapter VII of *The Road to Serfdom,* The University of Chicago Press. 1944 By permission of the publisher.]

The control of the production of wealth is the control of human life itself.—HILAIRE BELLOC

1 MOST PLANNERS who have seriously considered the practical aspects of their task have little doubt that a directed economy must be run on more or less dictatorial lines. That the complex system of interrelated activities, if it is to be consciously directed at all, must be directed by a single staff of experts, and that ultimate responsibility and power must rest in the hands of a commander-in-chief whose actions must not be fettered by democratic procedure, is too obvious a consequence of underlying ideas of central planning not to command fairly general assent. The consolation our planners offer us is that this authoritarian direction will apply "only" to economic matters. One of the most prominent economic planners, Stuart Chase, assures us, for instance, that in a planned society "political democracy can remain if it confines itself to all but economic matter." Such assurances are usually accompanied by the suggestion that, by giving up freedom in what are, or ought to be, the less important aspects of our lives, we shall obtain greater freedom in the pursuit of higher values On this ground

people who abhor the idea of a political dictatorship often clamor for a dictator in the economic field.

2. The arguments used appeal to our best instincts and often attract the finest minds. If planning really did free us from the less important cares and so made it easier to render our existence one of plain living and high thinking, who would wish to belittle such an ideal? If our economic activities really concerned only the inferior or even more sordid sides of life, of course we ought to endeavor by all means to find a way to relieve ourselves from the excessive care for material ends and, leaving them to be cared for by some piece of utilitarian machinery, set our minds free for the higher things of life.

3. Unfortunately, the assurance people derive from this belief that the power which is exercised over economic life is a power over matters of secondary importance only, and which makes them take lightly the threat to the freedom of our economic pursuits, is altogether unwarranted. It is largely a consequence of the erroneous belief that there are purely economic ends separate from the other ends of life. Yet, apart from the pathological case of the miser, there is no such thing The ultimate ends of the activities of reasonable beings are never economic Strictly speaking, there is no "economic motive" but only economic factors conditioning our striving for other ends What in ordinary language is misleadingly called the "economic motive" means merely the desire for general opportunity, the desire for power to achieve unspecified ends.[1] If we strive for money, it is because it offers us the widest choice in enjoying the fruits of our efforts Because in modern society it is through the limitation of our money incomes that we are made to feel the restrictions which our relative poverty still imposes upon us, many have come to hate money as the symbol of these restrictions. But this is to mistake for the cause the medium through which a force makes itself felt. It would be much truer to say that money is one of the greatest instruments of freedom ever invented by man. It is money which in existing society opens an astounding range of choice to the poor man—a range greater than that which not many generations ago was open to the wealthy We shall better understand the significance of this service of money if we consider what it would really mean if, as so many socialists characteristically propose, the "pecuniary motive" were largely displaced by "non-economic incentives." If all rewards, instead of being offered in money, were offered in the form of public distinctions or privileges. positions of power over other men, or better housing or better food.

[1] Cf. Lionel Robbins, *The Economic Causes of War* (1939), Appendix.

opportunities for travel or education, this would merely mean that the recipient would no longer be allowed to choose and that whoever fixed the reward determined not only its size but also the particular form in which it should be enjoyed.

4. Once we realize that there is no separate economic motive and that an economic gain or economic loss is merely a gain or a loss where it is still in our power to decide which of our needs or desires shall be affected, it is also easier to see the important kernel of truth in the general belief that economic matters affect only the less important ends of life and to understand the contempt in which "merely" economic considerations are often held. In a sense this is quite justified in a market economy—but only in such a free economy. So long as we can freely dispose over our income and all our possessions, economic loss will always deprive us only of what we regard as the least important of the desires we were able to satisfy. A "merely" economic loss is thus one whose effect we can still make fall on our less important needs, while when we say that the value of something we have lost is much greater than its economic value, or that it cannot even be estimated in economic terms, this means that we must bear the loss where it falls. And similarly with an economic gain. Economic changes, in other words, usually affect only the fringe, the "margin," of our needs. There are many things which are more important than anything which economic gains or losses are likely to affect, which for us stand high above the amenities and even above many of the necessities of life which are affected by the economic ups and downs. Compared with them, the "filthy lucre," the question whether we are economically somewhat worse or better off, seems of little importance. This makes many people believe that anything which, like economic planning, affects only our economic interests cannot seriously interfere with the more basic values of life.

5. This, however, is an erroneous conclusion. Economic values are less important to us than many things precisely because in economic matters we are free to decide what to us is more, and what less, important. Or, as we might say, because in the present society it is *we* who have to solve the economic problems of our lives. To be controlled in our economic pursuits means to be always controlled unless we declare our specific purpose. Or, since when we declare our specific purpose we shall also have to get it approved, we should really be controlled in everything.

6. The question raised by economic planning is, therefore, not merely whether we shall be able to satisfy what we regard as our more or less important needs in the way we prefer. It is whether it shall

be we who decide what is more, and what is less, important for us, or whether this is to be decided by the planner. Economic planning would not affect merely those of our marginal needs that we have in mind when we speak contemptuously about the merely economic. It would, in effect, mean that we as individuals should no longer be allowed to decide what we regard as marginal.

7. The authority directing all economic activity would control not merely the part of our lives which is concerned with inferior things; it would control the allocation of the limited means for all our ends. And whoever controls all economic activity controls the means for all our ends and must therefore decide which are to be satisfied and which not. This is really the crux of the matter. Economic control is not merely control of a sector of human life which can be separated from the rest; it is the control of the means for all our ends. And whoever has sole control of the means must also determine which ends are to be served, which values are to be rated higher and which lower—in short. what men should believe and strive for Central planning means that the economic problem is to be solved by the community instead of by the individual; but this involves that it must also be the community, or rather its representatives, who must decide the relative importance of the different needs

8 The so-called economic freedom which the planners promise us means precisely that we are to be relieved of the necessity of solving our own economic problems and that the bitter choices which this often involves are to be made for us Since under modern conditions we are for almost everything dependent on means which our fellow-men provide, economic planning would involve direction of almost the whole of our life. There is hardly an aspect of it, from our primary needs to our relations with our family and friends, from the nature of our work to the use of our leisure, over which the planner would not exercise his "conscious control."[2]

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[2] The extent of the control over all life that economic control confers is nowhere better illustrated than in the field of foreign exchanges. Nothing would at first seem to affect private life less than a state control of the dealings in foreign exchange, and most people will regard its introduction with complete indifference. Yet the experience of most Continental countries has taught thoughtful people to regard this step as the decisive advance on the path to totalitarianism and the suppression of individual liberty. It is, in fact, the complete delivery of the individual to the tyranny of the state, the final suppression of all means of escape—not merely for the rich but for everybody. Once the individual is no longer free to travel, no

9. The power of the planner over our private lives would be no less complete if he chose not to exercise it by direct control of our consumption. Although a planned society would probably to some extent employ rationing and similar devices, the power of the planner over our private lives does not depend on this and would be hardly less effective if the consumer were nominally free to spend his income as he pleased. The source of this power over all consumption which in a planned society the authority would possess would be its control over production.

10. Our freedom of choice in a competitive society rests on the fact that, if one person refuses to satisfy our wishes, we can turn to another But if we face a monopolist we are at his mercy. And an authority directing the whole economic system would be the most powerful monopolist conceivable. While we need probably not be afraid that such an authority would exploit this power in the manner in which a private monopolist would do so, while its purpose would presumably not be the extortion of maximum financial gain, it would have complete power to decide what we are to be given and on what terms It would not only decide what commodities and services were to be available and in what quantities; it would be able to direct their distribution between districts and groups and could, if it wished, discriminate between persons to any degree it liked. If we remember why planning is advocated by most people, can there be much doubt that this power would be used for the ends of which the authority approves and to prevent the pursuits of ends which it disapproves?

11. The power conferred by the control of production and prices is almost unlimited. In a competitive society the prices we have to pay for a thing, the rate at which we can get one thing for another, depend on the quantities of other things of which by taking one, we deprive the other members of society. This price is not determined by the conscious will of anybody. And if one way of achieving our ends proves too expensive for us, we are free to try other ways. The obstacles in our path are not due to someone's disapproving of our ends but to the fact that the same means are also wanted elsewhere. In a directed economy, where the authority watches over the ends

longer free to buy foreign books or journals, once all the means of foreign contact can be restricted to those of whom official opinion approves or for whom it is regarded as necessary, the effective control of opinion is much greater than that ever exercised by any of the absolutist governments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

pursued, it is certain that it would use its powers to assist some ends and to prevent the realization of others. Not our own view, but somebody else's, of what we ought to like or dislike would determine what we should get. And since the authority would have the power to thwart any efforts to elude its guidance, it would control what we consume almost as effectively as if it directly told us how to spend our income.

12. Not only in our capacity as consumers, however, and not even mainly in that capacity, would the will of the authority shape and "guide" our daily lives. It would do so even more in our position as producers. These two aspects of our lives cannot be separated; and as for most of us the time we spend at our work is a large part of our whole lives, and as our job usually also determines the place where and the people among whom we live, some freedom in choosing our work is, probably, even more important for our happiness than freedom to spend our income during the hours of leisure.

13. No doubt it is true that even in the best of worlds this freedom will be very limited. Few people ever have an abundance of choice of occupation. But what matters is that we have some choice, that we are not absolutely tied to a particular job which has been chosen for us, or which we may have chosen in the past, and that if one position becomes quite intolerable, or if we set our heart on another, there is almost always a way for the able, some sacrifice at the price of which he may achieve his goal. Nothing makes conditions more unbearable than the knowledge that no effort of ours can change them; and even if we should never have the strength of mind to make the necessary sacrifice, the knowledge that we could escape if we only strove hard enough makes many otherwise intolerable positions bearable.

14. This is not to say that in this respect all is for the best in our present world, or has been so in the most liberal past, and that there is not much that could be done to improve the opportunities of choice open to the people. Here as elsewhere the state can do a great deal to help the spreading of knowledge and information and to assist mobility. But the point is that the kind of state action which really would increase opportunity is almost precisely the opposite of the "planning" which is now generally advocated and practiced. Most planners, it is true, promise that in the new planned world free choice of occupation will be scrupulously preserved or even increased. But there they promise more than they can possibly fulfil. If they want to plan they must control the entry into the different trades and occupa-

tions, or the terms of remuneration, or both. In almost all known instances of planning, the establishment of such controls and restrictions was among the first measures taken If such control were universally practiced and exercised by a single planning authority, one needs little imagination to see what would become of the "free choice of occupation" promised. The "freedom of choice" would be purely fictitious, a mere promise to practice no discrimination where in the nature of the case discrimination must be practiced, and where all one could hope would be that the selection would be made on what the authority believed to be objective grounds.

15 There would be little difference if the planning authority confined itself to fixing the terms of employment and tried to regulate numbers by adjusting these terms. By prescribing the remuneration, it would no less effectively bar groups of people from entering many trades than by specifically excluding them A rather plain girl who badly wants to become a saleswoman, a weakly boy who has set his heart on a job where his weakness handicaps him, as well as in general the apparently less able or less suitable are not necessarily excluded in a competitive society; if they value the position sufficiently they will frequently be able to get a start by a financial sacrifice and will later make good through qualities which at first are not so obvious. But when the authority fixes the remunerations for a whole category and the selection among the candidates is made by an objective test, the strength of their desire for the job will count for very little. The person whose qualifications are not of the standard type, or whose temperament is not of the ordinary kind, will no longer be able to come to special arrangements with an employer whose dispositions will fit in with his special needs: the person who prefers irregular hours or even a happy-go-lucky existence with a small and perhaps uncertain income to a regular routine will no longer have the choice. Conditions will be without exception what in some measure they inevitably are in a large organization—or rather worse, because there will be no possibility of escape. We shall no longer be free to be rational or efficient only when and where we think it worth while; we shall all have to conform to the standards which the planning authority must fix in order to simplify its task. To make this immense task manageable, it will have to reduce the diversity of human capacities and inclinations to a few categories of readily interchangeable units and deliberately to disregard minor personal differences.

16. Although the professed aim of planning would be that man should cease to be a mere means, in fact—since it would be impossible

to take account in the plan of individual likes and dislikes—the individual would more than ever become a mere means, to be used by the authority in the service of such abstractions as the "social welfare" or the "good of the community."

17. That in a competitive society most things can be had at a price —though it is often a cruelly high price we have to pay—is a fact the importance of which can hardly be overrated. The alternative is not, however, complete freedom of choice, but orders and prohibitions which must be obeyed and, in the last resort, the favor of the mighty

18 It is significant of the confusion prevailing on all these subjects that it should have become a cause for reproach that in a competitive society almost everything can be had at a price. If the people who protest against having the higher values of life brought into the "cash nexus" really mean that we should not be allowed to sacrifice our lesser needs in order to preserve the higher values, and that the choice should be made for us, this demand must be regarded as rather peculiar and scarcely testifies to great respect for the dignity of the individual That life and health, beauty and virtue, honor and peace of mind, can often be preserved only at considerable material cost, and that somebody must make the choice, is as undeniable as that we all are sometimes not prepared to make the material sacrifices necessary to protect those higher values against all injury.

19 To take only one example: We could, of course, reduce casualties by automobile accidents to zero if we were willing to bear the cost—if in no other way—by abolishing automobiles And the same is true of thousands of other instances in which we are constantly risking life and health and all the fine values of the spirit, of ourselves and of our fellow-men, to further what we at the same time contemptuously describe as our material comfort. Nor can it be otherwise, since all our ends compete for the same means; and we could not strive for anything but these absolute values if they were on no account to be endangered.

20. That people should wish to be relieved of the bitter choice which hard facts often impose upon them is not surprising. But few want to be relieved through having the choice made for them by others. People just wish that the choice should not be necessary at all. And they are only too ready to believe that the choice is not really necessary, that it is imposed upon them merely by the particular economic system under which we live. What they resent is, in truth, that there is an economic problem.

21. In their wishful belief that there is really no longer an economic problem people have been confirmed by irresponsible talk about "potential plenty"—which, if it were a fact, would indeed mean that there is no economic problem which makes the choice inevitable. But although this snare has served socialist propaganda under various names as long as socialism has existed, it is still as palpably untrue as it was when it was first used over a hundred years ago. In all this time not one of the many people who have used it has produced a workable plan of how production could be increased so as to abolish even in western Europe what we regard as poverty—not to speak of the world as a whole. The reader may take it that whoever talks about potential plenty is either dishonest or does not know what he is talking about.[3] Yet it is this false hope as much as anything which drives us along the road to planning.

22. While the popular movement still profits by this false belief, the claim that a planned economy would produce a substantially larger output than the competitive system is being progressively abandoned by most students of the problem. Even a good many economists with socialist views who have seriously studied the problems of central planning are now content to hope that a planned society will equal the efficiency of a competitive system; they advocate planning no longer because of its superior productivity but because it will enable us to secure a more just and equitable distribution of wealth. This

[3] To justify these strong words, the following conclusions may be quoted at which Colin Clark, one of the best known among the younger economic statisticians and a man of undoubted progressive views and a strictly scientific outlook, has arrived in his *Conditions of Economic Progress* (1940): The "oft-repeated phrases about poverty in the midst of plenty, and the problems of production having already been solved if only we understood the problem of distribution, turn out to be the most untruthful of all modern clichés. . . . The under-utilisation of productive capacity is a question of considerable importance only in the U. S. A., though in certain years also it has been of some importance in Great Britain, Germany and France, but for most of the world it is entirely subsidiary to the more important fact that, with productive resources fully employed, they can produce so little. The age of plenty will still be a long while in coming. . If preventable unemployment were eliminated throughout the trade cycle, this would mean a distinct improvement in the standard of living of the population of the U. S. A., but from the standpoint of the world as a whole it would only make a small contribution towards the much greater problem of raising the real income of the bulk of the world population to anything like a civilised standard" (pp. 3-4).

is, indeed, the only argument for planning which can be seriously pressed. It is indisputable that if we want to secure a distribution of wealth which conforms to some predetermined standard, if we want consciously to decide who is to have what, we must plan the whole economic system. But the question remains whether the price we should have to pay for the realization of somebody's ideal of justice is not bound to be more discontent and more oppression than was ever caused by the much-abused free play of economic forces

23. We should be seriously deceiving ourselves if for these apprehensions we sought comfort in the consideration that the adoption of central planning would merely mean a return, after a brief spell of a free economy, to the ties and regulations which have governed economic activity through most ages, and that therefore the infringements of personal liberty need not be greater than they were before the age of laissez faire. This is a dangerous illusion. Even during the periods of European history when the regimentation of economic life went furthest, it amounted to little more than the creation of a general and semipermanent framework of rules within which the individual preserved a wide free sphere. The apparatus of control then available would not have been adequate to impose more than very general directions. And even where the control was most complete it extended only to those activities of a person through which he took part in the social division of labor. In the much wider sphere in which he then still lived on his own products, he was free to act as he chose.

24. The situation is now entirely different. During the liberal era the progressive division of labor has created a situation where almost every one of our activities is part of a social process. This is a development which we cannot reverse, since it is only because of it that we can maintain the vastly increased population at anything like present standards. But, in consequence, the substitution of central planning for competition would require central direction of a much greater part of our lives than was ever attempted before. It could not stop at what we regard as our economic activities, because we are now for almost every part of our lives dependent on somebody else's economic activities.[4] The passion for the "collective satisfaction of our

[4] It is no accident that in the totalitarian countries, be it Russia or Germany or Italy, the question of how to organize the people's leisure has become a problem of planning. The Germans have even invented for this problem the horrible and self-contradictory name of *Freizeitgestaltung* (literally: the shaping of the use made of the people's free time), as if it were still "free time" when it has to be spent in the way ordained by authority

needs," with which our socialists have so well prepared the way for totalitarianism, and which wants us to take our pleasures as well as our necessities at the appointed time and in the prescribed form, is, of course, partly intended as a means of political education. But it is also the result of the exigencies of planning, which consists essentially in depriving us of choice, in order to give us whatever fits best into the plan and that at a time determined by the plan.

25. It is often said that political freedom is meaningless without economic freedom. This is true enough, but in a sense almost opposite from that in which the phrase is used by our planners. The economic freedom which is the prerequisite of any other freedom cannot be the freedom from economic care which the socialists promise us and which can be obtained only by relieving the individual at the same time of the necessity and of the power of choice; it must be the freedom of our economic activity which, with the right of choice, inevitably also carries the risk and the responsibility of that right.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up "aspects" (l. 1), "assent" (l. 9), "affect" (l. 65), ("advocate" (l 308), and "attempted" (l. 342). With what common prefix do they begin? In what other forms does the same prefix often appear? What other words in this essay begin with the same prefix? Is "abhor" (l. 17) one of them? Is "absolutist" (Paragraph 8, end of footnote 2)?
2. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary From the various meanings given for each, select and put in your notebook the meaning which is appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation

depend (l. 158)	deprive (l. 160)
disapproving (l. 163)	dislike (l. 168)
important (l. 15)	individual (l. 117)
fettered (l. 7)	authoritarian (l. 9)
directed (l. 2)	market (l 68)

3. For any one of several reasons one author may quote from another. Why does Dr. Hayek at the beginning of his essay quote from Mr. Belloc? How effective do you consider the quotation?
4. What does Dr. Hayek mean by a "directed economy" in paragraph 1 as contrasted with a "market economy" in paragraph 4? Why does he call the market economy "free"? This question is important for an understanding of the entire essay.
5. Your dictionary will perhaps give you no adequate definition of "planners," "plan," and "planning" as used in this essay. If you do not already know this specialized use, work it out as quickly as you can from the context.
6. Note the discussion of the "economic motive" in paragraph 3. As the term is used in the introduction to section VI, would Dr. Hayek consider it "misleading"?
7. What is meant by the Biblical quotation "For the love of money is the root of all evil"? In what sense do you consider it true? Would Dr. Hayek agree? What common interpretation of the quotation does he oppose? Would you prefer to have money rather than the alternatives suggested at the end of paragraph 3? Do you know of any "planned" society where such substitutions for money are actually in effect?
8. What is the "important kernel of truth" of paragraph 4? What is meant by "the fringe . . . of our needs"?
9. What for you are the "bitter choices" referred to in paragraph 8? Would you prefer to make them yourself or to have the "planners" make them for you?
10. Why according to paragraphs 9-11 would rationing not be *required* for control of the consumer in a planned society? Does the fourth sentence of paragraph 10 at all weaken the argument against central planning? Why would the private monopolist be more inclined than the central planning monopolist to exercise control against the interest of the citizen? How far if at all is the ballot box a factor here? How could the planner nevertheless exercise a prejudicial control?
11. In paragraphs 12-16 is the argument against central planning convincing from the producer's point of view? Do you consider the relative freedom of employment in an unplanned as contrasted with a planned society as important for your own life satisfaction as paragraph 13 represents it to be? Note in paragraph 14 the promise of the planners with respect to freedom of employment.
12. Why would it be necessary in economic planning to ignore "individual likes and dislikes" (paragraph 16)? Can there be no middle ground between planning nothing and planning all?

Specifically, would it be a fair question with reference to paragraph 19 to ask whether we must choose between prohibiting the use of automobiles and permitting them to operate without central planning?

13. Can you list any of the "hard facts" in our economic system to which people object (paragraph 20)?
14. Do you believe the world could raise enough food for all its people, could manufacture enough clothing for all human needs, could build enough automobiles, radios, and refrigerators for everybody? Is the argument of paragraph 21 against potential plenty and the possibility of increasing production "so as to abolish . . poverty" a convincing one? What bearing on the problem does our war experience in production have?
15. If you were faced with the choice suggested in the second sentence of paragraph 22, would you sacrifice "the efficiency of a competitive system" or "a more just and equitable distribution of wealth"?
16. What historical change in the industrial system, according to paragraphs 23-24, causes central planning to affect the daily life of the individual in a way different from that of earlier times? What is the difference?
17. Choose a topic suggested in some item above and in a single paragraph or a longer paper set down your conclusions on it. Try to recognize your own prejudices and keep your thinking as objective as possible.

The Way to Full Employment

MARSHALL FIELD

Marshall Field III (1893–), a man of inherited wealth, early showed his sympathy with democratic processes by enlisting as a private in the 1st Illinois Cavalry in 1917. He served in France in the leading American offensives and was promoted through the grades to the rank of captain before being discharged in February, 1919 He established the *Chicago Sun* in 1941 and is prominently connected with the newspaper *PM* in New York. Our article first appeared in *PM* with the title "The Way to 60,000,000 Jobs Is Through Government Participation." As we use it in this volume it is slightly edited from a *Chicago Sun* reprint supplied by Mr. Field. The title is from the *Sun* reprint. The note preceding paragraph 1 is from *PM* [*PM*, pages 2-3, March 8, 1945. By permission of Mr. Field.]

PM is printing today as a statement of its policy on post-war employment an article written by Marshall Field. It was prepared as an address delivered yesterday before the Advertisers' Club of Cincinnati. It is such a clear and explicit statement of the issues which face this country, and the nature of the solutions that must be found, that we are printing it, not as a reprint of a speech but as our opinion article for today. The text of Field's speech follows:

1. I am one of those who believe that full employment has to be worked for—worked and planned and sweated for, with all the resources of economic wisdom and political skill this American democracy can mobilize.

2. It may seem strange that this proposition should even have to be stated. Isn't everybody in favor of full employment? Yes, everybody is, in the same sense that everybody is in favor of good health. But some people want, and others do not want, the nation to take specific steps and adopt specific laws which will make full employment possible. Some people want, and others do not want, to safeguard the nation in advance against the causes of mass unemployment.

3. That is how we are dividing today The fight in Congress over

the confirmation of Henry Wallace has clearly set forth the division. On one side are people like . . Senator Taft, who say frankly that government ought not to undertake any guarantee of jobs at fair wages, lest it enter on a novel and dangerous course; who say we must leave the problem of 14 to 19 million people, which is the estimated addition to the 1940 employment figures that will have to be taken care of post war, to the so-called natural forces of private enterprise; who say we must hope, but not act, for full employment.

4. And on the other side stand the Henry Wallaces, the Beardsley Rumls, the Senator Murrays, and the uncounted millions of plain people, who say that the risk of idleness and frustration and disenchantment for 11 million war veterans and 20 million war workers is too great a risk for our democracy and our system of private initiative to incur.

5. It should not be necessary for advertising men to question their own stake in full employment. Advertising is a function of distribution. It contributes to, and at the same time depends upon, the mass production and low unit prices for which American industry has distinguished itself. The area of advertising's usefulness widens as full employment and full use of our productive resources is approached.

Work Means Spending Power

6. Obviously, it would be of little benefit to advertise to consumers who had lost their purchasing power. Obviously, then, the primary interest of every person in the advertising business, as indeed of everybody else, should be directed toward the maintenance of the maximum possible purchasing power, widely diffused.

7. Advertising confronts a great future and the opportunity to perform a great service. New products will be coming on the market after the war, and to attain the volume needed for low prices, advertisers must assume the responsibility of informing the community of these new goods. But first of all, the community must have the ability to buy We shall make a serious mistake if we blindly assume that the mere potentiality of new products will of itself create that ability to buy. As a recent writer in *Harper's* magazine has pointed out, the development of new products may change the employment picture in particular industries, but we have no assurance that it will create enough net addition to total employment to overcome the great gap between wartime employment and peace.

8. What are the prerequisites of full employment? The first and

greatest of them was suggested by a study made during the long depression by the Brookings Institution, the last volume and summary of which was entitled, "Income and Economic Progress" The conclusion of this study pointed a road toward prosperity which I think we might all agree on. It consists of furnishing the maximum amount of goods at the lowest possible price. The role played by consumption on this highway to prosperity is indicated by the effects of maldistribution of income upon economic progress in the past

9 As the Brookings Institution study showed, the great purchasing power for consumer goods lies in family incomes of less than $5000 a year. After you cross that point, in general, your money does not go primarily into the purchase of consumer goods, but is saved and finds its way into the formation of capital. So much of the national income had drifted into the hands of a small proportion of the population with incomes *over* $5000 that the power to consume failed to keep pace with our power to produce. I think the study showed that 50 per cent of the national increment of wealth went to less than 2 per cent of the population.

No Money—the Root of All Evil

10 This maddeningly frustrating spectacle of a capacity to produce running out of all proportion to the customers' ability to buy lay at the root of the depression, and it lies at the root of our postwar employment problem If the large number of families with incomes of less than $1000 in peacetime could be lifted above that income category; if those who normally earn between $1000 and $1500 could be lifted to $2000; and the $2000 group to $2500—the consumption so engendered would not only absorb the existing capacity of our capital plant, but would require considerable new development of it In short, a vast new market for all varieties of goods lies right here in our own back yard.

11 I have not seen any study of income groups as of today. But my guess is that, though maldistribution of income still exists in some degree, the desiderata of the Brookings study—the conditions of prosperity which it laid down—must be fairly close to realization, at least temporarily It is bitterly sad that it has taken the greatest of all wars to accomplish a volume and distribution of income sufficient to provide full employment.

12 The question is whether we are going back, after the war, to the kind of situation which existed before. If we take the road of

wage cutting and deflation then we are surely headed for another depression, just as surely as the sun rises in the morning.

13 The great industries of this country have demonstrated to the world, over and over again, that low wages are not the way to get low-priced goods. Low prices are made possible by volume output, which cuts overhead costs per unit, encourages the most efficient methods of manufacture and economic purchase of raw materials. Charles Wilson of General Electric recognized this when he recently said that the efforts of his company would be directed toward maintaining prewar sales prices and also maintaining the present scale of take-home pay for workers.

14 A strange fallacy has crept into the thinking of too many of us. It may have arisen from what is often called the Manchester school of economics. It is the theory that there is just so much in the world to be divided, and that the prosperity of one person or group necessarily takes away wealth from those already in possession of it.

15 When you examine this theory you will find no difficulty in recognizing its fallacy. In fact, precisely the opposite is true, as the whole history of America shows. The newly prosperous person becomes a customer, and contributes greater wealth to those who have it The creation of new markets benefits all society together, not just the recipients of the new income.

No Prosperity Without Security

16 I believe this is just as true of a nation as of an individual or a business. In the immediate heat and pressure of competition it is very easy to lose sight of this truism; but the prosperity even of this country, with its great internal resources, has always been adversely affected by financial crises and lack of purchasing power abroad

17 This is one reason why there is such an overwhelming desire for an international organization that will keep the peace. It is realized that we cannot have material prosperity in a state of fear and threat of war, surrounded by impoverished nations. We must help the war-torn and so-called backward peoples to become customers, who can contribute to the world's wealth and so to our own. We must help them with our technical knowledge. We must give them credit. We must maintain continuous and constantly widening cultural and political relations with them.

18 Essential as it is to accept the oneness of the world and live on good terms with our neighbors, we must not fall into the error of supposing that all our problems can be solved by the magic formula of

foreign trade. We could double or triple our prewar foreign trade and still not attain full employment The real creation of volume must always depend upon our home market.

19. That is why you and I, and every American, must be interested in the maintenance of high wages. That is why the farmer should be just as interested in the maintenance of high wages as any union man—for where else will he sell the products of his farm, if not to the industrial and service workers of the cities and towns? Of course, the farmer is interested in cheap clothing, cheap machinery, and maximum purchasing power for all the goods he has to buy But if he gets them cheaply at the expense of the worker's wages, he cannot help but get them at the price of losing his real market.

20 The corollary of high wages for those who are working is an adequate, which means an expanded, social security system for those who for any reason are not working. The social purpose in both cases is the same—not only to give the individual a measure of economic justice, but to give society the benefit of his sustained purchasing power We must rapidly undertake to provide complete protection against loss of income due to unemployment, ill health, disability or old age

21. Our experience with social security since 1935 has amply demonstrated the validity of this approach to the problems of modern industrialism, as has the experience of many other countries more advanced along this road than we. On this foundation we must build securely, so that all groups may be covered and all receive adequate benefits in return for joint contributions by the worker, the employer, and the Government.

22. A case in point is the provision of unemployment compensation for industrial workers during the reconversion period after war production is cut back. The plain fact is that we have failed, as a nation, to shoulder our responsibilities fully in this regard.

Depression May Be Around the Corner

23. All of us want the reconversion period to be as short as possible; we know that if we permit deflationary tendencies to get a grip on the economy during that period of change-over from war to peace production, we may have great difficulty in starting the machine again at capacity output. The situation calls for adequate unemployment compensation to carry industrial workers through this period without exhausting all their savings, on which we are going to be so dependent for the resumption of peacetime production.

24. Yet Congress has failed to establish standards of compensation which most experts agree are necessary. Too many of us have turned a blind eye to the needs of the country. We have refused to see that it is to our own advantage to incur the necessary debt and pay the necessary taxes to build this economic bridge across the gulf of reconversion.

25 Once we have gained the other shore of the transition period, we shall have much to do if we would prevent a short, sharp restocking boom from dissolving swiftly into a major depression. Neither social security nor the abstract principle of high wages will serve our needs. As we learned from the last depression, high wages may be subscribed to by most of our industrialists while the national income is up, but if we once get into that fatal down-spiral of depression, the principle collapses under the hard blows of every-day practice.

26 Two employers may agree perfectly that wages should be high; but when they are desperately competing for business on a declining market, each perforce must lay principle aside. Wages fall off, and purchasing power falls off, not because anybody consciously wills it so, but because the implacable force of circumstance sets in motion events which no single employer or union is able to resist.

27 The trick, then, is to forestall that first fatal decline, which if left unchecked compounds itself into disaster. For this I see no plausible alternative to bold and dynamic planning, democratically controlled and operating within the framework of our ideals of individual liberty

Government Must Play Its Role

28 When we ask who shall do the planning, I see no plausible alternative to government. With the best will in the world, thousands of corporate and individual employers cannot merge their efforts to maintain capacity operations. Like the blind men and the elephant, each is restricted to his own field, his own sector of the economy. Each sees a part of the picture, but not the whole of it.

29 The surveys of postwar prospects for private employment, such as those conducted by the Committee for Economic Development, illustrate this point perfectly. When an employer is asked how many jobs he expects to have available after the war, he always predicates his answer upon the existence of a certain volume of business. Add up all the estimates, and you get an impressive total.

30 But this question remains to be answered. Who shall see to it that the total volume of business remains at the level required to

enable all these employers to do the business they want to do? To my mind, there is only one agency that can see the economy whole, and take the steps necessary to keep it operating at a high level, and that is government.

31. What must government do to discharge this responsibility? Of course, we must have a variety of measures, a multiplicity of approaches. No single panacea can meet the problem. Much has been said of tax reform, and no one can doubt that some fundamental readjustments in the tax structure are overdue, not only reduction of wartime rates, but deeper changes designed to stimulate the growth of new business and provide the maximum incentive for risk-taking.

32. Frankly, I am not nearly so worried as some seem to be on the question of incentive for risk capital. The basic incentive for risk capital will be there, without a doubt, if the purchasing power for goods and services can be maintained. Taxes must be reduced on low incomes first—so that families with such incomes will have the maximum purchasing power and thus overcome the lack of balance revealed by the Brookings Institution studies.

The Little Man Must Get Share of Loans

33 In addition to tax readjustment, other measures of stimulating investment will suggest themselves. For example, the policies followed by the great federal lending agencies will deeply affect the future of our economic structure. With or without Jesse Jones—and the verdict at present appears to be without—I think no man can doubt that the lending agencies are here to stay. We must see to it that they perform their functions throughout the economy and not just in the big-business area of it.

34. Where adequate financing on reasonable terms is not available to small business from private sources, the lending agencies can fill the gap. They can be of tremendous value, particularly in enabling small business to make use of converted wartime plants. If we can transform only a part of our huge war investment into a source of development for new and competing enterprise, we shall have salvaged some of the heavy cost of war.

35 Let me give you one more example of ways in which the Government can stimulate private investment and so provide employment We confront today one of the greatest housing shortages in our history The demand for good homes, making the most of scientific and industrial advances, is almost beyond calculation Yet good housing in the past has been beyond reach of the majority of the population,

and there is every likelihood that, unless government acts, it will remain so for many years to come.

36. A vast new housing market can be opened up by resolute and many-sided public initiative to clear the shameful blighted areas of our cities, to reduce the costs of home financing, to cut construction costs through the elimination of trade barriers and artificial restraints, and to induce private capital, such as that commanded by our great insurance companies, to flow into this field.

37 Finally, in addition to tax measures and to indirect stimulation of private investment, there remains the field of direct public investment, planned and timed to exert maximum effect in supplementing the activities of private enterprise. Let us recognize frankly that public investment, under our system, is only one form of private enterprise. When the government builds a post office or a dam, it employs private contractors just like any other employer, and if the project is financed by borrowing, goes to the private capital market for the money just like any other borrower. Thus, there is nothing antagonistic to our system in the mere fact of public investment.

38 Furthermore, for many of these investments, if the initiative does not come from the public it will not come from anybody. That is especially true of regional resource developments like the Tennessee Valley Authority, which I hope to see extended to the other major basins of our country in time.

What We Need Are More TVAs

39. Who shall say that the TVA has not paid for itself many times over, not only in its contribution to the war, but in its lifting of the living standards and incomes of people who have thus become better customers for the nation's goods? Similarly, there are other areas of socially useful public investment which will pay dividends in the long run.

40. America needs better education, particularly in rural areas and some of the less fortunate states. America needs highways and airports, better nutrition and medical care, recreation facilities and the development of all its resources. These needs, I am wholly confident, will be met somehow. The choice lies between meeting them in piecemeal, helter-skelter, immature fashion, on the basis of hasty improvisation in times of emergency, or meeting them boldly and courageously in such a manner as to provide maximum stimulus to private employment.

41. Always these considerations lead us to the great question:

Where is the money coming from? This is supposed to be a stopper When that question is raised, we are supposed to abandon all our high-flown notions and crawl back into the shell of a balanced budget, even if 15 million restless and politically unstable men without jobs threaten the very foundation of our society.

42. The plain fact is, of course, as we learned in the 30's, that whatever the cost of full employment may be, we can bear it much better than we can bear the dreadful cost of unemployment. Idle men and idle factories cost us 200 billion dollars—virtually as much as this greatest of all wars—during the depression. We could have produced 200 billion dollars of wealth during those ten years had we managed to keep at work all those able and willing to work.

43. I believe in a balanced budget as much as anybody, but it seems to me we have learned one great lesson. that in a modern depression. balancing the budget simply won't get us out of it We cannot get full employment merely by balancing the budget; but we *can* get a balanced budget by achieving full employment. The costs of our government's postwar program can be met by increasing the total wealth produced, and when we have full employment we can easily support the federal budget by taxes alone if we wish to do so

Murray Bill a Sample of Wise Planning

44 I go back to what I regard as the first essential for full employment: planning After all, we can argue about what government might do, or could do, or should do, in all these various fields, but in fact all of these arguments come second to planning. Unless we plan we shall not know what has to be done. Unless we plan, our government's inevitable obligation to deal with economic adversity will be discharged in hit-or-miss fashion as it was during the 30's Unless we plan, we shall have to devote all our energies to meeting emergencies after they have happened, instead of preventing them from happening

45 That is why I strongly support the so-called full employment bill recently introduced by Senators Murray, Wagner, Thomas of Utah and O'Mahoney This is not a bill to undertake any particular measures for full employment. but a bill establishing the planning machinery by which our government could intelligently decide what steps should be taken. Under the bill, the President would be required to present each year estimates of the prospective employment in private enterprise and, if this estimate indicated less than reasonably full employment, to propose a program for meeting the deficit His message would then go to a joint committee of Congress, which would

hold hearings, pursue its own investigations, and report to both branches what action should or should not be taken.

46 Thus, all we do in this bill is to say that it is a good idea for the Government to find out *in advance* whether the people are likely to have jobs, and, if not, to study *in advance* what might be done to make more jobs available. It seems to me that something like the Murray bill represents the absolute minimum of our social obligations.

47. I wonder why it is that anybody who talks of full employment is looked upon by so many as a visionary and an impractical idealist. Perhaps it is the working of the Manchesterian fallacy in the back of these critics' minds. The same type of person who would build a wall around this country, and let the rest of the world go hang, generally also thinks he can prosper no matter what happens to his neighbors.

48. Industry in this country has proved its magnificent capacity for production. We have all heard of complicated weapons or war machines that are being made for the Government today in great volume at a quarter or a third of the cost of the original models. Production is not, and will not be, our postwar problem. The maintenance and distribution of purchasing power are the problems that we shall need to solve.

49 Advertising men have the same stake in this problem as all business. I should like to see them recognize that stake by joining the great crusade to save democracy and save our system of private initiative by protecting it from the dangerous menace of mass unemployment.

50. Let us not again set our sights too low, as we did for a time in converting to war industry in 1940 and 1941. Let us set the sights for nothing less than full employment, and drive to that objective with the same irresistible force which is carrying us to total victory over our fascist enemies.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Sometimes a writer on a persuasive, that is a controversial, topic will make his own position evident in the beginning, sometimes he will leave that position for gradual development as the article proceeds. Which method does the author follow in this article?
2. Would those who disagree with Mr. Field object to any of the statements in paragraph 2?

3. What expressions in paragraphs 3-4 make clear the author's attitude toward the conflicting views of those who are there named?
4. In paragraphs 5-7 there are certain expressions which mark the article as an "occasional" address. On what occasion was it delivered? Does your dictionary have a definition for "occasional" which fits the use of the word in this item? Do you think that expressions of the kind here referred to have value at the time of the address? When printed for later reading?
5. Keeping in mind the title of the address, where in paragraph 7 do you find a change of thought from what is "occasional" to what is basic?
6. Paragraph 8 states a principle of prosperity for general agreement. Do you consider it sound?
7. Assuming the facts as stated in paragraph 9, how do you relate them to full employment? Note the side heading under which the paragraph falls.
8. Compare the side heading above paragraph 10 with item 7 and paragraph 3 of "Economic Control and Totalitarianism" elsewhere in this section. On many economic and governmental matters Mr. Field and Dr. Hayek would not agree. Would they agree as to the good or evil of money?
9. What do you think of the economic situation presented in paragraphs 10-15? Do you believe it possible for all people to become and remain prosperous? Can wages be high and prices low at the same time? Do you accept the theory "that the prosperity of one person or group necessarily takes away wealth from those already in possession of it," or do you believe that the earth has riches enough for all and that each "newly prosperous person . . . contributes greater wealth to those who have it"?
10. If you were a farmer how would you feel about high wages for union workers? If you were a union man how would you feel about high prices for farmers? If you were a member of neither of these groups but just an ordinary citizen earning your living in an office or in a small business or as a homemaker, would you have any protection from the pressure of these two groups to improve their economic situation? Does paragraph 19 suggest answers to any of these questions?
11. Should a discharged war worker who refuses a lower-paying job in peace-time industry receive unemployment insurance? Of what amount? For how long? What is the bearing on full employment of the several social security measures discussed in paragraphs 20-22?
12. All through the war and even after the final surrender of

Japan our economic and political leaders feared a brief period of prosperity and then a depression. Do you consider adequate the measures taken by Congress and our industrial leaders to forestall the business cycle of boom and depression? Does the charge against Congress made in paragraph 24 hold at the present time?

13. The idea of governmental planning for full employment is the basis of discussion throughout the article. But after the first paragraph the word "plan" has been little used before paragraph 27. Note its increasing importance through the rest of the article.
14. Do paragraphs 28-32 adequately support the controversial statement in the side heading above paragraph 28? What seems to you the strongest argument for governmental planning?
15. What do you know of the relation of taxes to full employment and prosperity? When should taxes be high on individuals? On business?
16. Do you believe the government should lend money to small business men as suggested in paragraphs 33-34?
17. Would you favor government participation in private housing projects? In the improvement of slum districts in large cities?
18. What argument for "direct public investment" do you find in paragraph 37? Is it convincing?
19. Are you in favor of improving additional river basins after the plan of the Tennessee Valley Authority as proposed in paragraphs 38-39? Would you extend government planning to cover such projects as those mentioned in paragraph 40?
20. Do paragraphs 41-43 satisfy you that the costs of the various projects that have been proposed can be met?
21. Do you know what has happened to the so-called Murray full-employment bill? Do paragraphs 45-46 give a convincing argument for it?
22. Before leaving this article, recall that the author of "Economic Control and Totalitarianism" elsewhere in this section would accept many of the arguments here presented but would reply that the people in a society centrally planned are traveling *The Road to Serfdom*. What is your judgment on this point? How can you defend it?
23. Mr. Field presents many ideas that are the subject of daily controversy in our newspapers and magazines, on the radio, on public platforms and in our legislative bodies. In a paper of such length as your instructor may assign, set down your own conclusions on some one of these ideas.

Full Employment Program Based on Economic Fallacies

LAWS TO BRING PROSPERITY HAVE LOWERED NATIONAL LIVING STANDARDS

JOHN W. SCOVILLE

Barron's Weekly introduces this article with the following note: Mr. Scoville, economist for Chrysler Corp., is well known for presentation of his views in a dramatic fashion. While not in agreement with everything Mr Scoville has to say in the accompanying article, *Barron's* enjoys the opportunity to offer its readers what many would call an "unorthodox" approach to postwar employment. [*Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*, January 29, 1945. By permission of the author and the publisher.]

1. TAKE SEVERAL wellgrown economic fallacies, mix thoroughly with a dozen undefined words, season to taste with economic ignorance and pressure group avarice and bake for two years in the ovens of popular discussion—the result is an unpalatable, indigestible piece of hardtack known as the Postwar Employment Problem.

2. This problem cannot be solved until someone states what it is. Apparently, it is merely a vague, mystical yearning which compels certain people to cry out that after the war someone must provide sixty million jobs—that after the war we must have full employment and a national income of X million dollars—that we must never go back to conditions which existed in the Twenties—that we must have as much employment in peace as in war—that returning veterans must not sell apples on the street—that if industry cannot provide jobs the government must take over—that we must have a thirty-hour week to give everybody a job—that exports must be trebled to provide employment—that we must have full employment to enable the government to collect necessary taxes—that we must have full employment to prevent a revolution.

3. We have become a nation of hypochondriacs, and merely to list

the diseases which threaten the body politic—as well as the proposed cures—would require a big book.

Economic Terminology Has Changed

4. In past decades, when we were more rational, we spoke of good times and hard times, of business being slow, active, or depressed. We realized that when times were hard everyone was less prosperous. The modern theme song promulgates the idea that when times are hard the only class which suffers is made up of those who work for wages. Now, instead of hard times, we say unemployment, and instead of good times we say full employment.

5. Suppose that, by some miracle, the amount of labor required to produce goods were reduced by 80%. Ten million people could then produce all the goods formerly produced by fifty million. I suppose the advocates of full employment would consider this a great catastrophe, and believe that 40 millions would be unemployed and starving. They hold to the theory that the easier it is to obtain food, clothing, and shelter, the larger the number who will die of cold and starvation.

6. Now what would happen in this hypothetical case? Some people would work for five years and retire. Some would work for ten weeks and then take a forty weeks' vacation. Some would work two hours every day in the year. Most people would work to secure additional satisfactions—finer homes, finer furniture, better clothes. Many more families would hire domestic servants. There would be a great increase in travel, recreation and amusements. More people would go to school. There would be a greater demand for barbers, beauticians, painters, sculptors, lecturers, gardeners, etc. In short, we would have more leisure and a higher standard of living.

7. Actually, we need not rely on a hypothetical situation. For a century the productivity of human labor has been increasing. What was the result? Less employment. Children, instead of working, went to school. More young people went to college. A larger proportion of old people retired. Those who labored worked fewer hours. People had better houses, better clothing, better food. Per capita production and consumption increased enormously in variety, quality and quantity. Another result was a shift in occupations. There was a relative decline in employment in agriculture, mining and manufacture and a gain in the professions, in clerical work and in trade and distribution. Population increased, as did the average length of life.

8. As we gained mastery over the forces of nature, we took part of the dividends in better living and part in more leisure or less em-

ployment. As technology advances, it is reasonable to suppose that these trends will continue. Let us be done with this scatterbrain doctrine that the end-all and be-all of life is work, toil, or employment.

9 The apostles of full employment do not consider it necessary to define the phrase. What is meant by employment? Is it the total hours of labor of all, is it the number who do *some* work, is it the number who work for wages, is it the proportion of those who want to work who are working? If all adults worked three hours a day, would that be full employment? Is the kind of work done important? Is a gambler employed? Is a dope peddler employed? Is a lawyer waiting in his office for clients employed? Is a wheat farmer employed in the winter? Is a boy who peddles papers employed? Is a housewife employed? If she hires a maid, is she employed? Is grandma employed when she knits? Manufacturers who introduce labor-saving machines are sometimes accused of reducing employment. They should admit the charge, without any apologies Instead, they frequently make the foolish defense that labor-saving devices create jobs and increase employment.

No Universal Right to a Job

10. One of the most absurd of the current fallacies is the idea that everyone has the right to a job. President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress, said: "Of these rights the most fundamental, and one on which the fulfillment of the others in a large degree depends, is a right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation." Does this alleged right to a job refer to the right to be self employed? Has the citizen a right to buy a farm and operate it? Has he the right to buy and operate a grocery store, a barber shop, or a bakery? If qualified, has he the right to practice law, or medicine or dentistry? Obviously a citizen can do these things, but it would be foolish to say the citizen has the right to do these things, for the exercise of rights involves the interests of other people

11. This right to a job does not apply to those who are self employed It must then apply exclusively to those who wish to be employed by someone. This right to a job is of no value to millions who have jobs By elimination, we see this right to a job has value only to those unemployed who are seeking employment.

12. Since all rights are reciprocal relations, if the unemployed have the right to a job, some persons have the duty to employ them. But it does not help John Doe that *someone* has the duty to employ him.

He has applied for work at several factories and farms without success. If the right to a job is to mean anything to John Doe, then someone must designate the person or firm who is to be *compelled* to employ him. I say compelled, because John Doe has been unable to find a voluntary employer.

13. President Roosevelt and Senator Murray have indicated that the responsibility for compelling someone to hire John Doe rests with the federal government. President Roosevelt and the full employment bill specifiy that everyone has a right to a job in the industries, shops, offices, farms or mines of the nation, which are privately-operated enterprises.

14. A government official comes to John Doe's assistance. He tells him the government has selected farmer Brown as his employer. The official and John go to Brown to complete the arrangements.

15. Brown notices that John Doe is undersized and rather old But he meets the official standards—he is able and willing to work. Farmer Brown asks if John would work for thirty dollars a month. That will not be enough, says the official. The President has said—"Americans do not regard jobs that pay substandard wages as productive jobs." The full employment bill specifies: "at locally prevailing wages" I find that average farm wages here are sixty dollars a month. We demand that this man work for you at sixty dollars a month.

16 Look here, says Brown. I make about six hundred dollars a year after paying my expenses. I have one hired man now and I do not need two. If I hire this man he will not earn his wages. If I pay him sixty dollars a month, it will reduce my income to only two hundred and forty dollars a year. Why should I be selected as the goat to hire this man? Let Smith hire him, his farm is bigger than mine. The official replied: Brown, you did not sign up for the crop restriction program. Our President has declared that everyone has the right to a job. In order to give these rights to the unemployed, we must compel someone to hire them. We selected you, in this case. You seem to be a reactionary who puts private interest above the interests of society. Furthermore, you are not to fire John Doe on the grounds of incompetence. He meets government standards, he is willing and able to work. Farmer Brown then said: "I can't fight the government. I am quitting this farm right now, and looking for work Find me a job I demand the right to a job." The official then took both John Doe and Brown to list them in the unemployment office.

17 This picture is not exaggerated. It illustrates exactly what the

government would be compelled to do to guarantee a job to every applicant in private industry. Of course, if the government guarantees jobs to all, industry will no longer be private

18 If the federal government guarantees to everyone the right to a job in private industry at remunerative wages, then employers are denied the right to determine the number employed, the wages paid, and the qualifications of employees. Most laws protecting rights of citizens are for the purpose of protecting citizens from injury by other citizens. But a *full employment* or *right to work* law enables job seekers to *injure* employers. This is a perversion of the function of law.

Job Guarantee Would Mean Communism

19. The guaranteed right to a job in private industry is a promise the government cannot meet—a right the government cannot grant—without replacing freedom with communism.

20. We read in the Full Employment Bill that "the rates of Federal expenditure may be varied to whatever extent the President may determine to be necessary for the purpose of assuring continuing full employment." And the President said in his recent message to Congress: "Our full employment program requires the extensive development of our national resources and other useful *public works.*" So these jobs are not to be in the factories, farms and mines! They are to be public jobs like the WPA jobs, and the public projects are not to be undertaken because the people want them, or because they will be worth the cost. They are to be undertaken to provide jobs The injury is to be inflicted, not on private employers who may be compelled to hire people they do not want, but on the federal taxpayers, who will be compelled to pay for public works they may not want.

21. Since these government projects will not be worth what they cost, they will not provide useful and productive jobs. While these jobs will not be substandard in wages, they will be substandard in utility Which means that although the jobholders will not be cheated, the taxpayers will be. The real purpose of a full employment law is to protect arbitrary wage scales established by labor monopolies by relieving the employed of the competition of the unemployed.

22. The President seeks to create more jobs by "an increase in our export trade above the prewar level." But the purpose of foreign trade—like domestic trade—is to secure goods with less labor. A gain in foreign trade would not increase employment unless we gave our exported goods to foreigners. We could hide the gift element by

giving money to foreigners (or making unsound loans) and then accepting our own money for the goods exported.

23. I will pass over the purchasing power fallacy, the fallacy that we need sixty million jobs, the fallacy that we must work as hard in peace as in war, the fallacy that it is a responsibility of government to provide jobs—all fallacies incorporated in the President's recent message to Congress.

Freedom to Exchange Impaired by Laws

24. What is the reason so many people have difficulty making exchanges of labor or goods? Why are we less prosperous than we might be? I believe the great impediment to progress is the interven tion of government in our economic affairs Freedom to exchange has been impaired by laws on wages and hours, by minimum wage laws, by innumerable laws relating to agriculture, industry, and trade, by the rules of trade unions, cartels, and trade associations, by unfair tax laws, by fixed customs, etc.

25 Practically all laws passed ostensibly to make the people more prosperous act in reverse Most regulatory laws seek to reduce output Federal farm laws seek to restrict the acreage and output of farms; labor laws seek to restrict the amount of work done by shortening hours and by making labor more expensive; old age pensions will not be paid unless the recipient agrees to quit working in covered employment; unemployment insurance makes it easier to live without working; tax laws are framed to interfere with the accumulation of capital and to penalize efficient firms and efficient individuals; customs duties interfere with our making profitable exchanges with foreigners; "fair trade" laws prevent merchants from selling goods more cheaply; laws to keep profits and interest rates low restrict the accumulation of capital; frequent changes in the laws destroy confidence; laws to debase the currency destroy the public confidence in our money—and so on with no end in sight

26. Nearly every law to regulate our economic affairs lowers our standards of living and creates more poverty. These ill effects of legis- lation have been masked by our great gains in technology But our scientists cannot forever overcome the evils done by the lawmakers.

Our Regulations Encourage Monopoly

27. Just as tariffs are enacted to "protect" us from foreign competi- tion, so we have domestic tariffs to protect us from domestic com- petition. Thus we have laws to promote labor unions, so that the

worker getting high wages may be protected from the competition of those who would work for less; we have *fair* trade laws to protect the merchant who sells for high prices from the competition of the merchants who would sell for less; farm subsidies and acreage restrictions to protect farmers who wish to secure higher prices by producing less; unemployment compensation to protect employed workers from the competition of unemployed workers; old age pensions and youth assistance programs to protect workers from the competition of the old and the young; taxes on chain stores to relieve independent grocers of chain store competition; regulation of motor trucks to relieve the railroads of some of the competition from trucks; taxes on oleo so it will compete less with butter; profits taxes on efficient firms to protect inefficient firms; maintenance of membership clauses to protect the income of labor unions; minimum wage laws to protect arbitrary high wage rates; public works projects to protect employed workers from the competition of the unemployed.

28. These laws which make it possible for sellers to ask higher prices, cannot compel consumers to buy at the higher prices The result of these restrictions and interventions is a reduction in output, a distribution of total output according to governmental favors, a curtailment of competition, and encouragement to monopolies

29 Can the government create greater prosperity and help the people to produce and exchange? Yes. By repealing every law to regulate trade, wages, prices and employment and by restoring economic freedom.

30 A full employment law would be an attempt by government to cure the unemployment largely caused by the laws passed to regulate business. Can the government help us? Yes It can help by leaving us alone.

31. The fraudulent theories of the economic medicine men reduce to this: "Everyone is to get more for what he sells and pay less for what he buys" While all of us may attempt to apply this rule, and some may succeed, it is obvious we cannot all succeed in getting the best of the bargain. These flimsy economic fallacies are advanced by pressure groups who claim their schemes for advancing their own interests will promote the general welfare.

32 For society as a whole, production and consumption are equally important. But the individual, who gets his income from one source and spends this income in a thousand channels, feels it is easier and more important to increase his income than to reduce his expenditures A factory worker is more interested in getting a wage increase than

he is in reducing the price of toothpaste, bread, gasoline, or shoes. The pressure on Congress comes from producers. But any law which helps producers will injure the consumers. Congress is therefore unable, by economic regulations, to increase the general welfare 280

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. How do you like the tone of the first paragraph? If you had only a limited reading time, would it encourage you to continue the article? If you disregard the title, can you tell from paragraph 1 whether the author favors or opposes the "full employment" bill? Do you know his attitude after reading paragraph 2? What other studies of full employment does the paragraph suggest?
2. In your dictionary study the word "hypochondriacs" (l. 19). What interesting facts about its derivation and early meaning do you find? Suppose the prefix were "hyper-" instead of "hypo"?
3. What do you think of the objectives of paragraph 2? What does paragraph 3 suggest the author thinks?
4. What attitude toward the "business cycle" does paragraph 4 suggest? Do you agree?
5. Suppose the development of atomic power or other scientific advance should make it possible for one man to do the work of five? Would you think it a good thing? Has anything like this ever happened in the past? Contrast the theory at the end of paragraph 5 with that in paragraph 6. Which seems a more likely result?
6. Does paragraph 8 suggest that full employment is desirable?
7. Of the several questions in paragraph 9 which seems most important? How would you answer it?
8. Do you believe that every individual has a right to a job? Should he receive it as is suggested in paragraphs 12-17? How effective, as argument, is the "John Doe and Farmer Brown" story set forth in those paragraphs?
9. Compare the reference to the Murray full employment bill in paragraphs 13-17 with that in paragraphs 44-46 of "The Way to Full Employment" elsewhere in this section.
10. Do you know the present situation in Congress of proposals like the Murray bill? Have you known recently or in the past of any governmental projects for public works? Are the projects better described in paragraphs 20-21 of this article or in paragraphs 37-40 of "The Way to Full Employment"?

11. Do you agree that the references in paragraph 23 are to real fallacies?
12. Paragraph 24 suggests the most important domestic issue in American life today. Do the paragraphs following give a convincing argument against governmental intervention? Do you agree with the view of paragraph 26?
13. Do you approve the kind of regulations listed in paragraph 27?
14. Would the proposal of paragraphs 29-30 produce economic freedom?
15. With what pressure groups attempting to influence lawmaking are you familiar? How do they operate? How long have they been in action? Do you consider them good, or are they inevitable in our system of government? What attitude toward them should the ordinary citizen take?
16. Do you believe that Congress can improve the general welfare through regulating economic conditions? Do you approve Mr Scoville's view in paragraph 32?
17. From Mr Scoville's article select some idea as a starting point for a discussion of some aspect of the full employment problem Make such use as you wish of the items above

Central power does not spring full grown from the head of Zeus; it arises only with the consent of the people and can endure only with their approval In your day the relation of the individual to the state is under wide examination and in many countries is changing as it has seldom done before In this section Dr. Friedrich Hayek in the title of his well-known book calls the change *The Road to Serfdom* Mr. John W Scoville would in large part agree with him, while Mr Marshall Field and Mr R. L. Strout would doubtless object Having read the views of these gentlemen and having in some measure debated the problem with yourself, record your conclusion on some aspect of the problem in a paper of such length as your instructor may direct. Develop some idea that came to you independently from your reading or from class discussion, or use if you wish some one of the following topics

Social security weakens the character of American citizens
The right to work belongs to every qualified citizen
Even "leaf-raking" jobs may be necessary in bad times.
As long as the individual keeps and exercises his right to vote he need not fear totalitarianism
Private enterprise is more efficient than governmental
The doctrine of *laissez faire* should be restored in America.

VII

The Shape of Lasting Peace

Human history is largely a record of wars interspersed with unquiet interludes of peace. Yet there have always been men of good will who dare to hope and work for a time when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more Today, as we seem to be stumbling into the Atomic Age, when to some who have studied the matter it appears not unlikely that the next world conflict may destroy not only civilization but the planet Earth itself, a new urgency invests the old dream of a world order in which peace shall be no mere uneasy interim but a stable condition offering to the whole race the permanent possibility of a more abundant life What are the principles that must prevail if such a world order is to arise? What specific machinery must be organized and set in motion? What hope have we that the United Nations will become united in fact as well as in name? On behalf of what men and measures should we exert our influence? Your editors offer this section with the hope it may furnish a useful background for your thinking

When Mercy Seasons Justice

THUCYDIDES

Thucydides (B.C. 471?–400?) "wrote the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians," as he says, "believing . . it . . more worthy of relation than any that had preceded it," because "the preparations of both the combatants were in every department in the last state of perfection; and he could see the rest of the Hellenic race taking sides in the quarrel; those who delayed doing so at once having it in contemplation."

To the historian's report of the controversy in Athens over the treatment to be accorded the vanquished Mitylenians, your editors can find no more appropriate introduction than certain passages from the introduction of the translator Commenting on the assertion attributed to the British statesman Richard Cobden "that a file of the *Times* newspaper is worth all the works of Thucydides," Mr. Crawley says there is "perhaps more resemblance between the newspaper and the historian than has been generally perceived. They both treat of contemporary events and of states of society, politically, very like each other. . . Indeed, as Arnold remarked, the portion of history dealt with by Thucydides is only ancient in the sense that the events related happened a long while ago; in all other respects it is more modern than the history of our own countrymen in the Middle Ages. If the reader of the newspaper will condescend to cast an eye on my translation, he will find there the prototypes of many of the figures to which he is accustomed in his favorite journal. . . . In short, besides the practical lessons to be drawn for his own conduct, he will enjoy the philosophic pleasure of observing how the nature of man, in spite of all changes of time and circumstance, remains essentially the same, and how short is the distance from the civilised inhabitant of Athens or Corinth to the dweller in London or Vienna." [From the Every-

man edition of *The History of the Peloponnesian War* by Thucydides, pp. 192-203. Translated by Richard Crawley over a period ending in 1873.]

1. UPON THE ARRIVAL of the prisoners with Salaethus, the Athenians at once put the latter to death, although he offered, among other things, to procure the withdrawal of the Peloponnesians from Plataea, which was still under seige; and after deliberating as to what they should do with the former, in the fury of the moment determined to put to death not only the prisoners at Athens, but the whole adult male population of Mitylene, and to make slaves of the women and children. It was remarked that Mitylene had revolted without being, like the rest, subjected to the empire; and what above all swelled the wrath of the Athenians was the fact of the Peloponnesian fleet having ventured over to Ionia to her support, a fact which was held to argue a long meditated rebellion. They accordingly sent a galley to communicate the decree to Paches, commanding him to lose no time in despatching the Mitylenians. The morrow brought repentance with it and reflexion on the horrid cruelty of a decree, which condemned a whole city to the fate merited only by the guilty This was no sooner perceived by the Mitylenian ambassadors at Athens and their Athenian supporters, than they moved the authorities to put the question again to the vote; which they the more easily consented to do, as they themselves plainly saw that most of the citizens wished some one to give them an opportunity for reconsidering the matter. An assembly was therefore at once called, and after much expression of opinion upon both sides, Cleon, son of Cleaenetus, the same who had carried the former motion of putting the Mitylenians to death, the most violent man at Athens, and at that time by far the most powerful with the commons, came forward again and spoke as follows:—

2. 'I have often before now been convinced that a democracy is incapable of empire, and never more so than by your present change of mind in the matter of Mitylene. For myself, I adhere to my former opinion, and wonder at those who have proposed to reopen the case of the Mitylenians, and who are thus causing a delay which is all in favour of the guilty, by making the sufferer proceed against the offender with the edge of his anger blunted; although where vengeance follows most closely upon the wrong, it best equals it and most amply requites it. I wonder also who will be the man who will maintain the contrary, and will pretend to show that the crimes of the Mitylenians are of service to us, and our misfortunes injurious to the allies. Such

a man must plainly either have such confidence in his rhetoric as to adventure to prove that what has been once for all decided is still undetermined, or be bribed to try to delude us by elaborate sophisms.

3. 'In order to keep you from this, I proceed to show that no one state has ever injured you as much as Mitylene. I can make allowance for those who revolt because they cannot bear our empire, or who have been forced to do so by the enemy. But for those who possessed an island with fortifications; who could fear our enemies only by sea, and there had their own force of galleys to protect them; who were independent and held in the highest honour by you—to act as these have done, this is not revolt—revolt implies oppression; it is deliberate and wanton aggression; an attempt to ruin us by siding with our bitterest enemies; a worse offence than a war undertaken on their own account in the acquisition of power. The fate of those of their neighbours who had already rebelled and had been subdued, was no lesson to them; their own prosperity could not dissuade them from affronting danger, but blindly confident in the future, and full of hopes beyond their power though not beyond their ambition, they declared war and made their decision to prefer might to right, their attack being determined not by provocation but by the moment which seemed propitious. The truth is that great good fortune coming suddenly and unexpectedly tends to make a people insolent: in most cases it is safer for mankind to have success in reason than out of reason; and it is easier for them, one may say, to stave off adversity than to preserve prosperity. Our mistake has been to distinguish the Mitylenians as we have done. had they been long ago treated like the rest, they never would have so far forgotten themselves, human nature being as surely made arrogant by consideration, as it is awed by firmness. Let them now therefore be punished as their crime requires, and do not, while you condemn the aristocracy, absolve the people. This is certain, that all attacked you without distinction, although they might have come over to us, and been now again in possession of their city. But no, they thought it safer to throw in their lot with the aristocracy and so joined their rebellion! Consider therefore! if you subject to the same punishment the ally who is forced to rebel by the enemy, and him who does so by his own free choice, which of them, think you, is there that will not rebel upon the slightest pretext; when the reward of success is freedom, and the penalty of failure nothing so very terrible? We meanwhile shall have to risk our money and our lives against one state after another; and if successful, shall receive a ruined town from which we can no longer draw the revenue upon which our strength

depends; while if unsuccessful, we shall have an enemy the more upon our hands, and shall spend the time that might be employed in combating our existing foes in warring with our own allies.

4. 'No hope, therefore, that rhetoric may instil or money purchase, of the mercy due to human infirmity must be held out to the Mitylenians. Their offence was not involuntary, but of malice and deliberate; and mercy is only for unwilling offenders I therefore now as before persist against your reversing your first decision, or giving way to the three failings most fatal to empire—pity, sentiment, and indulgence. To sum up shortly, I say that if you follow my advice you will do what is just towards the Mitylenians, and at the same time expedient; while by a different decision you will not oblige them so much as pass sentence upon yourselves. For if they were right in rebelling, you must be wrong in ruling. However, if, right or wrong, you determine to rule, you must carry out your principle and punish the Mitylenians as your interest requires; or else you must give up your empire and cultivate honesty without danger. Make up your minds, therefore, to give them like for like; and do not let the victims who escaped the plot be more insensible than the conspirators who hatched it, but reflect what they would have done if victorious over you, especially as they were the aggressors. It is they who wrong their neighbour without a cause, that pursue their victim to the death, on account of the danger which they forsee in letting their enemy survive; since the object of a wanton wrong is more dangerous, if he escape, than an enemy who has not this to complain of. Do not, therefore, be traitors to yourselves, but recall as nearly as possible the moment of suffering and the supreme importance which you then attached to their reduction; and now pay them back in their turn, without yielding to present weakness or forgetting the peril that once hung over you Punish them as they deserve, and teach your other allies by a striking example that the penalty of rebellion is death. Let them once understand this and you will not have so often to neglect your enemies while you are fighting with your own confederates.'

5. Such were the words of Cleon. After him Diodotus, son of Eucrates, who had also in the previous assembly spoken most strongly against putting the Mitylenians to death, came forward and spoke as follows:—

6. 'I do not blame the persons who have reopened the case of the Mitylenians, nor do I approve the protests which we have heard against important questions being frequently debated. I think the two things most opposed to good counsel are haste and passion; haste usually

goes hand in hand with folly, passion with coarseness and narrowness of mind. However, I have not come forward either to oppose or to accuse in the matter of Mitylene; indeed, the question before us as sensible men is not their guilt, but our interests. Though I prove them ever so guilty, I shall not, therefore, advise their death, unless it be expedient; nor though they should have claims to indulgence, shall I recommend it, unless it be clearly for the good of the country. I consider that we are deliberating for the future more than for the present; and where Cleon is so positive as to the useful deterrent effects that will follow from making rebellion capital, I who consider the interests of the future quite as much as he, as positively maintain the contrary. And I require you not to reject my useful considerations for his specious ones: his speech may have the attraction of seeming the more just in your present temper against Mitylene; but we are not in a court of justice, but in a political assembly; and the question is not justice, but how to make the Mitylenians useful to Athens.

7 'Now of course communities have enacted the penalty of death for many offences far lighter than this: still hope leads men to venture, and no one ever yet put himself in peril without the inward conviction that he would succeed in his design. Again, was there ever city rebelling that did not believe that it possessed either in itself or in its alliances resources adequate to the enterprise? All, states and individuals, are alike prone to err, and there is no law that will prevent them; or why should men have exhausted the list of punishments in search of enactments to protect them from evildoers? It is probable that in early times the penalties for the greatest offences were less severe, and that, as these were disregarded, the penalty of death has been by degrees in most cases arrived at, which is itself disregarded in like manner. Either then some means of terror more terrible than this must be discovered, or it must be owned that this restraint is useless; and that as long as poverty gives men the courage of necessity, or plenty fills them with the ambition which belongs to insolence and pride, and the other conditions of life remain each under the thraldom of some fatal and master passion, so long will the impulse never be wanting to drive men into danger. Hope also and cupidity, the one leading and the other following, the one conceiving the attempt, the other suggesting the facility of succeeding, cause the widest ruin, and, although invisible agents, are far stronger than the dangers that are seen. Fortune, too, powerfully helps the delusion, and by the unexpected aid that she sometimes lends, tempts men to venture with inferior means; and this is especially the case with communities, be-

cause the stakes played for are the highest, freedom or empire, and, when all are acting together, each man irrationally magnifies his own capacity. In fine, it is impossible to prevent, and only great simplicity can hope to prevent, human nature doing what it has once set its mind upon, by force of law or by any other deterrent force whatsoever.

8. 'We must not, therefore, commit ourselves to a false policy through a belief in the efficacy of the punishment of death, or exclude rebels from the hope of repentance and an early atonement of their error. Consider a moment! At present, if a city that has already revolted perceive that it cannot succeed, it will come to terms while it is still able to refund expenses, and pay tribute afterwards. In the other case, what city think you would not prepare better than is now done, and hold out to the last against its besiegers, if it is all one whether it surrender late or soon? And how can it be otherwise than hurtful to us to be put to the expense of a siege, because surrender is out of the question; and if we take the city, to receive a ruined town from which we can no longer draw the revenue which forms our real strength against the enemy? We must not, therefore, sit as strict judges of the offenders to our own prejudice, but rather see how by moderate chastisements we may be enabled to benefit in future by the revenue-producing powers of our dependencies; and we must make our minds to look for our protection not to legal terrors but to careful administration At present we do exactly the opposite When a free community, held in subjection by force, rises, as is only natural, and asserts its independence, it is no sooner reduced than we fancy ourselves obliged to punish it severely; although the right course with freemen is not to chastise them rigorously when they do rise, but rigorously to watch them before they rise, and to prevent their ever entertaining the idea, and, the insurrection suppressed, to make as few responsible for it as possible.

9. 'Only consider what a blunder you would commit in doing as Cleon recommends. As things are at present, in all the cities the people is your friend, and either does not revolt with the oligarchy, or, if forced to do so, becomes at once the enemy of the insurgents; so that in the war with the hostile city you have the masses on your side. But if you butcher the people of Mitylene, who had nothing to do with the revolt, and who, as soon as they got arms, of their own motion surrendered the town, first you will commit the crime of killing your benefactors; and next you will play directly into the hands of the higher classes, who when they induce their cities to rise, will immediately have the people on their side, through your having announced

in advance the same punishment for those who are guilty and for those who are not. On the contrary, even if they were guilty, you ought to seem not to notice it, in order to avoid alienating the only class still friendly to us. In short, I consider it far more useful for the preservation of our empire voluntarily to put up with the injustice, than to put to death, however justly, those whom it is our interest to keep alive As for Cleon's idea that in punishment the claims of justice and expediency can both be satisfied, facts do not confirm the possibility of such a combination.

10 'Confess, therefore, that this is the wisest course, and without conceding too much either to pity or to indulgence, by neither of which motives do I any more than Cleon wish you to be influenced, upon the plain merits of the case before you, be persuaded by me to try calmly those of the Mitylenians whom Paches sent off as guilty, and to leave the rest undisturbed. This is at once best for the future, and most terrible to your enemies at the present moment; inasmuch as good policy against an adversary is superior to the blind attacks of brute force.'

11. Such were the words of Diodotus. The two opinions thus expressed were the ones that most directly contradicted each other, and the Athenians, notwithstanding their change of feeling, now proceeded to a division, in which the show of hands was almost equal, although the motion of Diodotus carried the day Another galley was at once sent off in haste, for fear that the first might reach Lesbos in the interval, and the city be found destroyed; the first ship having about a day and a night's start Wine and barley-cakes were provided for the vessel by the Mitylenian ambassadors, and great promises made if they arrived in time; which caused the men to use such diligence upon the voyage that they took their meals of barley-cakes kneaded with oil and wine as they rowed, and only slept by turns while the others were at the oar. Luckily they met with no contrary wind, and the first ship making no haste upon so horrid an errand, while the second pressed on in the manner described, the first arrived so little before them, that Paches had only just had time to read the decree, and to prepare to execute the sentence, when the second put into port and prevented the massacre. The danger of Mitylene had indeed been great

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1 Note the use of quotation marks in the speeches of the two debaters At the beginning of each speech what mark is used? At the end of the first paragraph in each case what suggests that the speech is not finished? At the beginning of the second paragraph what reminds the reader that the speech continues? What mark is found at the end of each speech?

2 Does the quotation in the first paragraph of the headnote read as if it were written more than twenty-three hundred years ago? Does it remind you of any recent events?

3 What is your judgment of the point of view in the second paragraph of the headnote?

4 If you are curious about the persons and places mentioned in the first paragraph, you can look them up in a good encyclopedia The important thing is to understand the setting for the debate to follow

5 In the last sentence of paragraph 1 what expression suggests an attitude of Thucydides toward Cleon?

6 If an offense has aroused the anger of a community should the accused be tried as promptly as Cleon proposed in paragraph 2?

7 How strong a case for punishment of the Mitylenians does Cleon make in paragraph 3? Do you agree that the people as a whole and not the leaders only should be punished? What parallel situations have occurred in our time?

8 What do you think of "pity, sentiment, and indulgence" as national traits in dealing with a vanquished enemy? If Cleon in paragraph 4 were discussing Germany, Italy, and Japan, how nearly would you agree with him?

9 If you have listened to the speeches of an American political campaign, you have observed something of the same give-and-take here shown between Cleon and Diodotus. To what part of Cleon's speech does his opponent refer at the beginning of paragraph 6?

10 As a national policy what do you think of the view of paragraph 6? How would you apply it to our own relations with our recent enemies? Our recent allies?

11. Of what recently blasted national hopes is paragraph 7 a reminder?

12. How would you apply the principles of paragraph 8 in the reconstruction of defeated countries?

13 To what argument of Cleon is reference made at the end of paragraph 9?

14 How effective do you consider paragraph 10 as an answer to the argument of Cleon?

15. Thucydides' story reports a nearly tragic international situation. With what partly comic incident does it close?
16. Although Cleon and Diodotus debated centuries before the beginning of the Christian era, much of their argument by a mere change of names could be given a current or very recent application. Select some incident or some idea which Thucydides reports on which you have a conviction and discuss it in a single paragraph or a longer paper as your instructor may direct.

The Roman Constitution

POLYBIUS

Polybius (B.C. 203?–B.C. 121?) had both military and political training, and when his native Achaea in Greece was subdued by the Romans about 168 B.C., he was taken as a hostage. Because he helped in securing moderate peace terms from the Romans he was highly regarded in his home land. While at Rome as a hostage for seventeen years he either wrote or gathered material for several histories. He is said to have originated the practice of including along with the historical record views of his own as to the importance of that record. This practice is noticeable in the selection here reprinted. [From Chapter VI of Vol. I, *The Histories of Polybius*. Translated from the text of F. Hultsch by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh. Published by Macmillan and Co., London and New York, 1889.]

1. I AM AWARE that some will be at a loss to account for my interrupting the course of my narrative for the sake of entering upon the following disquisition on the Roman constitution. But I think that I have already in many passages made it fully evident that this particular branch of my work was one of the necessities imposed on me by the nature of my original design; and I pointed this out with special clearness in the preface which explained the scope of my history. I there stated that the feature of my work which was at once the best in itself, and the most instructive to the students of it, was that it would enable them to know and fully realise in what manner, and under what kind of constitution, it came about that nearly the whole world fell under the power of Rome in somewhat less than fifty-three years,—an event certainly without precedent. This being my settled purpose, I could see no more fitting period than the present for making a pause, and examining the truth of the remarks about to be made on this constitution. In private life if you wish to satisfy yourself as to the badness or goodness of particular persons, you would not, if you wish to get a genuine test, examine their conduct at a time of uneventful repose, but in the hour of brilliant success or conspicuous reverse. For

the true test of a perfect man is the power of bearing with spirit and dignity violent changes of fortune. An examination of a constitution should be conducted in the same way. and therefore being unable to find in our day a more rapid or more signal change than that which has happened to Rome, I reserved my disquisition on its constitution for this place

2. What is really educational and beneficial to students of history is the clear view of the causes of events, and the consequent power of choosing the better policy in a particular case. Now in every practical undertaking by a state we must regard as the most powerful agent for success or failure the form of its constitution; for from this as from a fountainhead all conceptions and plans of action not only proceed, but attain their consummation.

3. Of the Greek republics, which have again and again risen to greatness and fallen into insignificance, it is not difficult to speak. whether we recount their past history or venture an opinion on their future. For to report what is already known is an easy task, nor is it hard to guess what is to come from our knowledge of what has been But in regard to the Romans it is neither an easy matter to describe their present state, owing to the complexity of their constitution; nor to speak with confidence of their future, from our inadequate acquaint ance with their peculiar institutions in the past whether affecting their public or their private life. It will require then no ordinary attention and study to get a clear and comprehensive conception of the distinctive features of this constitution.

4 Now, it is undoubtedly the case that most of those who profess to give us authoritative instruction on this subject distinguish three kinds of constitutions, which they designate *kingship, aristocracy, democracy*. But in my opinion the question might fairly be put to them, whether they name these as being the *only* ones, or as the *best*. In either case I think they are wrong For it is plain that we must regard as the *best* constitution that which partakes of all these three elements. And this is no mere assertion, but has been proved by the example of Lycurgus, who was the first to construct a constitution—that of Sparta—on this principle. Nor can we admit that these are the *only* forms: for we have had before now examples of absolute and tyrannical forms of government, which, while differing as widely as possible from kingship, yet appear to have some points of resemblance to it; on which account all absolute rulers falsely assume and use, as far as they can, the title of king. Again there have been many instances of oligarchical governments having in appearance some

analogy to aristocracies, which are, if I may say so, as different from them as it is possible to be. The same also holds good about democracy

5. I will illustrate the truth of what I say. We cannot hold every absolute government to be a kingship, but only that which is accepted voluntarily, and is directed by an appeal to reason rather than to fear and force. Nor again is every oligarchy to be regarded as an aristocracy; the latter exists only where the power is wielded by the justest and wisest men selected on their merits. Similarly, it is not enough to constitute a democracy that the whole crowd of citizens should have the right to do whatever they wish or propose. But where reverence to the gods, succour of parents, respect to elders, obedience to laws, are traditional and habitual, in such communities, if the will of the majority prevail, we may speak of the form of government as a democracy. So then we enumerate six forms of government,—the three commonly spoken of which I have just mentioned, and three more allied forms, I mean *despotism, oligarchy* and *mob-rule*. The first of these arises without artificial aid and in the natural order of events. Next to this, and produced from it by the aid of art and adjustment, comes *kingship*, which degenerating into the evil form allied to it, by which I mean *tyranny*, both are once more destroyed and *aristocracy* produced. Again the latter being in the course of nature perverted to *oligarchy*, and the people passionately avenging the unjust acts of their rulers, *democracy* comes into existence; which again by its violence and contempt of law becomes sheer *mob-rule*.

6. This is the regular cycle of constitutional revolutions, and the natural order in which constitutions change, are transformed, and return again to their original stage. If a man have a clear grasp of these principles he may perhaps make a mistake as to the dates at which this or that will happen to a particular constitution; but he will rarely be entirely mistaken as to the stage of growth or decay at which it has arrived, or as to the point at which it will undergo some revolutionary change. However, it is in the case of the Roman constitution that this method of inquiry will most fully teach us its formation, its growth, and zenith, as well as the changes awaiting it in the future; for this, if any constitution ever did, owed its original foundation and growth to natural causes, and to natural causes will owe its decay. My subsequent narrative will be the best illustration of what I say.

7 The Roman constitution had three elements, each of them possessing sovereign powers: and their respective share of power in the

whole state had been regulated with such a scrupulous regard to equality and equilibrium, that no one could say for certain, not even a native, whether the constitution as a whole were an aristocracy or democracy or despotism. And no wonder: for if we confine our observation to the power of the Consuls we should be inclined to regard it as despotic; if on that of the Senate, as aristocratic; and if finally one looks at the power possessed by the people it would seem a clear case of a democracy. What the exact powers of these several parts were, and still, with slight modifications, are, I will now state.

8. The Consuls, before leading out the legions, remain in Rome and are supreme masters of the administration. All other magistrates, except the Tribunes, are under them and take their orders. They introduce foreign ambassadors to the Senate; bring matters requiring deliberation before it; and see to the execution of its decrees. If, again, there are any matters of state which require the authorisation of the people, it is their business to see to them, to summon the popular meetings, to bring the proposals before them, and to carry out the decrees of the majority. In the preparations for war also, and in a word in the entire administration of a campaign, they have all but absolute power. It is competent to them to impose on the allies such levies as they think good, to appoint the Military Tribunes, to make up the roll for soldiers and select those that are suitable. Besides they have absolute power of inflicting punishment on all who are under their command while on active service, and they have authority to expend as much of the public money as they choose, being accompanied by a quaestor who is entirely at their orders. A survey of these powers would in fact justify our describing the constitution as despotic, —a clear case of royal government. Nor will it affect the truth of my description, if any of the institutions I have described are changed in our time, or in that of our posterity: and the same remarks apply to what follows.

9 The Senate has first of all the control of the treasury, and regulates the receipts and disbursements alike. For the Quaestors cannot issue any public money for the various departments of the state without a decree of the Senate, except for the service of the Consuls. The Senate controls also what is by far the largest and most important expenditure, that, namely, which is made by the censors every *lustrum* for the repair or construction of public buildings; this money cannot be obtained by the censors except by the grant of the Senate. Similarly all crimes committed in Italy requiring a public investigation, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning, or wilful murder, are in the

hands of the Senate. Besides, if any individual or state among the Italian allies requires a controversy to be settled, a penalty to be assessed, help or protection to be afforded,—all this is the province of the Senate. Or again, outside Italy, if it is necessary to send an embassy to reconcile warring communities, or to remind them of their duty, or sometimes to impose requisitions upon them, or to receive their submission, or finally to proclaim war against them,—this too is the business of the Senate. In like manner the reception to be given to foreign ambassadors in Rome, and the answers to be returned to them, are decided by the Senate. With such business the people have nothing to do. Consequently, if one were staying at Rome when the Consuls were not in town, one would imagine the constitution to be a complete aristocracy: and this has been the idea entertained by many Greeks, and by many kings as well, from the fact that nearly all the business they had with Rome was settled by the Senate.

10. After this one would naturally be inclined to ask what part is left for the people in the constitution, when the Senate has these various functions, especially the control of the receipts and expenditure of the exchequer; and when the Consuls, again, have absolute power over the details of military preparation, and an absolute authority in the field? There is, however, a part left the people, and it is a most important one. For the people is the sole fountain of honour and of punishment; and it is by these two things and these alone that dynasties and constitutions and, in a word, human society are held together: for where the distinction between them is not sharply drawn both in theory and practice, there no undertaking can be properly administered,—as indeed we might expect when good and bad are held in exactly the same honour. The people then are the only court to decide matters of life and death; and even in cases where the penalty is money, if the sum to be assessed is sufficiently serious, and especially when the accused have held the higher magistracies. And in regard to this arrangement there is one point deserving especial commendation and record. Men who are on trial for their lives at Rome, while sentence is in process of being voted,—if even only one of the tribes whose votes are needed to ratify the sentence has not voted,—have the privilege at Rome of openly departing and condemning themselves to a voluntary exile. Such men are safe at Naples or Praeneste or at Tibur, and at other towns with which this arrangement has been duly ratified on oath.

11. Again, it is the people who bestow offices on the deserving, which are the most honourable rewards of virtue. It has also the

absolute power of passing or repealing laws; and, most important of all, it is the people who deliberate on the question of peace or war. And when provisional terms are made for alliance, suspension of hostilities, or treaties, it is the people who ratify them or the reverse.

12. These considerations again would lead one to say that the chief power in the state was the people's, and that the constitution was a democracy.

13 The result of this power of the several estates for mutual help or harm is a union sufficiently firm for all emergencies, and a constitution than which it is impossible to find a better. For whenever any danger from without compels them to unite and work together, the strength which is developed by the State is so extraordinary, that everything required is unfailingly carried out by the eager rivalry shown by all classes to devote their whole minds to the need of the hour, and to secure that any determination come to should not fail for want of promptitude; while each individual works, privately and publicly alike, for the accomplishment of the business in hand. Accordingly, the peculiar constitution of the State makes it irresistible, and certain of obtaining whatever it determines to attempt. Nay, even when these external alarms are past, and the people are enjoying their good fortune and the fruits of their victories, and, as usually happens, growing corrupted by flattery and idleness, show a tendency to violence and arrogance,—it is in these circumstances, more than ever, that the constitution is seen to possess within itself the power of correcting abuses For when any one of the three classes becomes puffed up, and manifests an inclination to be contentious and unduly encroaching, the mutual interdependency of all the three, and the possibility of the pretensions of any one being checked and thwarted by the others, must plainly check this tendency: and so the proper equilibrium is maintained by the impulsiveness of the one part being checked by its fear of the other.

14 But in all polities we observe two sources of decay existing from natural causes, the one external, the other internal and self-produced. The external admits of no certain or fixed definition, but the internal follows a definite order What kind of polity, then, comes naturally first, and what second, I have already stated in such a way, that those who are capable of taking in the whole drift of my argument can henceforth draw their own conclusions as to the future of the Roman polity. For it is quite clear, in my opinion. When a commonwealth, after warding off many great dangers, has arrived at a high pitch of prosperity and undisputed power, it is evident that, by the lengthened

continuance of great wealth within it, the manner of life of its citizens will become more extravagant; and that the rivalry for office, and in other spheres of activity, will become fiercer than it ought to be. And as this state of things goes on more and more, the desire of office and the shame of losing reputation, as well as the ostentation and extravagance of living, will prove the beginning of a deterioration. And of this change the people will be credited with being the authors, when they become convinced that they are being cheated by some from avarice, and are puffed up with flattery by others from love of office. For when that comes about, in their passionate resentment and acting under the dictates of anger, they will refuse to obey any longer, or to be content with having equal powers with their leaders, but will demand to have all or far the greatest themselves. And when that comes to pass the constitution will receive a new name, which sounds better than any other in the world, liberty or democracy; but, in fact, it will become that worst of all governments, mob-rule.

15. With this description of the formation, growth, zenith, and present state of the Roman polity, and having discussed also its difference, for better and worse, from other polities, I will now at length bring my essay on it to an end.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. In the first paragraph of "The Roman Constitution" Polybius is anticipating what sort of unconcern on the part of the reader?
2. Do you agree with the idea in the first sentence of paragraph 2? Why? With the idea in the second sentence? Why?
3. How many of the six kinds of governments described in paragraph 5 now exist or have recently existed in the world? Do you agree that changes come about as outlined in paragraph 5?
4. What would you think of a nation today if the powers of government were balanced somewhat as indicated in paragraphs 7-13?
5. In our own country is there any individual or any body of individuals with the powers in whole or in part ascribed to the Consuls in paragraph 8?
6. As far as you know, how in our government are the powers set down in paragraph 9 distributed?
7. For the reader what is the value of the last sentence of paragraph 7? Of the first sentences of paragraph 10? Are there other sentences or paragraphs of like value?
8. How do the powers of the people in the United States today compare with those of the Roman people as indicated by Polybius in paragraph 10? Which of the two seems to you a better arrangement?
9. With which of the three elements of the Roman constitution does paragraph 13 deal? For the reader what is the value of a paragraph like 13?
10. How nearly does paragraph 14 describe the present situation in America? Do you think we are affected by any such cycle as is described in paragraph 5 and commented on in paragraph 6? Or do you think we are part of some other cycle, such for example as that described in Herbert Agar's "Culture Versus Colonialism in America" reprinted elsewhere in this volume? Where in such cycle do you consider America to be?
11. What lessons from ancient or recent history can we draw for our future? Select some aspect of this problem as suggested by any of the items above or by your independent reading in this volume and develop it in such a paper as your instructor may prescribe

Of Cruelty and Clemency, and Whether It Is Better to Be Loved Than Feared

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI

The name of Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527) has been given to a political philosophy which not many years ago appeared on the way to world domination. As his model of the princely virtues Machiavelli took Cesar Borgia, Italian cardinal and brother of Lucrezia Borgia. He dedicated *The Prince*, of which our selection constitutes chapters XVII and XVIII, "to the magnificent Lorenzo, son of Piero de Medici," ruler of Florence toward the end of the fifteenth century.

Some translators and some critics have felt that Machiavelli has not deserved the unsavory reputation reflected in the dictionary definition of "Machiavellism." In putting your own evaluation on his philosophy from the passages which follow, you should keep in mind that the translator whose text is here reprinted, while perhaps not an apologist for Machiavelli, is clearly friendly to him. [From *The Writings of Niccolo Machiavelli*, Vol. II Translated from the Italian by Christian E. Detmold and printed in Boston by James R. Osgood and Company in 1882.]

1 COMING DOWN NOW to the other aforementioned qualities, I say that every prince ought to desire the reputation of being merciful, and not cruel; at the same time, he should be careful not to misuse that mercy. Cesar Borgia was reputed cruel, yet by his cruelty he reunited the Romagna to his states, and restored that province to order, peace, and loyalty; and if we carefully examine his course, we shall find it to have been really much more merciful than the course of the people of Florence, who, to escape the reputation of cruelty, allowed Pistoja to be destroyed A prince, therefore, should not mind the ill repute of cruelty when he can thereby keep his subjects united and loyal; for a few displays of severity will really be more merciful than to allow,

by an excess of clemency, disorders to occur, which are apt to result in rapine and murder; for these injure a whole community, whilst the executions ordered by the prince fall only upon a few individuals. And, above all others, the new prince will find it almost impossible to avoid the reputation of cruelty, because new states are generally exposed to many dangers. It was on this account that Virgil made Dido to excuse the severity of her government, because it was still new, saying,—

"Res dura, et regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri, et late fines custode tueri."[1]

2. A prince, however, should be slow to believe and to act; nor should he be too easily alarmed by his own fears, and should proceed moderately and with prudence and humanity, so that an excess of confidence may not make him incautious, nor too much mistrust make him intolerant. This, then, gives rise to the question "whether it be better to be beloved than feared, or to be feared than beloved." It will naturally be answered that it would be desirable to be both the one and the other; but as it is difficult to be both at the same time, it is much more safe to be feared than to be loved, when you have to choose between the two. For it may be said of men in general that they are ungrateful and fickle, dissemblers, avoiders of danger, and greedy of gain. So long as you shower benefits upon them, they are all yours; they offer you their blood, their substance, their lives, and their children, provided the necessity for it is far off; but when it is near at hand, then they revolt. And the prince who relies upon their words, without having otherwise provided for his security, is ruined; for friendships that are won by rewards, and not by greatness and nobility of soul, although deserved, yet are not real, and cannot be depended upon in time of adversity.

3. Besides, men have less hesitation in offending one who makes himself beloved than one who makes himself feared; for love holds by a bond of obligation which, as mankind is bad, is broken on every occasion whenever it is for the interest of the obliged party to break it. But fear holds by the apprehension of punishment, which never leaves men A prince, however, should make himself feared in such a manner that, if he has not won the affections of his people, he shall at least not incur their hatred; for the being feared, and not hated, can go

1 "My cruel fate,
And doubts attending an unsettled state,
Force me to guard my coasts from foreign foes"
—Dryden

very well together, if the prince abstains from taking the substance of his subjects, and leaves them their women. And if you should be obliged to inflict capital punishment upon any one, then be sure to do so only when there is manifest cause and proper justification for it; and, above all things, abstain from taking people's property, for men will sooner forget the death of their fathers than the loss of their patrimony Besides, there will never be any lack of reasons for taking people's property; and a prince who once begins to live by rapine will ever find excuses for seizing other people's property. On the other hand, reasons for taking life are not so easily found, and are more readily exhausted. But when a prince is at the head of his army, with a multitude of soldiers under his command, then it is above all things necessary for him to disregard the reputation of cruelty; for without such severity an army cannot be kept together, nor disposed for any successful feat of arms.

4. Amongst the many admirable qualities of Hannibal, it is related of him that, having an immense army composed of a very great variety of races of men, which he led to war in foreign countries, no quarrels ever occurred amongst them, nor were there ever any dissensions between them and their chief, either in his good or in his adverse fortunes; which can only be accounted for by his extreme cruelty. This, together with his boundless courage, made him ever venerated and terrible in the eyes of his soldiers; and without that extreme severity all his other virtues would not have sufficed to produce that result.

5. Inconsiderate writers have, on the one hand, admired his great deeds, and, on the other, condemned the principal cause of the same. And the proof that his other virtues would not have sufficed him may be seen from the case of Scipio, who was one of the most remarkable men, not only of his own time, but in all history. His armies revolted in Spain solely in consequence of his extreme clemency, which allowed his soldiers more license than comports with proper military discipline. This fact was censured in the Roman Senate by Fabius Maximus, who called Scipio the corrupter of the Roman soldiers. The tribe of the Locrians having been wantonly destroyed by one of the lieutenants of Scipio, he neither punished him for that nor for his insolence,—simply because of his own easy nature; so that, when somebody wished to excuse Scipio in the Senate, he said, "that there were many men who knew better how to avoid errors themselves than to punish them in others." This easy nature of Scipio's would in time have dimmed his fame and glory if he had persevered in it under the Empire; but living as he did under the government of the Senate, this dangerous

quality of his was not only covered up, but actually redounded to his honor.

6 To come back now to the question whether it be better to be beloved than feared, I conclude that, as men love of their own free will, but are inspired with fear by the will of the prince, a wise prince should always rely upon himself, and not upon the will of others; but, above all, should he always strive to avoid being hated, as I have already said above

IN WHAT MANNER PRINCES SHOULD KEEP THEIR FAITH

7 It must be evident to every one that it is more praiseworthy for a prince always to maintain good faith, and practise integrity rather than craft and deceit. And yet the experience of our own times has shown that those princes have achieved great things who made small account of good faith, and who understood by cunning to circumvent the intelligence of others; and that in the end they got the better of those whose actions were dictated by loyalty and good faith. You must know therefore, that there are two ways of carrying on a contest; the one by law, and the other by force The first is practised by men, and the other by animals; and as the first is often insufficient, it becomes necessary to resort to the second

8. A prince then should know how to employ the nature of man, and that of the beasts as well. This was figuratively taught by ancient writers, who relate how Achilles and many other princes were given to Chiron the centaur to be nurtured, and how they were trained under his tutorship; which fable means nothing else than that their preceptor combined the qualities of the man and the beast; and that a prince, to succeed, will have to employ both the one and the other nature, as the one without the other cannot produce lasting results

9. It being necessary then for a prince to know well how to employ the nature of the beasts, he should be able to assume both that of the fox and that of the lion; for whilst the latter cannot escape the traps laid for him the former cannot defend himself against the wolves A prince should be a fox, to know the traps and snares; and a lion, to be able to frighten the wolves; for those who simply hold to the nature of the lion do not understand their business.

10. A sagacious prince then cannot and should not fulfil his pledges when their observance is contrary to his interest, and when the causes that induced him to pledge his faith no longer exist If men were all good, then indeed this precept would be bad, but as men are naturally

bad, and will not observe their faith towards you, you must, in the same way, not observe yours to them; and no prince ever yet lacked legitimate reasons with which to color his want of good faith. Innumerable modern examples could be given of this; and it could easily be shown how many treaties of peace, and how many engagements, have been made null and void by the faithlessness of princes; and he who has best known how to play the fox has ever been the most successful.

11. But it is necessary that the prince should know how to color this nature well, and how to be a great hypocrite and dissembler. For men are so simple, and yield so much to immediate necessity, that the deceiver will never lack dupes. I will mention one of the most recent examples. Alexander VI never did nor ever thought of anything but to deceive, and always found a reason for doing so. No one ever had greater skill in asseverating, or who affirmed his pledges with greater oaths and observed them less, than Pope Alexander; and yet he was always successful in his deceits, because he knew the weakness of men in that particular

12. It is not necessary, however, for a prince to possess all the above-mentioned qualities; but it is essential that he should at least seem to have them. I will even venture to say, that to have and to practise them constantly is pernicious, but to seem to have them is useful. For instance, a prince should seem to be merciful, faithful, humane, religious, and upright, and should even be so in reality; but he should have his mind so trained that, when occasion requires it, he may know how to change to the opposite. And it must be understood that a prince, and especially one who has but recently acquired his state, cannot perform all those things which cause men to be esteemed as good; he being often obliged, for the sake of maintaining his state, to act contrary to humanity, charity, and religion. And therefore is it necessary that he should have a versatile mind, capable of changing readily, according as the winds and changes of fortune bid him; and, as has been said before, not to swerve from the good if possible, but to know how to resort to evil if necessity demands it.

13. A prince then should be very careful never to allow anything to escape his lips that does not abound in the above-named five qualities, so that to see and to hear him he may seem all charity, integrity, and humanity, all uprightness, and all piety. And more than all else is it necessary for a prince to seem to possess the last quality; for mankind in general judge more by what they see and hear than by what they feel, every one being capable of the former, and but few of the latter. Everybody sees what you seem to be, but few really feel what you are;

and these few dare not oppose the opinion of the many, who are protected by the majesty of the state; for the actions of all men, and especially those of princes, are judged by the result, where there is no other judge to whom to appeal.

14. A prince then should look mainly to the successful maintenance of his state. The means which he employs for this will always be accounted honorable, and will be praised by everybody; for the common people are always taken by appearances and by results, and it is the vulgar mass that constitutes the world. But a very few have rank and station, whilst the many have nothing to sustain them. A certain prince of our time, whom it is well not to name, never preached any thing but peace and good faith; but if he had always observed either the one or the other, it would in most instances have cost him his reputation or his state.[1]

[1] Said by another translator to have been Ferdinand V, King of Aragon and Castile, who by violence and deceit made himself master of Naples and Navarre.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. In every political campaign both sides are subject to attack, and when a party has gained control of the government the minority continues to make charges against it. In America why is cruelty not one of these charges? What sort of government would be necessary before the ruler could commit acts of cruelty? What objection, if any, would you make to the point of view presented in paragraph 1?
2. Do you think people generally are better than they used to be? Do you think Machiavelli draws an over gloomy or a realistic picture of mankind in paragraph 2? Which do you think better, to be feared or to be beloved?
3. Do you find the reasons at the beginning of paragraph 3 for preferring fear as a motive of conduct good ones? What sort of government—democracy, dictatorship tyranny—does the rest of the paragraph suggest?
4. Do you consider cruelty and severity necessary qualities in a leader? Do you know through reading or personal experience of any leader who would be well described in paragraphs 4 and 5? Of any who would not be?
5. Have you known of any leader who succeeded permanently or for a time through application of the principles set down in paragraph 7? Make sure that you understand what is meant by law, practiced by men and force, practiced by animals. Note the analogy in paragraph 9 of the fox and the lion
6. How good a guide for a public man do you consider the principles of paragraph 10? Do you know of any current or recent leaders who have followed these principles?
7. Are people in general as simple minded and as easily deceived as paragraph 11 suggests they were in the time of Machiavelli?
8. What are "the above-named five qualities" referred to in the first sentence of paragraph 13? Where are they listed in paragraph 12? Do you consider these qualities desirable actually to have? To seem to have? Which is more important?
9. Everyone in some measure must in his own behavior, though he may not be a prince or other head of a state, accept or reject the principles for success set down by Machiavelli Consider these principles very frankly as they apply to your own outlook on the world, and with complete candor discuss some aspect of them in such a paper as your instructor may prescribe.

Will Our People Support Peace?

VIRGINIA C. GILDERSLEEVE

Virginia C. Gildersleeve (1877–), holder of the Ph.D. from Columbia University and of honorary degrees from various American colleges and universities, after several years' teaching at Barnard College (Columbia University), became dean in 1911. She is a member or chairman of various committees and organizations, most of them with an international outlook. On February 24, 1945, Dean Gildersleeve delivered an address over the Columbia Broadcasting System under the auspices of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. Soon thereafter the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation made a condensed rebroadcast. The selection here reprinted is a collation of the two forms of the address. [By permission of Dean Gildersleeve.]

1. I AM GLAD to have this chance to talk to my fellow-citizens all across and up and down our wide country. My appointment as a delegate to the San Francisco Conference is a great honor and a great responsibility. I shall be one of the group representing you—you who listen tonight and millions of other citizens of the United States. I shall be one of those trying to embody in definite plans your deep desire to end wars.

2. At San Francisco we are to try to adopt definitely a charter or constitution for the United Nations. This will later be submitted to the governments of the countries concerned. The charter will provide for a General International Organization designed to prevent wars and to achieve international cooperation in promoting human welfare,—economic, social and in other fields; that is, in making a better world for men and women. The "Proposals" which will be the basis of our discussions were approved by representatives of four nations, including our own, at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference a few months ago. They have been discussed and developed further by the representatives of the United States, Britain and Russia at the recent Crimean Conference. At San Francisco the others of the United Nations will have a chance to express their opinions.

3. It is a very difficult task to draw up a constitution for a world organization It was a difficult task, long ago, to draw up a Constitution for these United States. The document that resulted from that Convention was the product of compromise. George Washington, in a letter to Patrick Henry, apologized for it as the best that could be secured under the circumstances; and pointed out that it could be improved as time went on. There was doubt as to whether it would be accepted by the States. This document turned out to be our long-revered Constitution of the United States, for 156 years the bulwark of our strength and our liberties. Let us remember this experience when we face the even more difficult task of drawing up a constitution for the world, and let us go ahead with courage and confidence.

4. One thing is sure· we must achieve at San Francisco agreement on some charter or constitution for the world organization. That is the only way to win hope of peace. Without peace and security, none of our dreams of a better world for mankind can come true. We must therefore set up some political machinery, the best we can agree on, to prevent future wars. Almost any machinery, which at least keeps the nations in touch and in conference, will be better than no international machinery But we can, I am sure, do better than this minimum. The Proposals agreed on at Dumbarton Oaks seem to me an excellent foundation. On that foundation we can build well.

5 The recent Crimean Conference encourages me still further. The agreement there adopted settled a number of thorny questions that had to be settled It seems to me the sort of agreement to which the English-speaking peoples are accustomed. That is, it shows "give and take," compromise No one gets all he wants, but definite agreement is reached, and we three go ahead together.

6. Let us face right up to the hard fact that at this point in history nothing constructive can be achieved unless these three mighty powers, Russia, Britain and the United States, can agree. Perhaps some of you wish that were not true, but it is true.

7 Now, on the basis of the recent conferences, we have a much better start than we had at the close of the first World War. Even before the end of the fighting, we now have a good blue print of a world organization to keep the peace. And we have a far better informed people here to back up the new world order, that atmosphere of understanding and approval, without which even the best political machinery or organization will fail to work.

8 Will our people really support peace? Will they provide this favorable atmosphere and approval? To do so they must clear their

minds about several things. First, they must realize that to get peace you have to pay for it. We did not all realize that, but we are learning by bitter experience. The price we are paying now is billions of our wealth and thousands of our young lives.

9. During the long armistice between the two world wars, many people talked as if all we had to do to get peace was to do nothing, or perhaps just to say loudly and frequently that we loved peace and hated war, or to adopt on paper fine resolutions about it. Now we have learned that no matter how much we love peace and hate war, every single one of us in this great country, we cannot avoid having war brought upon us if there are convulsions in other parts of the world.

10. Isolationism, most of us admit, is no longer possible. We cannot any longer indulge in that deep American instinct to wrap our oceans about us and have nothing to do with the quarrels of the rest of the world. The oceans protect us no longer. World War III would probably begin by the entirely unforeseen arrival of a V-3 bomb on New York or San Francisco.

11. The only way to avoid World War III is to plan in advance some definite organization to prevent wars, and to plan it together with other peace-loving nations. Remember that this time Hitler was able to conquer nation after nation, to pick them off one at a time, just because they had no effective plan for getting together to resist him. Membership in a world organization now is part of a price we must pay for securing peace. Our people must support that idea.

12. Another thing they must realize is that they must be willing to compromise, to accept as a plan for the world organization something they do not entirely like, something different from the perfect ideal they had formed in their minds. As Secretary Grew said recently, the charter which will be adopted at San Francisco will not be perfect. It will be made by imperfect human beings, who will have to adjust and adapt and compromise to meet the desires and needs of the various nations. It will not completely satisfy anyone.

13. This troubles many good Americans. "Surely," they say, "we should not compromise on our ideals." So it is important, I think, to point out that in political affairs you have to compromise to some extent, temporarily, on your ideals. You have to be willing to take as much as you can get of your ideals and wait for a later time to get some more. Because in political affairs some immediate action has to be taken.

14. In our private lives and professional obligations, the case is otherwise, and we should not compromise regarding our ideals. But in

political affairs some measure of compromise, especially between sovereign states, is unavoidable and is proper—provided always that it does not go so far as appeasement of the forces of evil.

15. At San Francisco, I feel confident, no really dangerous compromise will be necessary. A good plan for world security will be adopted. It may not be perfect in your eyes. But there is an excellent chance that it will save us from a World War III.

16. Will the people support this plan for peace? If so, another thing they must realize is that our country must act, and act promptly, in world affairs, assume its share of responsibility, undertake tasks that are sometimes unpleasant, give its share of the armed forces necessary to carry out the new world order. Would you rather not do these things? Would you rather just sit on the sidelines and pass resolutions about your ideals, and criticize other nations who are acting? If so, then you are not willing to pay the price which has to be paid for peace.

17. There is something else the people must realize if they are to help during the difficult weeks of delicate negotiation and discussion which will, we trust, result in a charter for the United Nations. That is, they must realize that many of the nations of the world have suffered horribly at home as well as on the battle fronts. They have been cold and hungry for years. Their children have been killed at their own firesides. Worst of all, in the occupied countries they have suffered bitter humiliation from the horrid presence of a cruel conqueror. So, many of them are sensitive. Their nerves are on edge. They may seem to us unduly irritable and unreasonable. But we, who have suffered so much less, must be patient, very patient, not put off by any temporary peculiarities of any of our comrades among the United Nations, but patiently persisting in our effort to help find the best possible plan for securing peace for this wounded and suffering world.

18. At this crisis in history our destiny calls us. Here is our great opportunity Here is our responsibility, ours because we are the most powerful nation in the world today. After the first defeats, due to our unpreparedness, we have waged this dreadful war with miraculous success in invention, production, strategy, heroism. Can we achieve equal success in wisdom and political leadership, in helping to guide the world towards a peaceful and better future? Will the people support this effort? I am sure they will, if they understand. For we Americans are generous and friendly folk, and we have always liked to follow a star, to strive through difficulties to realize a vision of a better world. Help our people, you who listen, to understand now the great opportunity before our country.

19. We who go to San Francisco as your representatives will need
145 all your support, your understanding, and your prayers.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Do you know what four nations joined in the Dumbarton Oaks "Proposals"? Why these four? Why "Proposals"?
2. With what other great undertaking is the San Francisco Conference compared in paragraph 3? How useful do you consider the comparison?
3. Do you think the statement in paragraph 6 sound? Why?
4. In World War I the fighting stopped on November 11, 1918. The League of Nations was adopted on April 28, 1919, as a part of the Peace Conference and became effective on January 20, 1920, without participation of the United States. How far do these facts justify the comparison of paragraph 7?
5. How is the title of Dean Gildersleeve's address emphasized in paragraph 8? Where else does the same emphasis occur? What general statement does the paragraph contain? Through which of the following paragraphs is this statement developed? Into how many parts does the development fall? Where does the discussion of each part begin?
6. In paragraph 10 the word "isolationism" is derived from what words in what other languages? How do the meanings of the source words support the figure of speech in the second sentence?
7. Would you expect a third World War to begin as is suggested in paragraph 10? Would Dean Gildersleeve today?
8. Do you believe that a world organization would keep some future Hitler from attacking and subduing one weak nation after another?
9. In personal matters do you believe individuals should maintain their ideals without compromise? As representatives of conflicting interests of groups, large or small, would the same principles apply? How do you think the author could justify the view of compromise in paragraphs 12-15?
10. Are you willing for the United States to allot certain armed forces to support a world organization?
11. In our dealings with our World War allies, how much should

we take into account the devastation of their countries and the greater suffering of their inhabitants? How much in our dealings with former enemy countries? Is there any factor other than pity to support the view of paragraph 17?

12. What is the function of paragraphs 18-19? Do they deal with any one of the "several things" of paragraph 8?
13. In your own way in a paper of such length as your instructor may wish, comment on Dean Gildersleeve's address. Remember that she is commenting in advance on the San Francisco Conference that produced the United Nations Charter whose principal provisions are summarized by former Secretary of State Stettinius in this section. Make any use you can of the questions and suggestions in the previous items.

The Association of Great Communities

WALTER LIPPMANN

Among the many publicists in America today Walter Lippmann ranks near the top. Although he is less widely known perhaps than some who combine radio comment with syndicated newspaper writing, his influence with those who make public policy is great. Particularly in the field of foreign relations his *U. S. Foreign Policy* and the volume from which our essay is taken have been widely read. For an additional note see "The Indispensable Opposition" elsewhere in this volume. [From Chapters XIII and XIV of *U. S. War Aims*, Little, Brown and Company, 1944. By permission of the publisher.]

1. THE JUDGMENTS OF MEN of good will are still shaped in the molds of Woodrow Wilson's thought. His name is now so completely identified with the ideal of a universal society that the principles he laid down for attaining a universal society are generally believed to be axiomatic and immutable.

2. Yet it is, I think, demonstrable that the ideal of a universal society cannot be realized by following the Wilsonian principles. His principles spring from the love of liberty and of justice, and are inspired by a righteous compassion. But they do not and cannot produce liberty and justice and charity because in reality they disorganize the unity of states and their security.

1. THE WILSONIAN NEGATIVES

3. The Wilsonian general principles of international life were laid down in the six of the Fourteen Points [1] which deal with general principles,[1] the Four Principles,[1] the Four Ends,[1] and the Five Particulars.[1]

4 When we examine these nineteen general principles, we find that they *are a series of prohibitions. They forbid national states to do the*

[1] Editors' note: Statements of Woodrow Wilson on January 8, February 11, July 4, and September 27, 1918, respectively.

things which they have always done to defend their interests and to preserve their integrity.

5. Point IV called for the reduction of national armaments "to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety." In the official commentary, approved by President Wilson, domestic safety is interpreted as meaning "not only internal policing but the protection of territory against invasion." Thus Point IV is a prohibition against armaments sufficient to defend a region—the Caribbean, for example. If it observes this principle, a nation is limited to waiting passively on the defensive against actual invasion. For it may not be strong enough to forestall and prevent aggression which is being prepared against it: it may only try to repel the aggressor wherever and whenever he strikes. In the interval between the two wars British, French, and American military policy followed this disastrous prescription.

6. In the Four Ends of July 4, 1918, Wilson laid down the rule that "the settlement of *every* question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship" must be "upon the basis of the *free acceptance* of that settlement *by the people immediately concerned*." This principle gives to the people inhabiting any strategic point upon the world's surface—say Panama, Gibraltar—an absolute veto on any arrangement designed to use that point for the security of a nation, a region, or of the world.

7. In the Five Particulars of September 27, 1918, Wilson stipulated that "there can be no leagues, or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations." This prohibits nations which belong to one strategic area—the North American nations, the American republics, the Western European nations—from organizing a combined defense and from concerting their foreign policy.

8. Finally, Wilson identified himself with the principle of self-determination. Forgetting Abraham Lincoln, forgetting the greatest constitutional issue in the history of the United States, he never paused to define the difference between the right of self-determination and the right of secession. To invoke the general principle of self-determination, and to make it a supreme law of international life, was to invite sheer anarchy.

9. For the principle can be and has been used to promote the dismemberment of practically every organized state. None knew this better than Adolf Hitler himself: the principle of self-determination was his chief instrument for enlarging the Reich by annexation, and for destroying from within the civil unity of the states he intended to

attack. Hitler invoked this principle when he annexed Austria, dismembered Czechoslovakia, attacked Poland, undermined the unity of the Flemings and Walloons in Belgium, infiltrated Alsace-Lorraine, conspired against Russia in the Ukraine and in the Caucasus, tampered with Brazil, suborned the Arabs.

10. We must ask ourselves how President Wilson and his disciples could believe that these negative principles would promote a universal society. I think it was because they were assuming that they were laying the foundations of a world state under a world government. The Wilsonian principles, which are irrational in the world we live in, are quite rational if we imagine that the nations are about to do what the thirteen American states did when they formed the Federal Union. The Constitution says to our states just what the Wilsonian principles say to the nations of the world, that "no state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation" that "no state shall, without the consent of Congress keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, or enter into any agreement or compact with another state." President Wilson proposed to disarm the nations just as the federal government has disarmed the states. Assume that we are establishing a federal government of the world, a superstate sovereign above all existing national states, and the Wilsonian negatives are logical. To Wilson, the apostle of the new international order, the real object was the surrender of national sovereignty to the sovereignty of mankind.

11. When Wilson found that he could not create a world state under the sovereignty of mankind, he did not realize that he could no longer hold to his principles of military and diplomatic disarmament and of self-determination.

12. Since 1919 the position of the Wilsonians has been like that which Hamilton and Madison would have been in if the federal Constitution had not been ratified. But if no federal government had been established, would New York and Virginia, for example, have been told by Hamilton and Madison that as sovereign states they must not do the things which the federal Constitution forbids them to do? That is what the Wilsonians continue to tell the nations.

13. A sound moral code of international life will not prohibit men from relying at last upon their own virtue in defending and preserving the things they cherish more than life itself. It must not ask them to hazard their vital interests on schemes which, if they failed, would ruin them. A sound moral code must be rooted deeply in the things men live and die for. It must be the means of conserving these real things, and it must be so cogently, so candidly, so sincerely devoted to these

deeply human and substantial ends that the code itself evokes their instinctive assent and their natural loyalty.

14 No code of international conduct can do this, I believe, which does not derive from the view that the world order can eventually be formed only by organizing from the national state, ascending through the regional neighborhood, and then to the larger communities and to a concert of great communities

15. A universal society can be only a voluntary association of sovereign states. It cannot be a world government because there is no way, now conceivable, by which this government could obtain from the 1500 million inhabitants of the earth the power to legislate and to execute its laws There can, of course, be no hereditary right of rulership in a world government, and there is no way of electing a world government. No one can think of a rational rule by which all the adults who are citizens of all the member states could be organized into constituencies for the election of world officials The people of the United States, who have so great a responsibility for world order, would not, for example, concede sovereign powers to a world legislature in which, on the basis of one vote one man, they were outvoted ten to one by the inhabitants of Asia. And yet, on what moral principle could Americans claim that their votes should count more heavily than those of other human beings?

16 An institution is not a government unless at the very minimum it can make some laws that it can enforce upon individuals; unless at least it can levy some taxes and collect them, conscript armies and equip them But if the world institution cannot be elected by the people, then it can exercise only such powers as are delegated and contributed by the existing governments.

17 Now if the world officials have to get their actual power from the existing governments, then, no matter what the covenants and charters may say, the world organization is a voluntary association of diplomats who confer If so, let us not wrap it up in different words. If that is what it is, it will be a better association of diplomats by treating it as such, and acting accordingly

2. A World Council

18 We can set up a world council. It will not be a world government in which world governors rule mankind. it will be a council where governments consult. They can only consult and negotiate and try to agree For questions which national states regard as vital cannot be decided by putting them to a vote.

19. In 1937 there were seventy-three states with a recognizable claim to separate representation in a world organization. It is evident that if all qualified members had a vote and if all had to agree, no serious controversy could be decided by counting votes. Even if the parties to a serious dispute were not allowed to vote, it is in the highest degree unlikely that they could not find some backers and friends among the voting states. The whole conception of voting in the universal society is, it seems to me, based on a misapprehension

20. The question of admitting new members compounds the difficulty. Nothing is more likely than that in the near future many subject peoples will demand their independence and ask for recognition by the universal society of states. If each member has a vote and a veto, the balance of voting power will be altered by admitting a new member. We have only to remember the outcry in this country because Britain had "six votes" in the League to our "one," or the shudder of apprehension when the Soviet Union announced that it was now composed of sixteen republics with sixteen foreign offices Many who think international affairs can be governed by political mechanics began to ask whether the United States ought not to claim forty-eight votes! The notion of conducting a universal society by counting votes leads to such absurdities.

21. Movements of national independence would be judged by the older members as the Northern and Southern states of the Union judged the admission of slave or free states in the era before our Civil War. They would promote independence where they felt sure the new state would vote with them. They would oppose independence in a nation that might vote against them. Should the United States make Puerto Rico an independent state and gain one more vote in the world council; or should Russia foster an independent Puerto Rico in the hope of gaining from their grateful protégé a vote to offset that of the United States.

22. This is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole conception of a world order in which decisions are made by the votes of all the recognized governments, always increasing in number under the Wilsonian principle of self-determination.

3. Regionalism and Peace

23. If our analysis is in general correct, then the shape of things to come is going to be unlike the design of the League of Nations as it was set up in Geneva or as the champions of collective security have, during this war, usually envisaged it. The ultimate ideal of a world at

peace under the reign of law is not at issue. But the manner in which the peoples of the world can and will and should organize themselves is very much at issue.

24. The question is whether some sixty to seventy states, each acting separately, can form a universal organization for the maintenance of peace I contend that they cannot, and that single sovereign states must combine in their neighborhoods, and that the neighborhoods must combine into larger communities and constellations, which then participate in a universal society.

25 Between these opposing conceptions the issue is profound and momentous. Objections present themselves at once to the views expounded in this book they are that the world will be divided up into spheres of influence each dominated by a great power, that within these spheres the smaller and the weaker states will come under the influence of the great power, and that the huge constellations of states may become rivals and enemies. We cannot minimize the force of these objections, and I do not. Yet these regional groupings already exist, particularly in our own region, and they are forming elsewhere, and I do not believe that we can organize the world by ignoring or condemning and outlawing them On the contrary, I believe that only by perfecting these regional groupings can we hope to make any progress towards stabilizing international relations.

26. Our own traditions and our practice commit us to this view. Americans discovered and have practised with considerable success the regionalism of the Monroe Doctrine, the Pan-American Union, and the Good Neighbor Policy; why should they now be the exponents in other parts of the world of a universalist doctrine, which is the very opposite?

4. Conclusion

27. The argument developed in this book is that we should reverse the Wilsonian principles: that we should seek to conserve the existing political states, rather than to dismember them on the ground of self-determination, and that we should approve, not forbid, should perfect and not dissolve, the regional grouping of national states. The true constituents of the universal society would not then be seventy-three political molecules, likely to split up into no one knows how many atoms, the universal society would be the association of the great communities of mankind.

28 One of them, our own, I have called for want of a better name the Atlantic Community It already exists, not because a theorist in-

vented it, but because in the necessity of a war of survival we have had to organize it. The Atlantic Community now consists of great historic formations. They are the progeny of Western Christendom. They are Pan-America, the British Commonwealth of Nations, France and her Latin neighbors, the Low Countries, and Scandinavia.

29. When the series of German wars of aggression is definitively terminated, this Western community will come to include Germany and perhaps all of Europe to the borders of the Soviet Union But the menace of another German war of aggression cannot be thoroughly disposed of in less than one generation—not until the war party has died out leaving no heirs. During this period the world must live under a special regime if it is to make certain that there is not to be a third World War in the next generation For this period the Atlantic Community from the West, the states of Eastern Europe acting within the Russian Orbit, will have to organize their military establishments and co-ordinate their foreign policies for the express purpose of preventing Germany from recovering her military power by holding the balance of power between the Soviet Union and the Western World.

30 Our object then is not to disintegrate the historic communities but to conserve them and associate them more closely We are at war in Asia, as well as in Europe, for this principle: we would not connive at the dismemberment of China and the destruction of its indpendence. For fifty years we have insisted, though China is not yet a well-organized state, that China is one of the true historic formations, and that it must not be shattered into atoms, that an equal place must be reserved for the great Chinese Community in the council of the world.

31 In this view of things the horrid antithesis between nationalism and internationalism subsides. No one is asked to transfer his allegiance from his own country to a new cosmopolitan fatherland. As he is a good patriot so he is a good neighbor, and by being a good neighbor he is loyal to the laws, the usages, and the requirements of the universal society.

32. There can be no conflict, I maintain, between a sound national and a wise international policy. It is the acid test of a sound policy that if it cannot be consummated completely it nevertheless need not fail utterly The proposals of this book do, I think, meet this test. We can advance toward a universal society. But should we fail to arrive, we can stand with great advantage upon the order which the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, and China can establish by maintaining the coalition they have formed in this war If, however, we cannot hold this achievement, we can still find a large measure of

security within the Atlantic Community. If this community falls apart, as it so nearly did in 1940, then our final stand is with our nearest neighbors in North America.

33. We have to reverse the Wilsonian pattern of collective security. We cannot build a universal society from the top downwards. We must build up to it from the existing national states and historic communities. That, I think, is what we must learn from the great experiment at Geneva and from its failure. We have, I am convinced, to learn it thoroughly For we cannot afford to fail again.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and put in your notebook the meaning which is appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation

immutable (l. 5)	forestall (l. 27)
prescription (l. 31)	stipulated (l. 40)
covenants (l. 41)	concerting (l 46)
infiltrated (l 61)	suborned (l. 63)
cogently (l. 99)	envisaged (l. 177)

2. Treat the following words as you have treated those in the preceding list. Also note that the members of each pair derive from a common root. Trace them back to this root, and find examples of other words also derived from it Also state what elements of the original meaning of the root are to be found in the derivatives.

compassion (l. 9)	passively (l. 26)
preserve (l. 19)	observes (l. 25)
conserving (l. 98)	reserved (l. 242)
invoke (l. 51)	evokes (l. 100)
integrity (l. 19)	disintegrate (l. 235)
constituencies (l. 114)	institution (l. 122)

3. "The Association of Great Communities" discusses a body of principles in accordance with which Mr Lippmann believes

powerful nations can live in harmony. "The United Nations Charter," elsewhere in this section, summarizes the principal provisions of the international arrangements actually adopted in San Francisco in 1945. You will find it interesting to compare these principles and these arrangements.

4. Where within the first two paragraphs do you become certain of Mr. Lippmann's attitude toward Woodrow Wilson's view of a universal society?
5. Would the "series of prohibitions" of paragraph 4 tend to weaken or strengthen the power of national states?
6. Would the "Five Particulars" of paragraph 7 tend to weaken or strengthen such regional groups as the Pan-American Union?
7. What "greatest constitutional issue in the history of the United States" (paragraph 8) did Woodrow Wilson forget? How did Hitler (paragraph 9) use the same issue to his advantage?
8. Do you believe a world government with military and naval forces independent of national governments and powerful enough to control them a practicable arrangement? Did Woodrow Wilson? Does Mr. Lippmann (paragraphs 10-12)?
9. How sound do you consider Mr. Lippmann's argument in paragraphs 13-17?
10. What do you think of such a World Council as Mr. Lippmann discusses in section 2?
11. Do you consider the arguments for regionalism in paragraphs 23-24 more or less convincing than the arguments against in paragraph 25?
12. How satisfactory a regional unit do you consider the Atlantic Community of paragraph 28? Do you think Russia would be satisfied to have Germany ultimately a member of this Community as suggested in paragraph 29? How important for the success of regionalism do you consider this point?
13. How effective an argument for nationalism and regionalism do you consider Mr. Lippmann's closing paragraphs? What was "the great experiment at Geneva"?
14. In what way has "The Association of Great Communities" broadened your international outlook? What should be the place of our country in an association of nations for peace? Some of our leaders believe that atomic power has made a world super-government necessary and inevitable. What do you think? Choose some aspect of the broad problem and discuss it from the point of view of a potential or actual citizen of the world. Make your paper of such length as your instructor may wish.

The United Nations Charter

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL PROVISIONS

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (1900-) had a distinguished industrial career before resigning from the chairmanship of the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation in 1940 to accept membership on the Advisory Committee to the Council of National Defense. After serving on several governmental committees and boards, he was appointed undersecretary of state in 1943; and as Secretary of State he was chairman of the United States delegation and chairman of the Conference on the United Nations Charter at San Francisco. After the unanimous adoption of the Charter by delegates of the fifty nations represented at San Francisco, Mr. Stettinius became the representative of the United States to the United Nations. [*Vital Speeches,* July 15, 1945 Testimony at the opening session of hearings on the United Nations Charter before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on July 9, 1945 By permission of Mr Stettinius.]

1 YOU HAVE ASKED ME to appear before you as the first witness in your consideration of the United Nations Charter and the Statute of the International Court of Justice. I am honored to accept your invitation.

2. I have been informed that the committee desires to begin the hearings by receiving from me an introductory statement summarizing the principal provisions of the Charter, and then to ask me such questions as the members may consider pertinent. I am prepared to make such a statement.

SIX MAIN INSTRUMENTS

3. The Charter provides six principal instruments for the realization of its purposes and principles. They are the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice, the Trusteeship Council and the Secretariat.

4. The Security Council is both an enforcement agency and an

agency to help nations settle their disputes peacefully in such a manner that enforcement measures may be unnecessary.

5. The General Assembly is a forum for discussion and recommendation on any matter within the scope of the Charter.

6 The Economic and Social Council is an instrument for the development of those international economic and social conditions essential to lasting peace.

7. The International Court of Justice is an institution through which the principles of international justice and law may be developed and increasingly applied to relations between countries.

8. The Trusteeship Council assists in the supervision of an international trusteeship system for some dependent areas

9 The Secretariat is the permanent civil service of the United Nations.

The Security Council

10 The Charter places the major responsibility for the maintenance and enforcement of international peace and security with the Security Council. The Security Council will not meet merely from time to time. The Charter provides that it shall function continuously and that its members shall always be represented at the seat of the organization.

11 The Council has the duty of helping to bring about by peaceful means the adjustment or settlement of international disputes. These include such methods as conciliation, mediation, arbitration, judicial settlement and resort to regional agencies, as well as any other peaceful means the parties to a dispute may choose. If necessary the Council may itself recommend the terms of settlement, as well as methods of settlement or adjustment

12. Should these means fail, it is the duty of the Security Council to take whatever measures are necessary, including diplomatic and economic sanctions and the use of force, to prevent or suppress a threat to the peace. breach of the peace or act of aggression

13. All members of the organization are pledged to accept and carry out decisions of the Security Council made in fulfillment of these duties They undertake to make available to the Council, on its call, armed forces, assistance and facilities in accordance with special agreements which are to be negotiated as soon as possible between the Security Council and the member nations It is specified that within the limits of these agreements national air force contingents should be immediately available for combined international enforcement action. The Charter provides that these military agreements shall be subject

to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

14 There will also be a Military Staff Committee consisting of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives to advise and assist the Council in its military requirements for the maintenance of international peace, the use of the forces at its disposal and in discharging its responsibilities in connection with the regulation of armaments. Thus the military collaboration of the Great Powers, which has been so important a factor in assuring victory, will be continued and developed for the purpose of insuring peace.

Council to Be Ready Always

15 When the military agreements have been made, the Security Council will be ready at all times under these provisions with effective means at its disposal for prompt action against aggression, or a threat of aggression

16 The relationship of regional security arrangements to the United Nations Organization is also established by the Charter. Because bitter experience has shown that a breach of the peace anywhere in the world may sooner or later threaten the security of all nations, the supremacy of the Security Council in enforcement measures to prevent aggression is established by the Charter, except as concerns the enemy states of this war.

17. The Charter contemplates that the United Nations Organization may in time assume the responsibility for standing guard over the enemy state, but this responsibility is left for the present directly in the hands of the nations which have made victory possible in the present war They will decide when to transfer this responsibility to the organization The United States is, of course, one of the nations which retains this responsibility

18. While no regional enforcement action may be taken without the consent of the Security Council—except against enemy states—the Charter encourages the use of regional arrangements and agencies in the peaceful adjustment of local disputes. It also provides that should an armed attack occur against a member state, the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense may come into play until the Security Council has taken the necessary measures to maintain peace

19. These provisions make possible the further development and strengthening of the inter-American system and its integration with

the world system in such a way that the Act of Chapultepec can be put on a permanent basis in conformity with the Charter.

Voting Provisions

20. The provisions for membership and voting in the Security Council agreed upon at San Francisco were so drawn up as to enable the Security Council to discharge, with the best chance of success, its responsibility for the maintenance of peace with justice.

21. Five nations are given permanent membership in the Council—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China and France. These nations possess most of the industrial and military resources of the world They will have to bear the principal responsibility for maintaining peace in the foreseeable future. The provisions of membership recognize this inescapable fact.

22. The five powers do not, however, form a majority of the members of the Council. Six members are elected by the General Assembly from among all the other United Nations. This is the first of several checks and balances provided for in the Charter in order to safeguard the rights of smaller nations.

23. The voting provisions for the Security Council also recognize the special powers and responsibilities of the great nations. A majority of seven members, which includes all five of the permanent members, is required in any decision by the Council for dealing with a dispute either by peaceful means or by enforcement action, except that a party to a dispute must abstain from voting in the peaceful settlement stage.

24 There has been a great deal of discussion of these voting provisions and I should like to request permission to place in the record my statement of March 5, 1945,* Mr. Grew's statement of March 24 and the interpretive statement by the delegations of the four sponsoring governments on June 7, all of which are on this subject. I think they will prove useful to the committee.

25. The requirement for unanimity of the five great nations has been criticized because each of them can exercise a veto. I submit that these five nations, possessing most of the world's power to break or preserve peace, must agree and act together if peace is to be maintained, just as they have had to agree and act together in order to make possible a United Nations victory in this war.

26. The question is asked: What would happen if one of the five permanent members used the unanimity rule to veto enforcement

* *Vital Speeches,* March 15, 1945.

action against itself. The answer is plain. If one of these nations ever embarked upon a course of aggression a major war would result, no matter what the membership and voting provision of the Security Council might be.

Charter Confers No Power

27 The Charter does not confer any power upon the great nations which they do not already possess in fact. Without the Charter the power of these nations to make or break the peace would still exist. What the Charter does is to place special and binding obligation upon the great nations to use—in unity together for peace, not separately for war—the power that is already in their hands. The unanimity rule is an expression of those special obligations and of their commensurate responsibilities.

28 With an important exception, the unanimity rule applies to peaceful settlement as well as to enforcement action, because any action toward settling a dispute peacefully may lead to the necessity for enforcement measures. Once the Council orders an investigation or takes a similar action in a dispute, it must be prepared to follow through with whatever further measures, including the use of force, may ultimately be necessary. And this must be clear to the states involved in the dispute If it were not, the authority and prestige which the Council needs in order to secure peaceful settlements of disputes might be fatally weakened. That is why the five permanent members are required to agree and vote together from the beginning of any dispute on which the Council takes action.

29. The power of veto does not, however, apply to consideration and discussion of a dispute by the Council before action is taken. Thus the right of any nation to bring a dispute before the Council and to obtain a hearing of its case cannot be blocked. Furthermore, no member of the Council—and this includes the permanent members—can vote in any decision involving peaceful settlement of a dispute to which it is a party By this provision the five permanent members must submit themselves to the same processes of peaceful adjustment and settlement that apply to any other member nation.

30. Additional checks are provided against abuse of their voting powers by the five permanent members. Any decision by the Council in either the peaceful settlement or enforcement stage requires at least seven votes. Thus at least two of the smaller nations of the Council must agree with the five permanent members before the Council can take action

General Assembly Holds Power

31. The Charter also provides that the General Assembly, where the five major powers possess no special voting powers, may make recommendations to the Council on any question relating to peace and security not being dealt with by the Council. It provides further that the Council must report at least once a year to the General Assembly on all measures it has taken to maintain peace. These provisions mean that the Council must act under the watchful eye of the whole organization and its members can quickly be held accountable before world opinion if they are derelict in their duty.

32. There is still another and more compelling reason why the power of veto is not likely to be abused, or even to be exercised at all except in unusual circumstances. That is the compelling desire and need of the five great nations to work together for peace. Twice in thirty years they have been allies against aggression Their common interest in preventing another war is fully as urgent as that of any other nation. Under this Charter they assume sacred obligations and heavy responsibilities for the maintenance of peace with justice They do not assume these obligations and responsibilities lightly They do so because it is in the vital national interest of each one of them to see that these obligations and responsibilities are fulfilled.

33 I believe that I speak for the entire United States delegation when I say that the requirement for unanimity among the five permanent members, with the safeguards that have been provided, is not only essential to the success of the United Nations organization in the years immediately ahead but that it recognizes and confirms a power which a majority of Americans believe the United States should have in view of the great responsibilities our country must inevitably assume for the maintenance of world peace.

34 The special position of the United States and the four other permanent members of the Security Council is also recognized in the provisions for ratification both of the Charter and of later amendments to the Charter.

35 The Charter itself will come into force when it has been ratified by the five permanent members of the Council and a majority of the other signatory states. Amendments will come into force when they have been adopted by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly or of a special conference called for the purpose and have been ratified by two-thirds of the member states, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Amendments Unlikely

36. It should be noted that there is no power of veto over the adoption of amendments. The Security Council does not vote on amendments at all. The power of veto applies only to their ratification by the nations concerned.

37. In practice no important amendments to the Charter are likely to be adopted in the near future unless there is unanimous, or virtually unanimous, agreement upon them and ratification is regarded as assured. The General Assembly is not a legislative body. It is an international meeting of the representatives of sovereign nations. The act of voting on an important matter, therefore, is not likely to take place until all the means of adjustment usual in negotiations among nations have been brought to bear in order to reach a common viewpoint. At the San Francisco Conference there was no veto and the two-thirds rule applied. Yet the provisions of the Charter were adopted unanimously.

38. I feel that much of the criticism of the voting provisions of the Charter arises from failure to remember that the United Nations is neither a federal union nor a world state and that voting procedures among its sovereign member nations cannot necessarily be judged on the same basis as voting procedures in a State Legislature or in the Congress

39 As the peoples and Governments gain experience and confidence in world organization in the years ahead I hope that they will learn to apply and adapt to international affairs many more of the principles and techniques of democracy. But I believe it would be fatal to this hope if we were to attempt now to go beyond what the nations are clearly ready to undertake today. The Charter affords full opportunity for later amendments whenever a sufficient majority of the people of the world is ready to go farther.

The General Assembly

40. Just as the existing distribution among nations of the power to maintain peace is recognized in the provisions for the Security Council, so the principle of the sovereign equality of all member states is recognized in the provisions for the General Assembly. In the General Assembly every member nation, large or small, has one vote.

41. It is the function of the General Assembly to develop in practice those friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, which is declared as one of the objectives of the United Nations.

42. The General Assembly may discuss and make recommendations either to the Security Council or to the members on any matter within the scope of the Charter. It may call to the attention of the Council any situations likely to endanger the peace and make recommendations on any questions relating to peace and security not being dealt with by the Council. It will receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the Secretary General.

43. The General Assembly has the further power to recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situations, regardless of origin, likely to impair the general welfare, including situations resulting from violation of the purposes and principles of the organization. This is one of the most important provisions in the Charter for peaceful change and for the correction of injustices present or future.

44 Because the United Nations is an organization of sovereign states, the General Assembly does not have legislative power. It can recommend, but it cannot impose its recommendations upon the member states. It has, however, virtually all the other powers of a free deliberative body. Senator Vandenberg has justly characterized it as the town meeting of the world. Its authority is sufficient to make it effective as the keeper of the world's conscience and as the watchman over the international behavior of every member of the United Nations and over the other agencies of the organization.

45. One of the principal purposes of the United Nations is the removal of the economic and social causes of international conflict and war. Responsibility for discharging the functions of the organization in this connection is vested by the Charter in the General Assembly and, under the Assembly's authority, in the Economic and Social Council.

46. In its chapters on economic and social cooperation the Charter spells out in more detail the economic and social purposes of the United Nations These include the promotion of higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development; solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems, and international cultural and educational cooperation. The Economic and Social Council is also charged, under the General Assembly's authority, with the principal responsibility for promoting universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

Economic and Social Council

47. The Economic and Social Council will consist of eighteen members elected by the General Assembly.

48 In the field of its responsibility the Economic and Social Council has the power to make studies, reports and recommendations, to prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly and to call international conferences.

49 Subject to the General Assembly's approval, it is empowered to make agreements with specialized inter-governmental agencies concerned with international trade and finance, labor, agriculture and other related fields in order to bring them into relationship with the United Nations Organization as a whole and to make recommendations for coordinating their activities. It is then authorized to obtain regular reports from these agencies on their work and on the steps they have taken to give effect to its recommendations or those of the Assembly.

50 The Economic and Social Council will also set up a commission for the promotion of human rights, commissions in economic and social fields and such other commissions as may be required. The commission on human rights will have the power to prepare an international bill of rights for submission to the member states for approval.

51 Like the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council has no power to impose its recommendations on the member states. But, as I reported to the President, this "power to study and report and recommend—and the power to call conferences and prepare draft conventions and require reports of progress—is a power which can be counted on to go a long way towards translating humanitarian aspirations into human gains."

52 In the next ten or fifteen years, the work of the Economic and Social Council and its related agencies in helping to restore a shattered world and to achieve better living conditions for all peoples will be of paramount importance. If the United Nations cooperate effectively toward these ends they will have gone far toward eliminating in advance the causes of another world war a generation hence. If they fail, there will be instead widespread depressions and economic warfare which would fatally undermine the world organization. No provisions that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and in their jobs.

International Court of Justice

53. The fourth major instrument of international cooperation for which the Charter provides is the International Court of Justice. The Court provides the means by which international disputes of a legal character can be settled "in conformity with the principles of justice and international law;" as stated in the purposes of the United Nations. The Charter states the general rule that such disputes should be referred to the International Court. The statute of the International Court, which is annexed to the Charter, does not provide for compulsory jurisdiction. It does, however, include an optional clause under which members of the United Nations may agree in advance to submit all their justiciable disputes to the Court for settlement.

54. The Charter provides that whenever disputes are referred to the Court its decisions shall be binding on the parties and that any member of the United Nations, party to such a dispute, must comply with the decisions of the Court. If it fails to do so the matter may be brought to the attention of the Security Council for appropriate action.

55 The International Court will also have a most important part to play in the further development and strengthening of international law, just as the courts of England and America have helped to form the common law The Court will be the subject of separate testimony before this committee by Mr. Green Hackworth, legal adviser of the Department of State, and our member of the committee on the Court at San Francisco.

Trusteeship System

56. In addition to these four overall instruments of international action the Charter includes a declaration of principles and purposes regarding all non-self-governing territories and provides for an international Trusteeship System under which some of these territories may be placed by later agreement.

57. In the general declaration the member nations accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of all dependent territories over which they have responsibility. They are pledged to insure the political, economic, social and educational advancement of such peoples and to assist them in the "progressive development of their free political institutions." They are pledged to develop self-government for all dependent peoples.

58. I wish to emphasize that this pledge includes the right to independence for those peoples who aspire to it and are able to exercise

its responsibilities That was the view of the United States delegation, and the Committee on Trusteeship at San Francisco unanimously concurred in that interpretation.

59. This declaration of international obligations regarding all dependent peoples is the first of its character in the history of international relations. No similar obligations were assumed under the Covenant of the League of Nations, which provided only for a mandate system applicable to territories and colonies detached from Germany and Turkey after the last war.

60. The international Trusteeship System of the present Charter will apply to such territories as may be placed under it by later agreements among the states directly concerned. The Charter itself does not place any territories under trusteeship. The trusteeship agreements may apply to territories now held under mandate, territories taken from enemy states as a result of the present war, and other territories voluntarily placed under the system.

Trusteeship's Objectives Stated

61. The objectives of the trusteeship system include the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the dependent peoples concerned and their development toward self-government or independence, together with encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. These provisions constitute another long step forward from the League of Nations mandate system.

62. A Trusteeship Council is created to assist the General Assembly in carrying out the functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic. Membership in the Trusteeship Council will be divided equally between those United Nations administering trust territories and those which do not, but it must include the five permanent members of the Security Council. Annual reports for each non-strategic trust territory must be made to the General Assembly on the basis of a questionnaire prepared by the Trusteeship Council.

63. Strategic areas may be designated in trusteeship agreements and in these areas all functions of the organizations are to be exercised by the Security Council, with the assistance of the Trusteeship Council.

64. Both the War and Navy Departments participated fully in framing the trusteeship provisions of the Charter. Furthermore, both departments have certified that they are of the opinion that the military and strategic implications of the Charter as a whole are in accord with the security interests of the United States.

65. No commitment is made to place any particular area, strategic or non-strategic, under the trusteeship system. The Charter thus leaves for future determination to what extent and under what terms islands in the Pacific which are taken from Japan at the end of the present war are to be placed under the trusteeship system. Any agreement into which the United States might enter to this end would have to be on terms satisfactory to us.

International Secretariat

66. The Charter names the secretariat as one of the six principal organs of the United Nations together with the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice and the Trusteeship Council. The Secretary General is appointed by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council and is the chief administrative officer of the organization. The Charter provides that the Secretary General and the staff of the International Secretariat "shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority and shall be responsible only to the organization so that they may be international civil servants.

67. These, gentlemen—in summary—are the main provision of the United Nations Charter. In my report to the President you will find a much fuller exposition. The Charter is not, of course, a perfect instrument. I am sure it will be improved with time as the United Nations gain experience in its application. But I believe it offers to the United States and to the world a truly effective instrument for lasting peace.

68. The purposes and principles of the Charter are those in which the great majority of the human race believe. The principal agencies which it will create—the agency for law enforcement, the public meeting, the court of justice and the center for economic and social progress—are those which all self-governing peoples have developed and learned to use in their own affairs. The powers given to these instruments in the international field are those with which the most thorough possible consideration has shown the nations are now ready to endow them.

69. In short, the course which is charted by this document is one which I believe to be within the capacity of the nations at this period of world history to follow and it is a course which leads in the direction of our highest aspirations for human advancement in a world at peace.

70 I believe our experience at San Francisco offered a convincing

demonstration that this Charter can be made to work. Much has been written about the disagreements at San Francisco. Actually, the area of agreement was always vastly wider than the area of disagreement. Attention was naturally directed to the differences among us because neither the five Major Powers, nor the committees of the conference, took up their time on all those matters about which they were already in agreement. What was significant about the conference was this—the differences were resolved and a Charter for a strong and effective organization was unanimously adopted. I believe the five Major Nations proved at San Francisco beyond the shadow of any doubt that they can work successfully and in unity with each other and with the other United Nations under this Charter.

71. In that firm belief I have come to testify before you today in favor of ratification of the Charter by the Senate of the United States. No country has a greater stake than ours in a speedy beginning upon the task of realizing in fact the promise which the United Nations Charter offers to the world.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and put in your notebook the meaning which is appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation.

pertinent (l. 7)	signatory (l. 53)
aggression (l. 43)	permanent (l. 26)
sanctions (l. 42)	facilities (l. 47)
contingents (l. 50)	consisting (l. 55)
abstain (l. 114)	justiciable (l. 334)

2. Treat the following words as you have treated those in the preceding list. Also note that the members of each pair derive from a common root. Trace them back to this root, and find examples of other words also derived from it. Also state what elements of the original meaning of the root are to be found in the derivatives.

consist (l. 285)
suppress (l. 42)
assuring (l. 62)
agencies (l. 84)
unanimity (l 138)
assists (l. 24)
depressions (l. 319)
insuring (l. 63)
action (l. 66)
universal (l. 282)

3. What democratic procedure is suggested by the footnote at the beginning of "The United Nations Charter"? What advantage to lawmakers and to the people comes from the holding of hearings? Do you consider Mr. Stettinius the logical first witness?
4. Observe the devices provided by author and printer to make clear the organization of the testimony given by Secretary Stettinius. How does paragraph 3 relate to paragraphs 4-9? To what paragraphs following does paragraph 4 relate? Paragraph 5? Paragraph 6? Paragraph 7? Paragraph 8? Paragraph 9? In this study get what help you can from the centered headings.
5. What do you think of the duties of the Security Council as outlined in paragraphs 10-14?
6. Twice in the second decade of this century armed forces of the United States entered Mexico to protect American interests—against the will of that country. In a comparable situation under the Charter what would be done (paragraphs 15-19)?
7. Do you think the voting provisions of the Charter (paragraphs 20-23) satisfactory? Do paragraphs 25-26 justify the requirement for unanimous vote of the so-called Big Five?
8. What do you think of the "important exception" of paragraphs 28-29?
9. Is the Charter now in operation as a going concern? What are the requirements for adoption of the Charter and for later amendments (paragraph 35)?
10. For the reader what is the value of the first sentence of paragraph 40? From the beginning to the comma, to what does it refer? After the comma, to what does it refer?
11. As compared with the Security Council how much power does the General Assembly have (paragraphs 41-44)?
12. How is the Economic and Social Council related to the General Assembly (paragraphs 45-49)?
13. What value of the Economic and Social Council is suggested by the quotation in paragraph 51?
14. What transitional expression occurs at the beginning of paragraph 53? How does it differ from the one at the beginning of paragraph 40?
15. Do you think that all nations—weak or strong—should be

forced to arbitrate their disputes? Do you think they could be? What do you think of the provisions of paragraphs 53-55?

16. What should be the test for the right of a people, say the Filipinos, or the people of India, to govern themselves? How do you like the provisions of paragraphs 56-65?
17. What are the functions of the International Secretariat? Do you approve?
18. What is the nature of the paragraphs beginning with 67? What is their value for a paper the length of our selection?
19. What is the nature and value of paragraph 68? What instruments, or agencies, of the Charter does it refer to?
20. Now that you have read a "Summary of Principal Provisions" of the Charter by the Chairman of the Charter Conference, what do you think of it? This is the agreement through which America in your time, for good or ill, must work out its relation to other countries. Does it offer hope for peace? Are you satisfied with it? In such a paper as your instructor may prescribe, record your conclusions.

Policing the Atom

NORMAN COUSINS

Norman Cousins gave up an early ambition to play baseball after two accidents on the playing field, second of which kept him in the hospital for months. Graduating from Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1933, he entered journalism. After positions on the *New York Post* and *Current History* he became executive editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature* in 1940 and editor in 1942. During the war he served with the Office of War Information and with other government agencies. ["Policing the Atom" is condensed from "Modern Man Is Obsolete," *New York Herald Tribune,* page 34, August 23, 1945 As printed in the *Tribune* the article is an abridgement of the original editorial in *Saturday Review of Literature,* 38:5-9, August 18, 1945. By permission of the author and the publisher.]

1. THERE IS ELATION in the world today because of victory But there is also fear. It is a primitive fear, the fear of the unknown, the fear of forces man can neither channel nor comprehend. This fear is not new; in its classical form it is the fear of irrational death But overnight it has become intensified, magnified. It has burst out of the subconscious and into the conscious. It is thus that man stumbles fitfully into a new age of atomic energy for which he is as ill equipped to accept its potential blessings as he is to control its present dangers.

2. Where man can find no answer, he will find fear. While the dust was still settling over Hiroshima, he was asking himself questions and finding no answers. In speculating upon these questions, it should not be necessary to prove that on August 6, 1945, a new age was born. When on that day a parachute containing a small object floated to earth over Japan, it marked the violent death of one stage in man's history and the beginning of another. Nor should it be necessary to prove the saturating effect of the new age, permeating every aspect of man's activities, from machines to morals, from physics to philosophy, from politics to poetry; in sum, it is an effect creating

a blanket of obsolescence not only over the methods and the products of man but over man himself.

3. Man is left, then, with a crisis in decision. The main test before him involves his will to change rather than his ability to change. That he is capable of change is certain. For there is no more mutable or adaptable animal in the world. We have seen him migrate from one extreme clime to another. We have seen him step out of backward societies and join advanced groups within the space of a single generation. This is not to imply that the changes were necessarily always for the better; only that change was possible. But change requires stimulus and mankind today need look no further for stimulus than its own desire to stay alive Once the instinct for survival is stimulated, the basic condition for change can be met.

4 That is why the power of total destruction as potentially represented by modern science must be dramatized and kept in the forefront of public opinion The full dimensions of the peril must be seen and recognized. Then and only then will man realize that the first order of business is the question of his continued existence. Then and only then will he be prepared to make the decisions necessary to assure that survival.

5. The most crucial aspect of this general question is the transformation or adjustment from national man to world man. Already man has become a world warrior; it is time for him to grow up and become a world citizen. This is not vaporous idealism, but sheer driving necessity. It bears directly on the prospects of his own survival. He will have to recognize the flat truth that the greatest obsolescence of all in the Atomic Age is national sovereignty. Even back in the old-fashioned rocket age before August 6, 1945, strict national sovereignty was an anomalous holdover from the tribal instinct in nations. If it was anomalous then, it is preposterous now. The world is united geographically. This is not only the basic requisite for world government but the basic reason behind the need A common ground of destiny is not too large a site for the founding of any community.

6. Reject all other arguments for *real* world government—reject the economic, the ideological, the sociological, the humanitarian arguments, valid though they may be. Consider only the towering problem of policing the atom—the problem of keeping the smallest particle of matter from destroying all matter. We are building on soap bubbles if we expect this problem to be automatically solved by having America, Britain and Canada keep the secret to themselves That is not

only highly improbable, but would in itself stimulate the other nations to undertake whatever additional research might be necessary over their present experimentation to yield the desired results. In all history, there is not a single instance of a new weapon being kept exclusively by any power or powers; sooner or later either the basic principles become generally known or parallel devices are invented Before long, the atomic bomb will follow the jet plane, the rocket bomb, radar, and the flame thrower into general circulation. We must not forget that we were not the only horse in the atomic derby; we just happened to finish first. The others will be along in due time.

7. Nor can we rely on destructive atomic energy to take care of itself. Already there is the tempting but dangerous notion to the effect that the atomic bomb is so horrible and the terror of retaliation so great that we may have seen the last of war. This is quasi-logical, but war is no respecter of logic, relative or absolute. And if history teaches us anything, it is that the possibility of war increases in direct proportion to the effectiveness of the instruments of war.

8. Far from banishing war, the atomic bomb will in itself constitute a cause of war. In the absence of world control as part of world government, it will create universal fear and suspicion Each nation will live nervously from one moment to the next, not knowing whether the designs or ambitions of other nations might prompt them to attempt a lightning blow of obliteration. The ordinary, the inevitable differences among nations which might in themselves be susceptible of solution might now become the signals for direct action, lest the other nation get in the first and decisive blow. Since the science of warfare will no longer be dependent upon armies but will be waged by push-buttons, releasing radio-controlled rocket planes carrying cargoes of atomic explosives, the slightest suspicion may start all the push-buttons going.

9. There is the argument, of course, that each nation will realize this; that is, that the first button might lead to universal catastrophe as all the other nations rush to their switchboards of annihilation. Here, too, there is the unwarranted presupposition of reason. In an atmosphere of high tension and suspicion, reason is an easy victim Moreover, there will always be the feeling that one nation can escape though all the others may go down. What a temptation for the blitzkriegers!

10. No; there is no comfort to be derived from the war-is-now-too-horrible theory. There is one way and only one to achieve effective control of destructive atomic energy and that is through centralized

world government. Not loose, informal organization. Not even through an international pool, or through an international policing agreement. A police force is no better than its laws, and there can be no laws without government. Finally, the potency of the weapon must dictate the potency of its control.

11. There is no need to discuss the historical reasons pointing to and arguing for world government. There is no need to talk of the difficulties in the way of world government. There is need only to ask whether we can afford to do without it. All other considerations become either secondary or inconsequential.

12. It would be comforting to know that the world had several generations in which it might be able to evolve naturally and progressively into a single governmental unit. In fact, even as late as August 5, 1945, it seemed that the Charter of the United Nations had made an adequate beginning in that direction, providing the machinery for revision which might lead within fifteen or twenty years to a real world structure. But the time factor has been shattered. We no longer have a leeway of fifteen or twenty years; whatever must be done must be done with an immediacy which is in keeping with the urgency Once the basic peace settlements are arranged, the United Nations must meet again for an Atomic Age Conference, undertaking an overall inventory of the revolutionary changes in the world since its conference in San Francisco in the long-ago spring of 1945, and facing squarely the issue of world government. The word "united" in United Nations must mean precisely what it says

13. If all this sounds like headlong argument, posing methods or solutions which seem above the reach of mortal man, the answer must be that mortal man's reach was long enough apparently to push science and invention ahead by at least five hundred years during five years of experimentation on atomic energy. His ability to do this not only indicates that he can extend or over-extend himself when pressed, but emphasizes the need to do the same with government.

14. True, in making the jump to world government, man is taking a big chance. Not only does he have to create the first world authority, but he shall have to make sure that this authority is wisely used. A world state without a world conscience can be world tyranny The world institution must be compatible with—indeed, must promote—free institutions. World peace needs not only form but substance. This challenge is not less important than the challenge to establish world government itself, for all through history there has been too great a contradiction between ideals and institutions and the forces

which have taken over those ideals and institutions. Another way of saying this is that we have too often allowed the best ideas to fall into the hands of the worst men There has not been a great ideal or idea which has not been perverted or exploited at one time or another by those who were looking for means to an end.

15. That is the double nature of the challenge: to bring about world government and to keep it pure. It is a large order, perhaps the largest order man has had to meet in his 50,000-odd years on earth, but he himself by the creation of the atomic age has set up the conditions which have made the order necessary.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. How accurately does paragraph 1 analyze the mental state of the early postwar period? Do you think the space in this paragraph properly balanced between elation and fear?
2. Does paragraph 2 overstate the importance of what happened on August 6, 1945?
3. As a part of the author s attempt to present a convincing case, what is the value in paragraph 3 of showing man's ability to change and in paragraph 4 of emphasizing the destructive power of modern science?
4. The first sentence of paragraph 5 presents the central idea of the article. What two words in this sentence carry forward the central idea of paragraph 3?
5. Does "policing the atom" seem to require a *"real* world government"? Is there no alternative such as an international commission or some instrument of the United Nations Charter which might leave nations free to maintain independent armed forces?
6. Do you agree with the view of paragraph 8 that the atomic bomb will itself cause war? How nearly does the paragraph suggest that the atomic bomb will equalize the ability of various nations to wage war?
7. What sort of world government is contemplated in paragraph 10? What would it mean in terms of armies, navies, and air forces and in terms of lawmaking bodies, courts, etc.?
8. Do you think the urgency of atom control as great as paragraph 12 suggests? Why? Would you as a citizen and a potential or actual voter be willing to have the United Nations meet to consider a world government?
9. Why does the author feel the need of adding paragraph 13 to the preceding argument? How does this paragraph repeat the idea of paragraph 4? Do you think it effective?
10. Do you think that paragraph 14 treats the "big chance" too lightly? Do you see any obstacles to world government not here suggested? Do you consider them insuperable?
11. What do you think of world government? The problem is a difficult one. The stakes are high. When you have reached a conclusion which you are willing to defend, write a paper or prepare a talk on some aspect of the problem as your instructor may direct.

A Serviceman Looks at the Peace

CORD MEYER, JR.

The *Atlantic* prints Mr. Meyer's article with the following biographical note: A graduate of Yale, Class of 1943, Cord Meyer, Jr., served as the leader of a machine-gun platoon in the 22nd Marine Regiment during our capture of Eniwetok and Guam. He was severely wounded, was decorated with the Bronze Star, and after his convalescence returned to this country. He was one of the two aides to Commander Stassen at the San Francisco Conference. [*The Atlantic Monthly*, 176:43-48, September, 1945. By permission of the publisher.]

1. At San Francisco the representatives of the fifty nations faced what seems to me the central problem of our time. How far they went toward meeting it can be judged only if the problem itself is clearly understood. It is far more complex and profound than it is believed to be by those who find a full explanation of this war in German or Japanese militarism, and who believe that peace will be assured if only we can liquidate the German General Staff or eliminate the Japanese militarists. Those who propose general disarmament are similarly misguided. Mistaking effect for cause, they attempt to cure the symptoms without first diagnosing the disease.

2. The death of more than sixty million men and women in two wars within a single generation is the concrete result of basic conditions in international society that must be changed if we are not to see the experience repeated on a larger scale. Any brief attempt to define those conditions must necessarily be oversimplified, but the point can and must be made. Our present world is composed of more than fifty separate sovereign and independent nations. Each one of them jealously guards its twofold sovereignty, through which it proclaims itself free from any interference by others in its internal affairs and equally free in its external affairs to make any decisions that it wishes.

3. Even when these nation states are temporarily enjoying a period of armed truce, which we hopefully call peace, the condition that exists is anarchy, because each of them is a law unto itself and is subordinate to no superior law or authority. In an ordered and peaceful society

such as we enjoy within the United States, the groups of people in the various towns, cities, and states of the Union have for eighty years lived without war with one another, not because they have no great conflicts of interest, but because there is a law to which they are all subordinate and within which conflicts can be peacefully resolved.

4. In international society there is no final authority to which the national states must refer their disputes for settlement. Any disagreement is a potential source of armed conflict, and each nation must rely, for the protection of its interests, on the amount of armed force it is able and willing to bring to bear in a given situation We should frankly recognize this lawless condition as anarchy, where brute force is the price of survival. As long as it continues to exist, war is not only possible but inevitable.

5. In the past, open warfare has been avoided for limited periods of time by the theory and practice of the balance of power. These periods, though called "peaceful," were merely temporary cessations of armed conflict, characterized by mounting tension, armament races, and eventual war There is less hope than ever that any system of alliances or any league between separate, sovereign nations can prove successful in the future. Every scientific advance, every new means of transportation and communication, makes the political map with its picture of boundaries separating absolutely independent nations a more dangerous anachronism.

6. In an economically interdependent world, each attempt to solve pressing economic problems in exclusively national terms is itself a cause of developing conflict. Every step on the part of one nation to assure itself the self-sufficient productive capacity, the access to raw materials, and the strategic bases essential to national security conflicts with the corresponding security measures of other nations. Who can say, in the day of the atomic bomb, where legitimate defensive precautions end and aggression begins?

7 The cycle of increasingly destructive wars in which we are caught is the direct and inevitable result of the attempt to prolong the political system of absolute national independence under changing conditions that make it increasingly unworkable. This, then, was the problem set the Conference, though most of the delegates did not define it in exactly these terms, for they were themselves committed, in their thinking and by the nature of their position as representatives of existing governments, to the continuance of sovereign independence.

8. I for one firmly believe that if this war is not to be as abortive as the last, and if peace is to be at all possible, we must change the

basic relationship of national states. Let us admit the truth that, throughout history, groups of men residing in separate communities have been able to live continuously at peace together only by subjecting themselves to a sovereign law and by creating a government that can administer, change, and enforce that law.

9. There is only one direction in which we can proceed if we seriously intend to transform the anarchy in which we live into the order and justice of which the Preamble to the Charter wishfully speaks. Just as within any democratic country the groups of people living in its various communities retain the right to deal with local affairs, but delegate the power to deal with those issues that affect all to the national government that is over all, so the people living within the nations of the world must delegate to a higher government the power to decide those issues that are international.

10. If I have stated fairly the dilemma with which we are faced, and have indicated the way out with any degree of accuracy, it must be immediately obvious that the United Nations Charter does not pretend to make the changes that appear to be necessary.

11. The limits of what was accomplished at San Francisco are evident in the veto power. The Security Council, which has the power and authority to keep the peace, can take no enforcement action without the concurring votes of the five permanent members. If a major nation is not a party to a dispute, it can prevent even the investigation of the case by the Security Council. Any amendment to the Charter requires ratification by the five major powers before it can take effect, with the result that one of the Big Five can forever prevent any change.

12. The large nations made one minor concession that may perhaps become significant. If a large nation is party to a dispute, *it must abstain from voting* until the dispute has been investigated and methods and terms of settlement are recommended by the Security Council. In a sense, then, the Council, by the nature of the terms of settlement, can indicate its judgment by implication, though this judgment must take the form of a suggestion that is not binding. Any attempt to implement it by enforcement action is subject to the veto of the offender.

13. In practice, this voting procedure means that if one of the permanent members of the Security Council chooses to act in an arbitrary or aggressive manner, the Organization as such can take no effective action. There is the further consequence that a major power can violate every principle and purpose set forth in the Charter and yet remain a member of the Organization by the lawful use of the veto

power expressly granted to it. The aggression of a major power can only be met by the other nations' acting independently and outside the Charter, and a war cannot be fought against a large nation to maintain the Organization and to preserve the Charter. It cannot be a civil war waged in the name of unity.

14. These voting provisions define the essential nature of the Organization. Decided upon at Yalta and incorporated into the finished Charter at San Francisco, the veto power is incontrovertible evidence that the major nations will retain intact their complete sovereign independence within the new Organization. Obviously, not one of the large nations is yet willing to delegate any of its power to any organization over which it does not have complete negative control. Only on the basis of this voting rule and all that it implies was it possible to have an international organization that would include the great powers. By ratifying the Charter, those nations will not have created even the shadow of genuine government with a law binding upon all. They will have entered into a voluntary cooperative society to keep the peace, a partnership of independent equals from which there is the implicit right of withdrawal if the partnership proves unprofitable.

15. Every other provision of the Charter serves to emphasize the original implications of the voting rule within the Security Council. The General Assembly is not a legislative body with the power to enact laws that must be obeyed. Its wide power to discuss any situation which falls within the scope of the Charter, and with which the Security Council is not expressly dealing, can result only in recommendations to the Security Council.

16. The Charter's provisions for the use of force have led to the popular misconception that the impotence of the old League has been remedied by the creation of a new organization with teeth in it. Actually, the so-called "world police force" will consist simply of agreements by the members to make available certain portions of their armed forces to the Security Council when it decides to take enforcement action. This decision could be made only against the smaller nations, because the major powers retain the right to veto such action directed against themselves or directed against any small country they see fit to support.

17. Personally, I feel that it borders on hypocrisy or self-delusion to call such a use of force against a small nation "police action." Violence can be justified as police action only when it is employed to enforce the law of an established government that applies to all and that all accept as citizens of that government.

18. Further indications of the voluntary nature of the Organization are found in the limitations placed on the powers of the other organs created by the Charter. Because of the absence of any genuine supranational law, the International Court of Justice is restricted to the interpretation of treaties, to fact-finding, and to the determination of reparations. Even in that limited sphere it can sit in judgment on a case only if both parties to the dispute agree to allow it to do so. The Economic and Social Council has wide power to study and consider, but its decisions can take only the form of recommendations that are not binding on any nation. Finally, the Trusteeship Council can take surveillance over a specific territory only if the nation in possession voluntarily submits to this international control

19. I have described these provisions of the Charter because I wish to make one point so clear that no one can miss it: the International Organization cannot rely on its own power and authority in dealing with the most powerful nations of the world, because it has been given none Behind the facade of what I believe to be genuinely good intentions, there remains the basic condition of anarchy implicit in the existence of absolutely independent nations with large amounts of armed force at their disposal.

20. I have been talking as though the creation of genuine government above the nations were an objective and a possibility at San Francisco. Certainly it should have been, but obviously it was not. The Conference was called by the four sponsoring powers simply to gain the consent and adherence of the smaller nations to the decisions made at Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta. In this they succeeded: the final Charter was signed by all the fifty nations present. There were improvements and clarifications, but the framework of the International Organization remained unchanged from the original conception of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin.

21. So I return to my beginning. What can be said of the Charter with honesty to those who have fought this war, endured its hardships, and faced its dangers with courage, in the belief that through victory we might find the way to a good society and a peaceful future? What assurance can be given the mortally wounded that the death they are about to die is not merely the pitiful by-product of a colossal struggle for power, but a meaningful sacrifice in a good cause? What consolation for the past and what hope for the future does San Francisco provide?

22. In answering, I can see no necessity for the uncritical optimism that the man in public office must assume. There are times when

reality makes optimism ridiculous. The International Organization is, at present, as incapable of dealing with the probable causes of another war as a fire extinguisher is of quenching a forest fire. With the ability to take effective action only against small states that are without the support of a major power, it can cope, as Van Kleffens, the Dutch Foreign Minister, remarked, only with "the non-causes of war."

23. A friend just back from the Pacific, who knew something of the situation in Asia but had been unable to follow the course of the Conference, asked me seriously what the Organization could do in the event of a civil war in China with Russia favoring one side and the United States the other. Obviously the product of San Francisco is totally unable to deal with such a situation. The Preamble of the Charter expresses noble human aspirations, but today they are far more of a fervent wish than a reality.

24. Chapter I on Purposes is full of the best intentions, but so were the Covenant of the League and the Kellogg Peace Pact. Assemblies, courts, and police forces have been the traditional instruments of just government, but here they are without the power to govern. Leaving aside principles that are more easily expressed than implemented, and discussion groups that have no power of decision, the Charter relies for its success upon the willing cooperation of heavily armed and independent nations.

25 Whether the governments of Russia, the United States, and Britain can find in the idea and need for peace a sufficient incentive to continue the cooperation demanded of them by a common foe is the immediate question upon whose answer the future of all of us depends The answer cannot be found in the new Organization, but in the policy of those three governments. If they choose to cooperate, the Charter is there as an effective instrument. If they are unable to agree, there is nothing the Charter can do about it.

26. There is one further question which the men who fought this war have every right to ask. If the creation of government on a world level is the real price of peace, why was it not paid? In reply, I can only ask them to look at the world as it is today. The delegates at San Francisco were many of them enlightened and far-seeing men, but they did not work in a vacuum. Their decisions were largely predetermined by inescapable realities, and the margin of choice that history left them was narrow. For example, the United States delegation had no choice but to accept the fact that the present Senate stood ready to reject with righteous indignation a Charter that conceded any of our sovereign independence. The necessity of ratification drew an invisible

boundary line over which the delegation could not advance. The final price paid for Senate approval is an Organization that the United States can join and still retain intact every attribute of independence.

27. The records of the hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are a tragi-comic commentary on what was achieved at San Francisco To allay the fears of even the most unregenerate isolationist, every impotent inadequacy of the Charter was stressed as a positive assurance that in ratifying it we were committing ourselves to nothing.

28 After pronouncing the United States capable of continuing the Monroe Doctrine by the lawful use of its veto power, Senator Connally summed up the power of the Trusteeship Council and the Social and Economic Council in two succinct statements. Concerning our island conquests in the Pacific, he said, "All we have to do is to hold on to them till we want to let them go." The weakness of the Social and Economic Council seems to be a point in its favor in the statement that "if a nation doesn't agree with what is recommended, it doesn't have to do anything about it." So it appears that the Senate ratified the Charter not in spite of its inadequacy, but because of it.

29. But if the United States was determined to prevent any infringement of her independence, Russia was equally or more determined to make no surrender of sovereignty. She insisted throughout that all real power should reside in the Security Council, over which she, as a permanent member, had complete control.

30 There is a bitter lesson here for all who have fought for a victory that they hoped might bring with it deep and necessary change. There are two prerequisites if government on a world level is to become an abiding reality for the many. First, there must be a clear comprehension that the continuation of national egotisms is at the root of our misfortunes. Second, there must be wide agreement on the general principles and values upon which this government on a world level is to be based.

31. Neither of these two essential conditions exists today. The war has intensified the most extreme national loyalties in many parts of Europe, Asia, and this country. The instrument of war with which we sought to cure the social body has caused it to spread. Experience is not the teacher that we thought she was, and we who are young must learn the old, unhappy truth that men are moved not so much by clear necessity and the gift of reason as by inherited patterns of thought and behavior.

32. Workable constitutions rest upon the consent of the people and

grow from a community of belief and the whole ethos of a society. There is no such unifying supranational belief today. The weakness of the Charter is the historically determined result of these conditions. We live in a tragic age where the moral and intellectual resources of our time do not seem adequate to meet either our problems or our obligations

33. To my companions of the past, living and dead, to those who look backward over their shoulders to San Francisco in search of the courage of hope as they prepare for the final assault on Japan, I have given what I believe to be an honest answer, but I do not pretend that it is an adequate one. The discrepancy between what we shall win by this war and what we have lost can never be adequately justified.

34. But the realization that the prospect for the immediate future is not a happy one is no excuse for inaction or despair. There is a clear course of action for those of us who are lucky enough to have survived the war and who have fought for something more than military victory We must support the Charter to the limit as the maximum that is possible today We must do so not with any spirit of complacency, but with the determination to see it change and grow until its impotent instruments take on flesh and blood to become the strong arms of just government for all men.

35. Even in this country our opponents will be many. There are, first, the old isolationists, who believe that the United States has an exclusive monopoly on all that is good, and who remain convinced, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, that we in this country can still find a unique salvation while the rest of humanity proceeds toward the purgatory that in their opinion it deserves.

36. Their more modern friends are the regionalists, who believe that if the United States can no longer find security within its own borders, it can still build the hemisphere into a self-sufficient system that can be defended. Not only is the construction of autonomous regional blocks that must inevitably compete and conflict a good way of promoting another war, but on the lowest level of power politics it is hardly to the advantage of the United States to foster regionalism when the systems of possible opponents are potentially far more powerful than ours.

37. Finally, there is the unholy alliance of the jingoists and the profiteers. The former, with easy access to certain portions of the press, will attempt to lay the emotional basis for the next war by flattering every ignorant prejudice and making every possible appeal to mass hysteria, while the latter will believe war worth while if there

s promise of a sufficient monetary return on the investment in human life. They both see another war as a necessary prelude to the dawning of the American century and the unrestrained expansion of American power. These will support the Charter as a harmless sop to be thrown to present public opinion while they go about the serious business of preparing the country for the next war

38 For those of us who have fought not for power but because we believe in the possibility of peace, the Charter is more than a series of harmless platitudes. Weak and inadequate as it stands today, it is all that we shall have won from the war By our effort, it may yet become the symbol and instrument of a just order among men. No matter how remote our chances or how distant our success, we have in simple honesty no alternative but the attempt to make it that As I have suggested, it is possible that we shall fail, and that the death agony of nationalism will be prolonged beyond our lifetime But eventually, if the civilization of the West is not to disintegrate completely, others who believe as we do will succeed. If this hope is naive, then it is naive to hope.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. In paragraph 1 what is the meaning of the reference to San Francisco? If you find the paragraph effective, examine it to discover what makes it so.
2. Observe the steady unfolding of the author's point of view from his announcement of "the central problem of our time" in paragraph 1 to the solution which he proposes in paragraph 9. Note the contribution of each of these paragraphs toward that solution
3. What reference to the United Nations Charter in paragraph 9 prepares the reader for the view of that instrument expressed in paragraph 10?
4. From paragraph 10 to the end the author applies his own view of the international situation to the Charter. How quickly does he give his judgment of the Charter's adequacy?
5. Does the "concession" of paragraph 12 seem to you "significant"? Why?
6. Accepting the Charter as defined in paragraph 14, how valuable do you find the organization it sets up?
7. Compare the discussion of the Security Council in paragraphs 11-14 with the treatment of that provision of the Charter by Mr. Stettinius in "The United Nations Charter" in this section. Which do you find more convincing?
8. What additional Charter provisions are taken up in paragraphs 15 and 18? Compare the treatment here with that of Mr. Stettinius as in Item 7.
9. How adequate to meet the objective of paragraph 9 does paragraph 19 make the Charter appear? Does paragraph 20 suggest that the objective of the Charter delegates was the same as that stated in paragraph 9? Do you think it should have been?
10. How hopeful a view of the Charter does the author take in paragraphs 21-22? How realistic does the view seem?
11. Since the date of this article the situation suggested in paragraph 23 has actually developed Of what value has the Charter been in handling it?
12. What attitude toward the delegates who framed the Charter is suggested from the beginning through paragraph 25? In paragraphs 26-28 what body outside the Charter Conference does the author hold responsible for the action of the delegates of the United States? How representative of the view of the American people do you consider this body?
13. In paragraphs 30-32 where does the author place the final responsibility for the failure of the Charter to attain the objec-

tives he would approve? How sound do you consider his analysis?

14. Is the attitude toward the Charter expressed in paragraph 34 adequately prepared for?
15. What groups in opposition to a development of the Charter in the direction he wishes does the author discuss in paragraphs 35-37? Can you identify any prominent Americans with these groups? Where would you place Mr. Walter Lippmann in "The Association of Great Communities" in this section?
16. Is it fanciful on the basis of paragraph 37 to imagine "another war" with a single nation—say America—emerging dominant over the entire world? Might such an outcome produce a world government? Would Mr. Meyer approve it? If the dominant nation should be Russia, what then?
17. What evidence can you find as to the time when the article was written? Note the date of publication and among other places within the article paragraphs 6 and 33.
18. Mr. Meyer "looks at the peace" in terms of the United Nations Charter How do you feel in general about his view? When you have reached as clear a conclusion as you can on some aspect of the large problem, set down your view in such a paper as your instructor may prescribe.

VIII

The Negro in America

This section proposes for discussion a problem which is always serious and often tragic It involves more than a matter of justice to a large body of American citizens whose ancestors came to our country not on their own initiative but under compulsion. It involves the welfare of white and Negro alike in a situation made more acute by war and post-war conditions. In mixed classes the problem must be discussed in complete and friendly frankness; in all classes it calls urgently for earnest consideration.

The Races of Mankind

RUTH BENEDICT AND GENE WELTFISH

Mrs. Ruth Fulton Benedict (1887–) has been lecturer in anthropology, assistant professor, and associate professor successively at Columbia University since receiving the Ph.D. degree from that institution in 1923. Over a period of seventeen years from 1922 she studied American Indians in the field and has published various books on anthropology and related subjects. Collaborating with her in preparation of Public Affairs Pamphlet 85 from which our article is condensed is Dr. Gene Weltfish, a colleague in the department of anthropology of Columbia University. [From *The Races of Mankind,* 1943, by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. Published by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City. By permission of the authors and the publisher.]

ONE HUMAN RACE

1. THE BIBLE STORY of Adam and Eve, father and mother of the whole human race, told centuries ago the same truth that science has shown today: that all the peoples of the earth are a single family and have a common origin. Science describes the intricate make-up of the human body all its different organs cooperating in keeping us alive, its curious anatomy that couldn't possibly have "just happened" to be the same in all men if they did not have a common origin. Take the structure of the human foot, for instance. When you list all the little bones and muscles and the joints of the toes, it is impossible to imagine that that would all have happened twice. Or take our teeth: so many front teeth, so many canines, so many molars. Who can imagine finding the same arrangements in two human species if they weren't one family?

2. The fact of the unity of the human race is proved, therefore, in its anatomy. It is proved also by the close similarity in what all races are physically fitted for. No difference among human races has affected limbs and teeth and relative strength so that one race is biologically outfitted like a lion and another biologically outfitted like a

lamb. All races of men can either plow or fight, and all the racial differences among them are in nonessentials such as texture of head hair, amount of body hair, shape of the nose or head, or color of the eyes and the skin The white race is the hairiest, but a white man's hair isn't thick enough to keep him warm in cold climates. The Negro's dark skin gives him some protection against strong sunlight in the tropics, and white men often have to take precautions against sunstroke. But the war has shown that white men can work and fight even in a tropical desert. Today white men in hot countries wear sun helmets and protect themselves with clothes and rub their skin with suntan oil Very dark-skinned people in the north, too, can add cod-liver oil and orange juice to their diet, and, if they need to, take a vitamin pill or two. The shape of the head, too, is a racial trait; but whether it is round or long, it can house a good brain.

3. The races of mankind are what the Bible says they are—brothers. In their bodies is the record of their brotherhood.

WHAT ARE RACE DIFFERENCES?

4. The greatest adventure story in the history of the world is the spread of early man to all corners of the globe. With crude tools, without agriculture, without domesticated animals except the dog, he pressed on, from somewhere in Asia, to the tip of Africa, to the British Isles, across Behring Strait into America and down to Cape Horn. He occupied the islands of the Pacific and the continent of Australia The world had a small population then, and many of these pioneers were for centuries as separated from other peoples as if they lived on another planet Slowly they developed physical differences.

5 Those who settled nearer the equator, whether in Europe, in Asia, or in the Americas, developed a darker skin color than those who settled to the north of them People's hair is often the same over great areas: frizzly hair, lank hair, wavy hair. Europeans remained quite hairy, but in some parts of the world body hair almost disappeared. Blue eyes appeared in the north. In some place in Asia a fold of skin developed over the inner corner of the eye and produced what we call a slant eye

6. All these distinctive traits made it easy to recognize people as belonging to different parts of the world. In each place the people got used to looking at one another. They said, "Our men are really men. Our women are beautiful. This is the way people should look." Sometimes they liked the appearance of their close neighbors. But strangers seemed odd and queer. Strangers wore funny clothes and

their manners were bad. Even more important, strangers did not look the way people should. Their noses were too flat or too pointed. Their skin was "a sickly white" or "a dirty black." They were too fat or too short. Everywhere in the world men and women used the standard of their own people to judge others and thought that people who differed from this standard looked funny or ugly.

ALL PEOPLES MUCH THE SAME

7. After the discovery of America by Columbus, Europeans began traveling to every quarter of the globe, and all the new peoples they met were complete strangers to them. For one thing, the Europeans couldn't understand their languages. They looked and acted strange. Europeans thought they were different creatures and named a lot of different "races." Gradually the Europeans described each one as having a skin color, kind of hair, kind of lips, height, and head shape that was peculiar to that "race." Nowadays we know that this was a false impression.

Height

8. Take height, for example. There are tall and short people almost everywhere in the world. Near the sources of the Nile, the Shilluk Negroes are 6 feet 2 inches; their neighbors, the brown pygmies, are 4 feet 8 inches. In Italy, a six-footer and a five-footer could both be native Italians for generations back. Among the Arizona Indians, the Hopi Pueblos are 5 feet 4 inches; their Mohave neighbors are nearly 6 feet.

9. A report of the Selective Service System of November 10, 1941, showed that registrants examined for the U. S. Army varied in height from 4 feet 6 inches to 7 feet 4 inches. This represents the extremes of height anywhere in the world. The Army's limits for acceptance, from 5 feet to 6 feet 6 inches, would include most men the world over.

Shape of Head

10. Take the shape of the head as another example. In West Africa there are more long heads; in the Congo, more round. Among the American Indians, as well as in the population of Europe, both the longest and the roundest heads are to be found, and in Asia Minor long heads and round heads appear among very close relatives.

11. Or let us take the brain itself. Because the brain is the thinking organ, some scientists have tried to find differences in the size and structure of the brain among different groups of people. In spite of

these efforts, using the finest microscopes, the best scientists cannot tell from examining a brain to what group of people its owner belonged. The *average* size of the brain is different in different groups, but it has been proved over and over again that the size of the brain has nothing to do with intelligence. Some of the most brilliant men in the world have had very small brains. On the other hand, the world's largest brain belongs to an imbecile.

Blood the Same

12. For ages men have spoken of "blood relations" as if different peoples had different blood. Some people have shouted that if we got into our veins the blood of someone with a different head shape, eye color, hair texture, or skin color, we should get some of that person's physical and mental characteristics.

13. Modern science has revealed this to be pure superstition. All human blood is the same, whether it is the blood of an Eskimo or a Frenchman, of the "purest" German "Aryan" or an African pygmy—except for one medically important difference. This medical difference was discovered when doctors first began to use blood transfusion in order to save life. In early attempts at transfusion it was discovered that "agglutination" or clumping together of the red cells sometimes occurred and caused death. Gradually investigators learned that there are four types of blood, called O, A, B, and AB, and that although blood typed O can be mixed successfully with the other three, none of these can be mixed with one another without clumping.

14. These four types of blood are inherited by each child from its forebears. But whites, Negroes, Mongols, and all races of man have all these blood types. The color of their skin does not tell at all which blood type they have. You and an Australian bushman may have the same blood type. Because you inherit your bodily traits from your many different ancestors, you may have a different blood type from your mother or your father or your brothers and sisters. You may have eyes like your mother's, teeth and hair like your father's, feet like your grandfather's, and a blood type like your great-grandmother's.

15. Today doctors do not "type" blood for transfusion at all. The red and white cells or corpuscles are removed, and the remainder is the same whatever race it comes from. The Blood Bank calls it plasma. It is dried and kept indefinitely. When needed for emergency transfusions, it is mixed with water and can save the life of any man or woman in the world. The same blood plasma is used to restore any man of any color who has been wounded in battle.

Color

16. Finally, let us take skin color, the most noticeable of the differences between people. Few traits have been used as widely to classify people. We all talk about black, white, and yellow races of man.

17. In the world today the darkest people are in West Africa, the lightest people in northwest Europe, while in southeast Asia are men with yellowish-tan skins. Most people in the world, however, are not of these extremes but are in-betweens. These in-betweens probably have the skin shades that were once most common, the white, yellow, and dark brown or black being extreme varieties.

18. Recently scientists found that skin color is determined by two special chemicals. One of these, *carotene,* gives a yellow tinge; the other, *melanin,* contributes the brown. These colors, along with the pinkish tinge that comes when the blood vessels show through, give various shades to the human skin Every person, however light or dark his skin may appear, has some of each of these materials in his skin. The one exception is the albino, who lacks coloring substances—and albinos appear among dark and light-skinned peoples alike People of browner complexions simply have more *melanin* in their skin, people of yellowish color more *carotene.* It is not an all-or-nothing difference; it is a difference in proportion Your skin color is due to the amount of these chemicals present in the skin.

Racial Mixture

19. As far back in time as the scientist can go he finds proof that animals and men moved about in the world. There were different kinds of animals, and many of them went great distances. But wherever they went, the different kinds could not breed together. A tiger cannot mate with an elephant. Even a fox and a wolf cannot mate with each other. But whenever groups of people have traveled from one place to another and met other people, some of them have married and had children.

20. We are used to thinking of Americans as mixed. All of us have ancestors who came from regions far apart. But we think that the English are English and the French are French. This is true for their nationality, just as we are all Americans. But it is not true for their *race* The Germans have claimed to be a pure German race, but no European is a pure anything. A country has a population. It does not have a race. If you go far enough back in the populations of Europe you are apt to find all kinds of ancestors. Cro-Magnons, Slavs, Mongols, Africans, Celts, Saxons, and Teutons.

21. The movements of peoples over the face of the earth inevitably produce race mixtures and have produced it since before history began. No one has been able to show that this is necessarily bad. It has sometimes been a social advantage, sometimes a running sore threatening the health of the whole society. It can obviously be made a social evil, and, where it is so, sensible people will avoid contributing to it by grieving if their children make such alliances. We must live in the world as it is. But, as far as we know, there are no immutable laws of nature that make racial intermixture harmful.

RACIAL SUPERIORITIES AND INFERIORITIES

22. When they study racial differences, scientists investigate the way by which particular traits are passed on from parents to children. They measure head form and identify skin color on a color chart. They map out the distribution of different kinds of hair or noses in the world Scientists recognize that these differences do not themselves show better or worse qualities in peoples, any more than bay horses are better than black ones. They know that to prove that a bay horse is superior to a black one you have to do more than identify its skin color on a color chart; you have to test its abilities

23 Science therefore treats human racial differences as facts to be studied and mapped. It treats racial superiorities as a separate field of investigation, it looks for evidence. When a Nazi says "I am a blue-eyed Aryan and you are non-Aryan," he means "I am superior and you are inferior." The scientist says: "Of course. You are a fair-haired, long-headed, tall North European (the Anthropological term is Nordics, not Aryans), and I am a dark-haired, round-headed, less tall South European. But on what evidence do you base your claim to be superior? That is quite different."

24. Race prejudice turns on this point of inferiority and superiority. The man with race prejudice says of a man of another race, "No matter who he is, I don't have to compare myself with him. I'm superior anyway. I was born that way."

25. It is the study of racial superiorities and inferiorities, therefore, which is most important in race relations. This investigation, to have any meaning at all, must get evidence for and against the man who says, "I was *born* that way. My race is proof that I am the better man." It must be an investigation of what is better and what is worse in traits passed down by inheritance. Such traits are, by definition, racial The first thing we want to know scientifically is what traits a man is born with and what things happen to him after he is born. If he is

lucky after he is born, he will have good food, good care, good education, and a good start in life; these are not things of which he can boast: "I was *born* that way."

26. A man learns the language he speaks. If he'd been born of Nordic parents and brought up from infancy in China, he'd speak Chinese like a native and have as much difficulty learning Swedish when he was grown as if he'd been born of Chinese parents. He wasn't "born" to speak Cockney English or to speak with a Brooklyn accent; he speaks the way people around him speak. It's not a racial trait; he didn't inherit it.

CUSTOMS NOT RACIAL

27. Differences in customs among peoples of the world are not a matter of race either. One race is not "born" to marry in church after a boy-and-girl courtship, and another race to marry "blind" with a bride the groom has never seen carried veiled to his father's house. One race is not "born" equipped to build skyscrapers and put plumbing in their houses and another to run up flimsy shelters and carry their water from the river. All these things are "learned behavior," and even in the white race there are many millions who don't have our forms of courtship and marriage and who live in shacks. When a man boasts of his racial superiority and says that he was "born that way," perhaps what he's really saying is that he had a lot of luck after he was born. A man of another race might have been his equal if he'd had the same luck in his life. Science insists that race does not account for all human achievements.

WHAT ABOUT INTELLIGENCE?

28. The most careful investigations of intelligence have been made in America among Negroes and whites. The scientist realizes that every time he measures intelligence in any man, black or white, his results show the intelligence that man was born with *plus* what happened to him since he was born. The scientist has a lot of proof of this. For instance, in the First World War, intelligence tests were given to the American Expeditionary Forces; they showed that Negroes made a lower score on intelligence tests than whites. But the tests also showed that Northerners, *black and white,* had higher scores than Southerners, *black and white.* Everyone knows that Southerners are inborn equals of Northerners, but in 1917 many southern states' per capita expenditures for schools were only fractions of those in northern states, and housing and diet and income were far

below average too. Since the vast majority of Negroes lived in the South, their score on the intelligence test was a score they got not only as Negroes, but as Americans who had grown up under poor conditions in the South. Scientists therefore compared the scores of Southern whites and Northern Negroes.

Median Scores on A.E.F. Intelligence Tests

Southern Whites:

Mississippi	41.25
Kentucky	41.50
Arkansas	41.55

Northern Negroes:

New York	45.02
Illinois	47.35
Ohio	49.50

29. Negroes with better luck after they were born got higher scores than whites with less luck. The white race did badly where economic conditions were bad and schooling was not provided, and Negroes living under better conditions surpassed them. The differences did not arise because people were from the North or the South, or because they were white or black, but because of differences in income, education, cultural advantages, and other opportunities.

30. Scientists then studied gifted children. They found that children with top scores turn up among Negroes, Mexicans, and Orientals. Then they went to European countries to study the intelligence of children in homelands from which our immigrants come. Children from some of these countries got poor scores in America, but in their homeland children got good scores. Evidently the poor scores here were due to being uprooted, speaking a foreign language, and living in tenements; the children were not unintelligent *by heredity*.

CHARACTER NOT INBORN

31. The second superiority which a man claims when he says, "I was born a member of a superior race," is that his race has better *character* The Nazis boast of their racial soul. But when they wanted to make a whole new generation into Nazis they didn't trust to "racial soul"; they made certain kinds of teaching compulsory in the schools, they broke up homes where the parents were anti-Nazi, they required boys to join certain Nazi youth organizations. By these means they got the kind of national character they wanted. But it was a planned

and deliberately trained character, not an inborn "racial soul." In just the same way the Japanese have bred a generation of ruthless fighters. Fifty years ago Europeans who lived in Japan used to describe them as "butterflies flitting from flower to flower," incapable of "the stern drives" of Western civilization. Since 1900 the "butterflies" have fought six times overseas, and they are desperate and ruthless fighters. In a generation the butterflies have become game-cocks. But their *race* has not changed. The same blood still flows in their veins. But spiritually they are more like the Germans than they are like their racial brothers, the peace-loving Chinese.

32. It can go the other way, too. In 1520 the ancient Mexicans were like the Germans. They talked like Nazis, thought like them, in many ways felt like them. They, too, believed war to be man's highest mission. They, too, trained their children for it, placing their boys in great state schools where they learned little else but the glories of battle and the rituals of their caste. They, too, believed themselves invincible, and against small, defenseless villages, they were. But they were defeated in battle by the Spaniards with the help of the peoples whom the Aztecs had oppressed; their leaders were killed, their temples destroyed, their wealth pillaged, and their power broken. The Mexican peasant, who still speaks the Aztec language and in whose veins still runs the blood of Aztec conquerors, no longer dreams of glorious death in battle and eternal life in an Indian Valhalla. He no longer goes on the warpath, no longer provokes war with peaceful villages. He is a humble peon, wishing only to be left in peace to cultivate his little field, go to church, dance, sing, and make love. These simple things endure.

33. Americans deny that the Nazis have produced a national character superior to that of Goethe's and Schiller's day, and that the ruthless Japanese of today are finer human beings than in those generations when they preferred to write poetry and paint pictures. Race prejudice is, after all, a determination to keep a people down, and it misuses the label "inferior" to justify unfairness and injustice. Race prejudice makes people ruthless; it invites violence. It is the opposite of "good character" as it is defined in the Christian religion—or in the Confucian religion, or in the Buddhist religion, or the Hindu religion, for that matter.

THE FUTURE OF RACE PREJUDICE

34. Nevertheless there is race prejudice in America and in the world. Race prejudice isn't an old universal "instinct." It is hardly

a hundred years old. Before that, people persecuted Jews because of their religion—not their "blood"; they enslaved Negroes because they were pagans—not for being black.

35. Looking back now, moderns are horrified at all the blood that was shed for centuries in religious conflicts. It is not our custom any more to torture and kill a man because he has a different religion. The twenty-first century may well look back on our generation and be just as horrified. If that century builds its way of life on the Atlantic Charter—for the whole world—our era will seem a nightmare from which they have awakened. They will think we were crazy. "Why should race prejudice have swept the western world," they will say, 'where no nation was anything but a mixture of all kinds of racial groups? Why did nations just at that moment begin talking about 'the racial purity' of their blood? Why did they talk of their wars as racial wars? Why did they make people suffer, not because they were criminals or double-crossers, but because they were Jews or Negroes or non-Nordic?"

36. We who are living in these troubled times can tell them why. Today weak nations are afraid of the strong nations; the poor are afraid of the rich; the rich are afraid they will lose their riches. People are afraid of one another's political or economic power, they are afraid of revenge for past injuries, they are afraid of social rejection. Conflict grows fat on fear. And the slogans against "inferior races" lead us to pick on them as scapegoats. We pin on them the reason for all our fears.

RACE PREJUDICE NOT INEVITABLE

37. Freedom from fear is the way to cure race prejudice. When aggressions like those of the Axis are made impossible by guarantees of collective security, those guarantees must cover countries of all races. Then Nazi race tactics will be outmoded. In any country every legal decision that upholds equal citizenship rights without regard to race or color, every labor decision that lessens the terror of being "laid off" and gives a man self-respect in his employment, every arrangement that secures the little farmer against losing his acres to the bank—all these and many more can free people from fear. They need not look for scapegoats.

38. The Russian nation has for a generation shown what can be done to outlaw race prejudice in a country with many kinds of people. They did not wait for people's minds to change. They made racial discrimination and persecution illegal. They welcomed and honored

the different dress, different customs, different arts of the many tribes and countries that live as part of their nation. The more backward groups were given special aid to help them catch up with the more advanced. Each people was helped to develop its own cultural forms, its own written language, theater, music, dance, and so on. At the same time that each people was encouraged in its national self-development, the greatest possible interchange of customs was fostered, so that each group became more distinctively itself and at the same time more a part of the whole.

39. The Russians have welcomed cultural *differences* and they have refused to treat them as *inferiorities*. No part of the Russian program has had greater success than their racial program.

THE CHALLENGE

40. With America's great tradition of democracy, the United States should clean its own house and get ready for a better twenty-first century Then it could stand unashamed before the Nazis and condemn, without confusion, their doctrines of a Master Race. Then it could put its hand to the building of the United Nations, sure of support from all the yellow and the black races where the war is being fought, sure that victory in this war will be in the name, not of one race or of another, but of the universal Human Race.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Do you from the title get any hint as to the attitude of the authors toward racial differences? Do you from the first centered heading? Do you from the first paragraph?
2. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and put in your notebook the meaning which is appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation.

structure (l. 8)
precautions (l. 25)
immutable (l. 177)
produce (l. 171)
prejudice (l. 197)
domesticated (l. 37)
distinctive (l. 52)
anthropological (l. 193)
investigation (l. 190)
generation (l. 278)

3. Treat the following words as you have treated those in the preceding list. Also note that the members of each pair or group derive from a common root. Trace them back to this root, and find examples of other words also derived from it. Also state what elements of the original meaning of the root are to be found in the derivatives.

contributing (l. 175)	distribution (l. 182)
superiorities (l. 201)	inferiorities (l. 201)
inheritance (l. 206)	heredity (l. 274)

justify (l. 315), injustice (l. 315), injuries (l. 343)
cure (l. 347), security (l. 349), secures (l. 354)

4. In paragraph 1 do you find anything to arouse any racial prejudice in yourself? Do you think the story of Adam and Eve as the original parents of mankind inconsistent with race prejudice?
5. Does the first sentence of paragraph 2 refer to what precedes or to what follows? The second sentence? For the reader what is the value of sentences like these?
6. Is paragraph 2 good evidence for the assumption that all races are essentially alike?
7. Note that paragraph 3 contains just two short sentences. For the reader what is the value of a paragraph like this?
8. Does it seem natural for racial differences to arise in the way suggested in paragraphs 5 and 6? Do you see any reason why racial prejudice should develop from such differences?
9. Does height (paragraphs 8-9) seem to you a significant racial difference? Does head shape or brain size (paragraphs 10-11)?
10. Suppose you or a relative or close friend were ill or injured and in need of a blood transfusion. Would you ask the doctor about the racial source of the blood to be used? Would you ask him about the type? Do paragraphs 12-15 suggest any reason for being concerned about either? If the doctor intended to use blood plasma would you be concerned about either source or type?
11. How satisfactory an explanation of racial color differences do you find paragraphs 16-18? How significant a difference do these paragraphs represent color to be?
12. Does paragraph 19 present any significant evidence for the essential unity of different races?
13. How does a nationality differ from a race? Is the United States a nation, a race, or both? What is the United Nations?
14. In what respect is it a good thing that America has been a "melting pot"? In what respect are Germans racially "purer"

than Americans? In what respect does paragraph 21 suggest that racial mixture may produce evil?

15. If you prefer carrots to beets or spinach to mustard and turnip greens, is this a matter of taste or of some inherent difference in the vegetables themselves? If "gentlemen prefer blondes," or redheads, or brunettes, are the preferences based on deep-seated or surface differences? How do these comparisons bear on the preferences of paragraph 6 or on the differences discussed in paragraphs 22-23?
16. How do the points of item 15 bear on the racial superiorities or inferiorities mentioned in paragraphs 24-25?
17. What is meant by "learned behavior" in paragraph 27? What does it have to do with racial superiority?
18. Do you think a Northerner more "intelligent" than a Southerner? A Northern Negro more "intelligent" than a Southern white? How nearly do you agree with the "facts" and the conclusions of paragraphs 28-30? What is the bearing of these points on racial superiorities and inferiorities?
19. Are Germans in America "bad" citizens? How far do you believe the war and prewar evils in Germany and Japan the result of inborn racial differences and how far the result of misleading education? Do you agree with the conclusions of paragraphs 31-33? What is the bearing of your answer on prejudice against German-Americans and Japanese-Americans? Against citizens of Germany and Japan? Against the present and former leaders of Germany and Japan?
20. It is sometimes said that a Catholic or a Jew or a woman or a Negro could not become president of the United States. If this is true, is it because there are in America no Catholics, Jews, women, or Negroes qualified to perform the duties of that high office? Do these matters suggest racial prejudice? Do they suggest sound judgment?
21. Paragraphs 36-37 suggest a basic cause for race prejudice and a cure. How easy of application is the cure? Do you think the Russians, as outlined in paragraphs 38-39, have approached the matter more wisely than we?
22. Does the challenge of paragraph 40 suggest any practical race prejudice program for America?
23. What are your own ideas about the races of mankind? Select some aspect of the broad problem and record your views in a paper of such length as your instructor may prescribe. Make such use as you wish of any suggestions in the items above or of your own independent reaction to "The Races of Mankind."

The Negro Problem in Our Democracy

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

The American Mercury note accompanying Mr. Commager's article records that he is "professor of history at Columbia University and a member of the War Department's Committee on the History of the War, is the author of *Majority Rule and Minority Rights* and the co-author of *The Growth of the American Republic, The Heritage of America* and *America: The Story of a Free People.*" [*The American Mercury*, 60:751-756, June, 1945. By permission of the author and the publisher.]

1. THE AMERICAN CREED celebrates liberty and equality for all; the American practice denies both to the Negro Americans have, heretofore, been unwilling to make a choice, unable to effect a reconciliation, between creed and practice. This is the American dilemma which Gunnar Myrdal[1] has explored and exposed in comprehensive and incisive fashion It is not a new one. It has confronted us, collectively and individually, for over a century and a half. It troubled the signers of the great Declaration, who were eager to subscribe to the doctrine that all men are created equal but unwilling to retain Jefferson's specific indictment of slavery and the slave trade. It explains the fanaticism of the abolitionist crusade, and the comparable fanaticism of slaveholders forced by the abolitionists to escape the dilemma by fabricating a pseudo-scientific theory of white superiority and Negro inferiority It was not resolved by Appomattox or by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, but rather aggravated To the existing embarrassment of social and economic discrimination, it added the new one of nullification of the Constitution, maneuvering Americans into lawlessness as well as inconsistency.

2. And inconsistency is the proper term, not insincerity. Dr Johnson sneered at liberty on the lips of slavedrivers, and from that day on, foreign observers have hurled the charge of hypocrisy at Ameri-

[1] *An American Dilemma*, by Gunnar Myrdal with the assistance of Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose. $7.50. *Harper.*

cans. This is not surprising, for as they cannot doubt the reality of inequality and oppression, they have been forced to doubt the sincerity of the creed. It is to the credit of Mr. Myrdal that he never for a moment falls into this error; it is a mark of his wisdom that he makes the American creed the point of departure, indeed the dominant factor, of his whole investigation. For the faithful confession of this creed of liberty and equality is the central fact, the whole into which the parts must be fitted. To make discrimination against the Negro the central fact—as it is the obvious one—would at once constrict the whole field of inquiry. More, it would make it all but superfluous, for this tragic story has been told again and again, and there is little—except in statistical elaboration—that even the most perspicacious sociologist can add.

3. No, the interesting thing, and the significant thing, is the inner conflict between profession and practice. Americans recognize only one ideal solution to this conflict—that of squaring practice with profession. Most of them are unwilling to make the sacrifices necessary to do this. They prefer a guilty conscience, and the whole people suffers from it with all its implications and consequences. There is, to be sure, another solution, and it is illuminating that no Americans —not even the most prejudiced—are willing to consider it. For we could (logically) admit that the American creed was a mistake, abandon it, and set about to rationalize and legalize the inferior position of the Negro. As Mr. Myrdal points out, Southerners are unwilling to give Negroes adequate educational facilities, but no Southerner has ever seriously proposed using the educational system to train Negroes to be "faithful helots." Americans prefer to suffer the indignity of the charge of insincerity rather than impair the shining symmetry of their creed.

4. Here is ground for hope, for there are precedents and analogies in our history which suggest that if we but cling tenaciously enough to an ideal we can eventually realize it. Slavery was, after all, not the only contradiction of the principle of equality in the Declaration, and that principle was recognized, from the first, as an ideal to be attained rather than a condition to be enjoyed. The principle worked like a ferment in the whole of American politics and society. It hastened the attainment of manhood suffrage, and later of woman suffrage; it justified public education; it gave a powerful impulse to a liberal land policy. Again and again in our past it has been invoked to justify some liberal reform, and rarely in vain. If we continue to cherish it, we may expect that in time it will be applied even to the Negro question.

5. And one reason that we may expect this is that we cannot permit ourselves to expect anything else: the cost is too high. For the Negro problem is, of course, fundamentally a white problem. It is a problem that involves all Americans and all American interests. We cannot discriminate against the Negro without, in the end, discriminating against ourselves. We cannot oppress the Negro without, in the end, oppressing each other. We cannot keep the Negro poor and ignorant and debased without running the danger of impoverishing and debasing ourselves. For what emerges most impressively from a survey of our Negro problem is validation of the axiom that he who would enslave others must first enslave himself. For half a century the Negro slave enslaved his master; even since emancipation the Negro has dominated the South and his influence in the North has been out of all proportion to his numbers. The South, attempting to erect a prison around the Negro, found itself imprisoned as well—imprisoned in the backward economy which ignorant Negro labor required, imprisoned in the dangerous and artificial social relationships which resulted from maintaining a "white man's country," imprisoned in the ignorance, folly, hypocrisy and violence which attended the oppression of the Negro. The shadow of this prison darkens the North as well. For their own sakes, rather than for the sake of the Negro, for their own peace of mind and of soul, the whites must get rid of the Negro problem.

II

6. A large part of Mr. Myrdal's book lays bare this Southern and national obsession with the Negro problem. It appears in any consideration of Southern farming,—with the disproportionate and destructive prevalence of tenancy; in any explanation of the backwardness of Southern industry; in any explantion of what has happened to the Southern soil and forests and natural resources. It appears, even more strikingly, in Southern politics which has for so long been dominated by the Negro: the one-party system with its demoralizing evasion of vital issues; the demagoguery of appeals to the race question rather than to real questions; the repudiation of democracy implicit in the poll tax and similar devices; the rejection of liberalism if tainted by friendly interest in Negro welfare. It appears, too—more subtly and more insidiously—in social relationships:

> The absorbing interest in the form of a matter; the indirectness of approach to a person, a subject, or a policy; the training to circumvent sore points and touchy complexes—

which we consider as symptoms of escape—are developing into a pattern of thinking and escape which molds the entire personality. People become trained generally to sacrifice truth, realism, and accuracy for the sake of keeping superficial harmony in every social situation. Discussion is subdued; criticism is enveloped in praise. Agreement is elevated as the true social value irrespective of what is to be agreed upon. Grace becomes the supreme virtue; to be matter of fact is crude. It is said about the Southern Negro that he is apt to tell you what he thinks you want him to say. This characteristic . fits, to a considerable extent, the whole civilization where he lives.

7. The Negro, too, is imprisoned in the Negro problem, and even more violently This imprisonment, and its consequences, Mr. Myrdal makes clear in chapter after chapter devoted to Negro institutions and character The Negro can neither act nor speak nor, we must suppose, think as a man, but only as a Negro. The public manifestations of this are notorious enough: Negro singers are expected to sing Negro spirituals; Negro authors to write on Negro subjects; Negro economists to deal with Negro labor, and so forth. It is true as well of the press, of politics, of social organizations, of farming and labor and business and even of religion; it is true, indeed, of the Negro character which is required to conform to the pattern drawn for it by whites And there is a curious dichotomy here. For in many ways the Negro is an exaggerated white American. Most Americans are joiners, but none so zealous as the Negro; most Americans want respectability and social position—with the upper-class Negro it is almost a mania, most Americans are religious—the Negroes are especially devout—and especially addicted to denominationalism. On the other hand, the Negro is outside the white culture—not voluntarily, to be sure. He cannot play an active or creative rôle. Nor has he a past of his own, a national tradition of his own, to which he can appeal. His imprisonment is complete.

8. No better illustration of this could be cited than *Black Boy: A Record of Childhood and Youth*.[2] But it is not childhood and youth as generally understood—it is Negro childhood and Negro youth. A writer of remarkable talents, Mr. Wright seems doomed to write only of the Negro problem. This problem is like a poison gas that seeps into every page of this chronicle of boyhood in the deep South. The boy Richard learned about it almost before he learned to walk,

[2] *Black Boy*, by Richard Wright. $2.50. *Harper*.

and it was with him every waking moment, and at times in his sleep as well. Appropriately enough, Mr. Wright quotes from Job, on his title page:

> They meet with darkness in the daytime
> And they grope at noonday as in the night.

The black boy who grew up in the slums of Natchez and Jackson and worked in Memphis was haunted by it; for him daytime was ever clouded with darkness and noonday was as night. His earliest experiences with whites were of cruelty; until seventeen he experienced little else.

9. There is undoubtedly some exaggeration here: no one could have survived the experiences of unrelieved poverty, misery and cruelty which Mr. Wright describes. But this is the experience of a sensitive child, as recalled by an artist, and it is important for us not to take exception to it, not to decry it as exaggerated, not to cite other instances of kindliness and generosity, but to understand how this impression could be made. And it is important, too, to realize that what is articulate in Mr Wright is inarticulate—but present—in millions of other Negroes who went through comparable experiences.

10. At point after point *Black Boy* confirms, in simple and telling fashion, the findings of Mr. Myrdal and his collaborators. Thus he tells us how the Negro boys acted out the rôles which whites fixed for them—clowning, laughing, shuffling, indulging in laziness or thievery, pretending to respect or to pleasure—as they knew their white masters expected. "The very nature of black and white relations," he says, "bred constant thievery . . . Southern whites would rather have had Negroes who stole work for them than Negroes who knew, however dimly, the worth of their own humanity. Hence whites placed a premium upon black deceit; they encouraged irresponsibility and their rewards were bestowed upon us blacks in the degree that we could make them feel safe and superior."

11. It was, Mr. Wright insists, all an elaborate game—a game the rules of which were understood by whites as well as by blacks. But to the Negroes it was more than a game. Again and again he tells of the hatred which he and his playmates felt for the white people, and of their obsession with the notion—the dream, perhaps—of getting back at them. And he makes clear, too, how contagious was this disease of hatred, how it poisoned relations of blacks with each other as well as of blacks and whites. The Negro, indeed, is here portrayed with an unlovely brush.

> After the habit of reflection had been born in me, I used to mull over the strange absence of real kindness in the Negro, how unstable was our tenderness, how lacking in genuine passion we were, how void of great hopes, how timid our joy, how bare our traditions, how hollow our memories, how lacking we were in those intangible sentiments that bind man to man, and how shallow was even our despair. . . . What had been taken for our emotional strength was our negative confusions, our flights, our fears, our frenzy under pressure.

"Frenzy under pressure" might indeed be the subtitle of this autobiography, for young Richard suffered it from earliest childhood. With him it was frenzy under pressure not only of white cruelty, but of the misunderstanding and meanness of his own people as well. In the end he escaped—to Chicago; *Native Son* would not suggest that man was less vile there, or the prospect more pleasing. Was there no escape except by flight, and must flight end, as it ended for Bigger Thomas?

III

12 A solution of the Negro problem—the American problem—is implicit in *Black Boy* as it is both implicit and explicit in Myrdal's monumental study Clearly it is not by taking refuge in Constitutional guarantees or in the courts or even in direct political action. It is not the constitutional or political citadel that needs to be stormed. Nor is it by propaganda, or by abstract appeals for justice—appeals the validity of which no one denies.

13. If the Negro problem is merely part of the whole American problem, the solution is to be found in American society and economy as a whole Discrimination and oppression spring, it is clear, from ignorance and insecurity. Tenant farmers fear competition from Negro farmers; workers fear invasion by cheap black workers. The most promising attack on the whole situation would seem to be the attack on ignorance and poverty and insecurity. It is at least possible, indeed probable, that if the farmer is made secure on his land he will not need to hold down the Negro; that if the workingman is given real security in his job he will not need to fear competition. The analysis extends even to the area of social equality. Every student of the Negro problem—Myrdal among them—has noted that social hostility is most aggravated among the lower classes, that it is these who are most determined to "keep the Negro in his place," who are most insistent that he bare his head, come to the back door, forego

the term Mister. It is a situation which excites pity as well as indignation For those who are sure of themselves—sure of their social and economic position—do not need to bother with these outward gestures toward their superiority They can afford to ask the Negro to the front door, to address him as Mister, even to invite him to dinner if they choose, for they do not need to prove that they are better than somebody else. If by some program we could give to the poor and the ignorant and the insecure not only economic security and education, but a sense of social and human dignity, a sense of self-respect, the necessity for this elaborate etiquette of keeping the Negro in his place might disappear.

14. It is for this reason that the broad program of social and economic reform launched so auspiciously twelve years ago must go forward. By abstract moral standards it is perhaps less important that white men have jobs than that Negroes have justice. But it seems clear that unless white men have jobs, Negroes will not have justice. Unless white men and women achieve a sense of self-respect, Negroes will not be permitted to achieve self-respect. We must all go forward together. What Lincoln said in 1862 is applicable now, and it is not too extreme to substitute Negro for slave. "We . . hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth."

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. In your dictionary study the meanings and uses of the suffix "-ate." Does the suffix make the word an adjective, a noun, or a verb in "articulate" (l. 160), in "adequate" (l. 46), in "discriminate" (l. 68), in "disproportionate" (l. 89)?
2. Look up the suffix "-ty." What two meanings does it have? What is the language source of each? Which is used in "reality" (l. 22), in "society" (l. 208), in "poverty" (l. 154)? Are there other instances of the suffix in this article?
3. In the fourth sentence of paragraph 7 note the use of the colon and the semicolon. How is the thought preceding the colon related to that following it? In thought and in sentence structure how are the parts before and after the semicolons related to one another?
4. What organization of material in the article is suggested by the Roman numerals? What is the author chiefly doing in the first section? In the second? In the third?
5. Note the two parts of the first sentence How can you relate this sentence to the title of the article? How does the first paragraph develop the idea of the first sentence?
6. Suppose the theory of "white superiority and Negro inferiority" referred to in paragraph 1 should be not pseudo-scientific, as the author asserts, but really and truly scientific. Would this make it desirable that Negroes should have poorer schooling, poorer housing, poorer working conditions, and lower pay for the same work than whites? Why?
7. How do inconsistency and insincerity differ? Which term best applies to white treatment of the Negro? How much of paragraph 2 reports the view of Mr. Myrdal and how much that of Mr. Commager?
8. What is the "one ideal solution" of paragraph 3? What sort of sacrifices would be required to achieve it? What is wrong with the "logical" solution here suggested?
9. Do you consider the expectation in the last sentence of paragraph 4 too optimistic? How good as evidence for this view is paragraph 5?
10. Do you think the ideas of paragraph 5 belong primarily to Mr. Myrdal or to Mr. Commager? What expressions in paragraphs 6-7 give credit to Mr. Myrdal?
11. Does the argument of paragraphs 6-7 convince you that treatment of the Negro in the South works to the disadvantage of both white and black? What is the source of the passage in different type at the end of paragraph 6?

12. How does the author pass from the first to the second book on which he comments? Note the first sentence of paragraph 8.
13 Have you known of Negro writers who deal with topics of general human interest? Is it better for them to confine themselves chiefly, as paragraphs 7-8 say they do, to racial topics?
14 How does the first sentence of paragraph 10 help preserve the unity of Mr. Commager's discussion? Compare this sentence with the first sentence of paragraph 8.
15 After commenting in sections I and II on the books of Mr. Myrdal and Mr. Wright, our author in section III proposes a solution of the problem presented in *An American Dilemma* and in *Black Boy*. Read carefully to make sure that you understand what the proposed solution is In paragraph 12 what solutions does Mr. Commager reject?
16 How far does paragraph 13 suggest that the Negro problem should as such be ignored? Do you agree?
17 What "broad program" is referred to in the first sentence of paragraph 14? What do you think of this program as a solution of the Negro problem?
18 Look over the preceding items for ideas related to the Negro problem in America. Select some one on which you have a conviction or choose independently from your reading of "The Negro Problem in Our Democracy" and record your view in a paper of such length as your instructor may prescribe. Refer to Mr. Commager's article in the same natural and easy way in which he refers to the two books he reviews.

Nearer and Nearer the Precipice

VIRGINIUS DABNEY

Virginius Dabney (1901–) received the bachelor's and the master's degree from the University of Virginia in 1920 and 1921 respectively. After a year spent in teaching high school French, he entered journalism, and through a series of promotions became editor of the *Richmond Times Dispatch* in 1936. He has contributed regularly to the *New York Times* since 1929, and variously to other publications. In 1937 he received the Lee Editorial Award of the Virginia Press Association and the Lee School of Journalism of Washington and Lee University for "distinguished editorial writing." The *Atlantic* credits him with having "consistently urged a fairer and saner treatment of our colored citizens." [*Atlantic Monthly*, 171:94-100, January, 1943. By permission of the author and the publisher.]

1. A SMALL GROUP of Negro agitators and another small group of white rabblerousers are pushing this country closer and closer to an interracial explosion which may make the race riots of the First World War and its aftermath seem mild by comparison. Unless saner counsels prevail, we may have the worst internal clashes since Reconstruction, with hundreds, if not thousands, killed and amicable race relations set back for decades. There may also be far-reaching and heavily adverse effects upon the colored peoples of China, India, and the Middle East—peoples whose attitude can be of crucial importance.

2. Extremist Negro leaders and Negro newspapers in this country are demanding an overnight revolution in race relations. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and national organizer of the "March-on-Washington Movement," continued to make plans for the march despite warnings that sanguinary encounters are to be expected if colored people converge on the national capital from all directions for the purpose of forcing concessions. Mr. Randolph said recently:—

3. "If the President does not issue a war proclamation to abolish

Jim Crow in Washington, the District of Columbia, and all government departments and the armed forces, colored people are going to *march;* and we don't give a damn what happens. . . . Rather that we die standing upon our feet fighting for our rights than to exist upon our knees begging for life."

4. The author of this peremptory demand on Mr. Roosevelt, who has done more for the colored people than any other occupant of the White House in three-quarters of a century, expanded his program to include the abolition of racial segregation throughout the United States, absolute enforcement of the Fifth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, and elimination of the poll tax. He has now abandoned plans for an "immediate" march on Washington in favor of a "pressure campaign to force the government to make some drastic changes in its treatment of the Negro." For postponing the march he has been belabored by the *Pittsburgh Courier,* one of the most radical of the Negro newspapers.

5. Consider, too, the present position of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Roy Wilkins, its assistant secretary, said in the keynote address to the organization's annual convention at Los Angeles in July that "we are determined to be forever through with the status quo." He added that the Negro and the white must be placed "on a plane of absolute political and social equality." Prolonged cheers and applause interrupted him.

6. Over against these and similar declarations from colored leaders, organizations, and newspapers in all parts of the United States may be placed those of such Southern whites as Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia and Governor Frank Dixon of Alabama. In his lately concluded and unsuccessful campaign for re-election, Talmadge deliberately fanned the flames of race prejudice for political purposes. The commander of the State Guard, a Talmadge appointee, publicly ordered that organization to be on the alert against racial disorders, saying that "an unusual number of assault cases and attempts to assault white ladies have been reported." Neither the FBI nor any other responsible agency in Georgia had heard of the episodes referred to. Nor had any responsible person or agency been able to identify efforts in Georgia to have whites and Negroes educated in the same schools and colleges, although Talmadge sought to gain votes by alleging over and over that such efforts were being made by his political enemies. Talmadge's henchmen organized in October a new secret society called "The Vigilantes, Inc." Described by its founders as "purely eleemosynary, patriotic, social, and benevolent," this society,

restricted to "white males of sound health, good morals, and high character," has certain earmarks of the Ku Klux Klan.

7. Governor Dixon of Alabama caused nation-wide dismay last summer by refusing to sign a contract for the manufacture in the Alabama prison system of cloth for the Federal government. He charged that the clause in the contract requiring no discrimination "against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin" was designed to break down racial segregation and the "color line" in the South. His far-fetched interpretation was promptly challenged by such leading Alabama newspapers as the *Birmingham Age-Herald* and *Montgomery Advertiser,* but the damage had been done. The Dixon manifesto came only one day after Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney, announced a similar doctrine in an address to a civic club. Mr. Wilkinson said, in language which received tremendous publicity and was interpreted generally as an invitation to revive the Ku Klux Klan, that if there is a place in America for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, there is also a place for a "League to Maintain White Supremacy."

8. In addition to the particularly tense situation in Georgia and Alabama, there was the emphasis lately given the Negro as a political issue in Arkansas, South Carolina, and Mississippi. In Arkansas a candidate for Congress was taunted loudly with the charge that he was opposed to racial segregation. In South Carolina an unsuccessful aspirant for the Senate proclaimed his undying devotion to the cause of "white supremacy" and his spiritual kinship with Talmadge on the race question. In Mississippi, the notorious Representative John Rankin has been arousing his constituents with dire warnings concerning the "blood bank" of the Red Cross That organization's opposition to mixing white and colored blood, and the Negro newspapers' violent and oft-reiterated denunciation of its attitude, brought Mr. Rankin into the controversy. His alarmist predictions, that Communist agitators "are trying to mongrelize America . they want to pump Negro or Japanese blood into the veins of our wounded white boys regardless of the dire effect it might have on them or their children," caused the Negro press to echo *PM's* declaration that Rankin is the "leader of the white trash bloc" in Congress.

9. A climactic interracial crisis seemed to be brewing in Rankin's district when the Reverend James Arthur Parsons, Negro pastor of four colored churches in Tupelo, Mississippi, was announced as a candidate in November against the white Congressman, with the support of the National Negro Council. The pastor left Tupelo for St. Louis,

Missouri, soon after he had been proclaimed a candidate in Chicago by Earl G Brown, head of the Council, because, he said, Tupelo citizens demonstrated "forcibly that they do not approve the idea of a Negro running for Congress." Then the country was suddenly shocked by three Mississippi lynchings in a single week, and the plan to run Parsons against Rankin was abandoned.

10. Anybody familiar with the temper of the white people of Mississippi would have recognized the dire potentialities of this campaign which Northern Negroes were so gleefully hatching before the idea was finally dropped. One could only shudder at the prospect of a contest between white and colored Congressional candidates in that state—where the races are almost equal numerically; where memories of Reconstruction are fading but are nonetheless bitter; and where the record of lynchings, over the years, is the worst in the Union.

11. It is all very well to argue that Rankin is a tub-thumping demagogue of the first water; that this is a democracy; that a black man has as much right, under the Constitution, to aspire to Congress as a white man; and that if white Mississippians don't know that Negroes are citizens, it is high time they were taught the facts of life. Such an argument is logical if one wishes to ignore all the human factors involved, but those factors cannot be ignored. The position of the National Negro Council in this matter was utterly unrealistic. Lethal and devastating clashes would have been only too probable if the plan had been carried through. It is difficult to conceive of a more dangerously inflammatory situation anywhere in America than the aggressively promoted candidacy of a black man against a white man in Mississippi

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12. Are we to conclude then, you ask, that the white South today is unwilling to countenance a political contest between white and colored aspirants for office? Such, it must be said, is the case. What the ultimate posture of interracial relations in this sphere will be, it is impossible to tell The most advanced thing of the kind in the South at the moment is the presence in the Kentucky legislature of a Negro of unusual poise and intelligence who represents a 95 per cent colored constituency in Louisville. It is likely that when other Negroes enter Southern legislatures they also will do so as representatives of districts which are overwhelmingly black It is not possible to envision a Southern Negro's being elected to Congress at any time in the measurable future. Congressional districts are so much larger than the

districts from which state legislatures are chosen that it is unlikely a Congressional district could be found with a sufficiently solid black population to make election possible. If this seems the very negation of democracy, I can only say that I believe I am reflecting accurately the vast preponderance of white sentiment in this section. That sentiment will change in time as prejudices fade and new generations are born—but the South cannot be high-pressured into submission on this issue.

13. Symptomatic of the tension in the whole South, if not in parts of the North, was the beating of Roland Hayes, the internationally famous Negro tenor, at Rome, Georgia. He had gone to a shoestore to inquire about an argument his wife had had with a clerk when he was suddenly attacked by white police, punched in the jaw and cuffed, thrown into a police car, slugged while lying on the floor, and hauled off to the police station with his wife and daughter. All were released soon afterward, but the episode served to heighten interracial animosities throughout the United States. True, Mr. Hayes at his last concert in Berlin had been forbidden by *Reichsführer* Hitler to sing German folk songs, on the ground that for a Negro to do so would insult the Nordic race; but that hardly made the ruffianly assault upon him in his native Georgia any more justifiable

14. Spurred on by such episodes as this, the radical element of the Negro press, both North and South, is stirring up interracial hate. Few white people see the colored weeklies which are published in most large cities, but the lengths to which some of them are going are both astounding and alarming. It must be confessed that certain white newspapers are just as bad. Between them they manage to aggravate the situation immeasurably.

15. It is a nine days' wonder when one of the more extreme colored papers plays up, or even publishes, any item which reflects credit upon the sincerity, the humanity, or the decency of the white race. Moreover, the news columns of even the conservative papers are filled almost entirely with the woes and grievances, real or imagined, of the Negroes. White newspapers which emphasize Negro crime and practically never have a good word to say for the black man's constructive achievements have no right to object, but one can readily see how these two groups of publications are undermining stable race relations.

16. There is no denying, of course, that the Negro is confronted by many forms of unfairness, injustice, and oppression. Nor can it be said that this state of things is confined to any section or sections of the country. For example, Federal Security Administrator Paul V.

McNutt declared last year in an address in Philadelphia that prejudice against using Negroes in defense industries was much worse in Philadelphia and "generally north of the Mason-Dixon Line," than in the South. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People issued a pamphlet not long ago, entitled "Food Costs More in Harlem," showing that "Harlem families are victims of exploitation through the prices they pay for food."

17. Yet most of the abuse emanating from the more radical colored leaders and newspapers is directed at the South, where about 75 per cent of the country's 13,000,000 Negroes live. No informed person will argue that the South is guiltless, but there is such a thing as overdoing the criticism of any section, and the South is currently a victim of this. Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska said on the floor of the Senate in 1938 that "the people of the South have done a wonderful job" with the Negro problem, and that they have "made a record of which they have a right to be proud." Even those who disagree with the great Nebraska liberal on the point can hardly justify the tirades against the South which are emanating from certain highly articulate Negro sources

18. It would not be fair to intimate that the whole colored press is incendiary in its present attitude. All the papers harp constantly on racial grievances, but that has been going on for years. Many of them are reasonably restrained in their language, and careful not to indulge in vilification or abuse. But others are so extreme that riots probably would break out if they were widely read by the whites.

19. A highly disturbing thing about this group of colored papers is their unwillingness to grant sincerity of motive to the whites who disagree with their attitude, and who argue that this attitude will be much more harmful than beneficial to the Negroes in the end. The same papers are equally intolerant of Negro leaders who try to put on the brakes. Any colored person, especially in the South, who urges a more conservative policy upon the Negroes, on the ground that a continuation of demagoguery and abuse is bound to end in disaster, is promptly assailed as an apostate, an "Uncle Tom," or a "handkerchief head."

20. An example of the rule-or-ruin position of the radical colored press vis-à-vis friendly Southern whites who try to warn them against extremist policies is seen in the deluge of billingsgate which greeted the pronouncement on racial segregation made by Mark Ethridge in June at a hearing before the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, of which he is a member and former chairman. Mr. Ethridge, who is

publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal,* has been defending the civil, political, and economic rights of the Negro in a distinguished newspaper career extending back over more than two decades. He has gone out of his way to be objective and fair, and as managing editor and chief editorial writer of the *Macon* [Georgia] *Telegraph* he was praised frequently by the *Nation* for his fearless exposés of anti-Negro movements in the deep South More recently he served as first chairman of President Roosevelt's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, and in that capacity devoted a great deal of time and effort to the difficult business of forcing or persuading war industries to hire Negroes.

21 But all this was tossed overboard by the leftist colored press when Mr Ethridge, as a member of the Committee, declared at Birmingham that the South has no intention of giving up the legal segregation of the races In saying that the South expects to continue the system of segregation—which applies chiefly in schools, colleges, and universities, and on transportation lines—he emphasized that "the Negro is entitled, as an American citizen, to . the right to vote, the right to justice in the courts, the right to share equitably in the tax burden and in the distribution of tax moneys for public health, for public education, for public improvements such as streets and sidewalks and parks" He added that the Negro also must have the right to work according to his skill, and he declared that "the Southern white man can purchase his own security, his own happiness, and his own self-respect only in that measure in which he is willing to accord them to the Negro."

22. More of what he said was concerned with affirmations of the white man's obligations to the Negro, with denunciations of white Southern dervishes and mobsters, with exhortations to employers to give jobs to Negroes, than with warnings against efforts to break down segregation of the races. But he was firm in saying that the Southern people as a whole have no intention of lowering those barriers.

23. His reward was excoriation from the Negro press that could hardly have been more extreme if he had been caught heading a gang of lynchers Mark Ethridge—who has done as much as any man in the south to deflate white Negrophobes, to unmask Ku-Kluxery, and to fight for justice for the colored man—was assailed as though he had been a common pickpocket. His words were distorted, his meaning was misrepresented, he was told to get off the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, and he was bracketed with Gene Talmadge as an enemy of the Negro race!

24. If this sort of thing keeps up, it can have but one result. The white leaders in the South who have been responsible for much of the steady progress of the Negro in the past, and who can bring about a great deal more such progress in the future, will be driven into the opposition camp. Some of the foremost of them are being assailed as "big-mouthed white Southerners," as "spiritual kinsmen of Hitler," and so on No matter how liberal they are with respect to the Negro's needs in other directions, if they subscribe to the view that racial segregation cannot be done away with, as the price of an all-out Negro effort in the war, they are attacked as traitors to democracy who ought to be fighting beside the Nazis.

25. An organization which has done much for the progress of the colored citizens of the South is the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with headquarters in Atlanta. Dr. Howard W Odum of the University of North Carolina is its president; Dr Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University (Negro) is first vice-president; Dr. Will W Alexander, now with the Federal government in Washington, is executive director; and Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames is editor of the Commission's monthly organ, the *Southern Frontier*. It seems logical to suppose that unless the support of this influential and widely connected commission can be gained for any given reform in interracial relations, that reform has slight chance of winning Southern approval. As an indication of the Commission's attitude toward segregation, consider the fact that the full text of Mr. Ethridge's address was distributed with the July issue of the *Southern Frontier,* which also contained a note of high commendation.

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26. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is much more radical than the Atlanta commission, but it is responsible for important and deserved advances on the part of the Negro in all sections of the country. Its intervention on behalf of colored men who were being railroaded to the electric chair, such as the Scottsboro defendants; its fight against lynching; its battle for better educational facilities and higher salaries for teachers; and its other similar victories for the colored race are genuine contributions to the building of a fairer and more equitable civilization on this continent But President F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama spoke wisely when he declared that, while the Association deserves all credit for such accomplishments as these, it "fails miser-

ably" in the "realm of practical adjustment of Negroes in American life."

27. The N.A.A.C.P. now is not only for "absolute political and social equality," but it has declared war to the death on all forms of racial segregation. Dr William Pickens, one of the organizations' principal officials for more than twenty years, was summarily discharged when he uttered words of praise some months ago for the squadron of Negro aviators at Tuskegee. Why? Because the squadron is entirely colored, and the Association does not concede that a unit which contains only Negroes can be praised by an N.A.A.C.P. spokesman under any circumstances. It wants mixed units of both whites and blacks, with Negro officers commanding some of them. The Association also objects to the operation of war industries exclusively by Negroes. The Sun Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company recently put to work some thousands of colored men in an all-Negro shipyard at Chester, Pennsylvania. Every skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled worker in the plant was to be colored, it was announced. To many this seemed a great opportunity for the Negro to demonstrate what he can do in this highly competitive field, and to disprove the argument that he cannot equal the industrial and mechanical efficiency of the white man But to the N.A.A.C.P. this is a "Jim Crow shipyard . . . a wartime application of 'Keeping the Negro in his place.'"

28. Thus the agitation goes on and on, in an ever mounting crescendo. Negro leaders who see where all this is leading and say so are attacked scurrilously in the more advanced organs of colored opinion. President James E. Shepard of the North Carolina College for Negroes declared recently that in times like these the blacks should be thinking of their duties rather than their rights. He was assailed as "a throwover from the Reconstruction period," one of the "weasel-minded gentry who put property rights above human rights" and who are seeking "to curry favor" with the dominant race. Dr. Gordon B. Hancock of Virginia Union University remonstrated not long ago with the Negroes who spend all their time denouncing Southern whites, and who refuse to take cognizance of the genuine progress made by the colored citizens of this country since Appomattox, with the aid of these same whites. He was assailed as a Charlie McCarthy for the advocates of segregation, a friend of Negro haters, who is full of "scatterbrained ideas."

29. Fortunately these and other leading Southern Negroes have taken matters into their own hands. In one of the most encouraging developments in years they have held a conference at Durham, North

Carolina, for the purpose of drafting "a new charter for race relations in the South." This representative gathering, with delegates from ten states, was presided over by P. B. Young, publisher of the *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* one of the sanest and best-edited colored newspapers in the United States The charter for Southern race relations to be formulated after all the deliberations of these able men have been completed is to take the form of "articles of coöperation," which will state just what Southern Negro leaders with their feet on the ground expect of the post-war South and nation These college presidents, editors, businessmen, and professional men can be counted on to produce something which will appeal to forward-looking white Southerners as in the best interests of the whole South and the whole United States and as a long-needed antidote for the inflammatory agitation by Negro extremists.

30. Because of the prevailing interracial tension on many fronts, growing out of the current agitation by both Negroes and whites—basically traceable, it must be admitted, to the fact that the Negroes have been the victims of oppression and adverse discrimination over a long period—the country is sitting on a volcano. Moreover, the most fantastic rumors find ready believers. In various Southern cities it has been reported, on the eve of blackouts, that all the ice picks and "switch blades" in town were being bought up by the Negroes, with a view to a general massacre of the whites under cover of darkness. Nearly everybody below the Potomac has heard of the "Eleanor Clubs," or the "Daughters of Eleanor," and thousands believe that they actually exist. These imaginary organizations are supposed to be composed of colored cooks and maids who have vowed to abandon domestic service as degrading, and who have adopted some such slogan as "Every white woman in her kitchen by Christmas."

31. While the Negroes are overwhelmingly patriotic, too many of them have been indoctrinated with the belief that since the Japanese are a colored race the blacks might be more equitably treated by Tokyo than by Washington, and that consequently the Negroes have little to fear from a Japanese victory over the United States. The oft-repeated story of the colored sharecropper who observed last December, "I hear dem Japanese done declare war on you white folks," illustrates the point. Like the natives of Malaya and Burma, the American Negroes are sometimes imbued with the notion that a victory for the yellow race over the white race might also be a victory for them. These ideas and attitudes may or may not be planted by Axis agents. Certainly they are seriously disruptive of morale.

4

32. If all this tension and misunderstanding leads to armed violence, there can be little doubt that the Negroes will be the worst sufferers. They always are. Such is the history of the riots which occurred during and after the First World War. At Houston, Texas, for instance, Negro soldiers "shot up the town," killing seventeen whites, some of whom seem to have been at fault. The colored soldiers had been "goaded and insulted," says Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, but nineteen of them were hanged and fifty-one were imprisoned for life. At East St. Louis, Illinois, white strikers on war work mobbed Negro workingmen, killing no fewer than one hundred and twenty-five. For this wholesale massacre, during which, "for the greater part of thirty-six hours, Negroes were hunted through the streets like wild animals," twenty white men and ten colored men were imprisoned The heaviest sentence any of the whites got was fifteen years

33. Riots like these and the other bloody interracial clashes which occurred both in the North and in the South during and after the last war--including a Chicago riot in which thirty-six persons were killed, and five separate riots in New York City—are likely to occur again. Only this time they may be much worse. The tension is more widespread, and the apprehension in responsible quarters is much greater

34 Do the Negroes think the Federal authorities will order the nation-wide abandonment of segregation? If so, they are mistaken; for however sympathetic the Roosevelt administration is to the aspirations of Negro citizens, it would not attempt anything so surely calculated to provoke sanguinary encounters on both sides of the Mason and Dixon Line. Reforms in this sphere cannot be forced by executive fiat but are the fruit of gradual evolutionary development.

35. No decent white American expects any colored American to remain unprotesting in wartime, or at any other time, when Negroes are lynched, beaten, or persecuted; and certainly the maintenance of segregation connotes a definite obligation upon the whites to provide absolutely equal facilities for the two races, something which obviously is not now being done. But it is a foregone conclusion that if an attempt is made forcibly to abolish segregation throughout the South, violence and bloodshed will result.

36. It is argued that unless all discriminations against the American Negro are instantly brought to an end, the cause of the United Nations in China, Malaya, Burma, India, and the Middle East will be damaged. The answer is that the damage will be much greater if widespread

armed clashes on American soil are provoked by ill-considered action. Only impractical idealists will contend that deep-rooted feelings and attitudes, acquired over centuries of usage, can be suddenly done away with. To attempt such a thing could plunge us into the bitterest and most disastrous fratricidal strife in eighty years. But if the disturbing elements on both sides of the color line can somehow be muzzled, and if the slow but certain processes of evolutionary progress can function, then better interracial relations and accelerated Negro advancement will go hand in hand.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Note the first sentence of paragraph 1. How completely does it cover the material of section 1? What racial groups are mentioned? How far does the discussion of the first group extend? Of the second group?
2. Note the first sentence of paragraph 2. How many of the paragraphs following does it cover?
3. Note the first sentence of paragraph 6. To which of the two groups mentioned in the first sentence of paragraph 1 does it refer? What for the reader is its value? How many of the following paragraphs does it cover?
4. Does the latter part of paragraph 11 refer to the earlier or the latter part of the first sentence of paragraph 1?
5. Does the political situation outlined in paragraph 12 seem to you defensible? What change if any would you suggest?
6. What attitude of Negro newspapers and Negro leaders is reported in paragraphs 14-18? Does this attitude seem to the best interests of Negro advancement? What is the view of the author in paragraph 24?
7. To what part of paragraph 19 do paragraphs 20-23 relate?
8. Does the position of the N.A.A.C.P on racial segregation as reported in paragraphs 26-27 seem calculated to improve Negro-white relations? Does it seem nevertheless a defensible position? In this connection note the argument of paragraph 32 in "To Prevent Race Riots" elsewhere in this section.
9. Should a Negro seeking an improved standing for his race accept what he can get through cooperation of friendly whites or does loyalty to his principles require him to demand immediate and complete equality in every sphere of life? Is the Negro's best hope to be found in such individual leaders as those of paragraphs 2-5 or as those of paragraphs 26-29?
10. What do you think of violence—in the long view of history—as a factor in the fight for justice on the part of any people? Granting the admission in the first sentence of paragraph 30, can you defend Negro disregard of such immediate consequences as those of paragraph 32?
11. In general the articles of this section either explicitly or implicitly place most of the responsibility for our Negro problem on the whites. Mr. Dabney, generally regarded as a friend of the Negro, here takes at least a partly different view. What do you think? Choosing some aspect of the problem with which you may be familiar at first hand, or on which you have a definite conviction, write a paper or prepare a class talk as your instructor may direct.

To Prevent Race Riots

ALFRED McCLUNG LEE AND NORMAN D. HUMPHREY

Alfred McClung Lee (1906–) has had an extensive and varied experience in journalism, public relations, sociology, and anthropology. After completing work for the Ph.D. degree at Yale University in 1933, he was associated in teaching or research with that institution, with the University of Kansas, with the Laboratory of Anthropology at Santa Fe, New Mexico, and with New York University. In 1942 he became chairman of the department of sociology in Wayne University. In Detroit he has been active in journalistic, religious, and sociological work. Collaborating with him in *Race Riot* is Norman Daymond Humphrey, a colleague in the department of sociology at Wayne University. Professor Humphrey, the author of various articles on social and racial problems, was formerly Research Director of the Detroit Council of Social Agencies. [From chapter 10 of *Race Riot*, Alfred McClung Lee and Norman Daymond Humphrey, The Dryden Press, 1943 By permission of the authors and the publisher.]

1. To PREVENT RACE RIOTS, one must do more than know and be able to recognize their symptoms. In Detroit, after all, as a highly competent analyst of the situation, William H. Baldwin (President, National Urban League), put it, "The whole community, white and Negro, knew for a matter of years that a tinder box was in the making; but, although surveys and reports were made and handed around, no responsible individuals or agencies—public or private—provided any persistent and effective follow-through. It was pretty much a 'business as usual' psychology on the part of all concerned."

2. To prevent race riots, one must do more than "establish a coordinating organization and get co-operation." Detroit had a promising plan and a Mayor's Race Committee seventeen years before Bloody Monday, 1943, but it did not have the "persistent and effective follow-through" to which Mr. Baldwin refers. It did not treat the

threat of race disorders in the way in which we treat the more remote threat of air raids in World War II.

3. As a result of the Detroit race riot of 1925, which followed the purchase of a house in a white district by Dr. Ossian Sweet, a Negro physician, Detroit's first Mayor's Race Committee came into existence. Rev Reinhold Niebuhr, now of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, and Bishop William T. Vernon, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, headed this group as Chairman and Vice-Chairman, respectively This committee, as its comprehensive report on recommendations indicates, "arrived at many specific recommendations involving official policy and governmental action" even though it had to realize that "the final solution of all the problems which have been revealed must await upon the cultivation of better understanding and the diminution of prejudice in the public at large." Even though this committee urged "a permanent race commission" and many effective measures, Detroit persisted in its "business as usual" psychology through large and small riots and other disorders, climaxed by the riots at the Sojourner Truth Houses in 1942, the strikes at the Packard plant, and then the riots throughout a large area of the city on Bloody Monday in 1943

4. How many race riots must Detroit suffer before it adopts a program of prevention? What kind of program of prevention is indicated by Detroit's experiences? What can American cities—Detroit included—learn from the Siege of Paradise Valley in late June, 1943?

5 In working out a program of race-riot prevention for American cities, the authors of this book are well aware that no panacea can be offered for so complex a problem. We do not, therefore, propose a rigid and all-inclusive plan. We are, rather, offering here an outline and description of steps that can be taken by any city to combat the creeping horror of race riots.

6. The suggested steps given in this chapter should not be viewed as being merely the opinions of the authors. On the contrary, they represent a composite product, based upon the actual experiences of a great many individuals and organizations in a number of civic and political fields and in many cities, as revealed in interviews and in confidential and published reports. In addition, the authors themselves have experimented with similar techniques of civic organization nationally and in a half-dozen American cities.

7. The specific projects that we mention should be adapted to the scope, finances, and specific needs of each city that has a race-tensions problem. Some of the program steps mentioned are not necessary in

many cities For example, suitable information essential to an approach to the problem may already exist, collected in a satisfactory manner by existing agencies. In such a case, comprehensive new fact-finding efforts would serve no useful purpose.

8. At the outset, we must also recognize that a program to prevent race riots has more immediate objectives and problems than a program to bring about mutually satisfactory bi-racial relationships For practical purposes, therefore, this chapter is divided into these four [1] parts:

1. What to do to prevent race riots
2. What not to do if you want to prevent race riots
3. If the riot breaks out anyway, do these things—quickly
4. How to change basic anti-Negro and anti-white patterns.

The discussion of each of these points is meant to be primarily practical rather than philosophical or academic or comprehensive. For the more subtle and complex aspects of this entire subject, we refer you to titles listed in the final section of this book, "Suggested Readings."

1 WHAT TO DO TO PREVENT RACE RIOTS

9 Cities with bi-racial [2] problems need two organizations to work out and implement a Race Riot Prevention program comparable to a well-developed Air Raid Precautions system. These may well take the following forms:

10 1 *An official bi-racial commission appointed by the Governor or Mayor* This body should have sufficient power and budget to serve as a means for co-ordinating these facilities of governmental agencies: *a.* fact-finding (social workers, police, court system, investigators attached to other departments); *b* analytical (executives and experts serving the appropriate departments); and *c.* implementational (all facilities—legislative, judicial, and administrative—capable of carrying out constructive inter-racial measures).

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[1] Only the first part is included in our reprint.

[2] In our use of the term bi-racial, no connotation of Negro and white separatism or segregation is intended. It is meant to convey the impression of representation and integration, not of distinction and caste

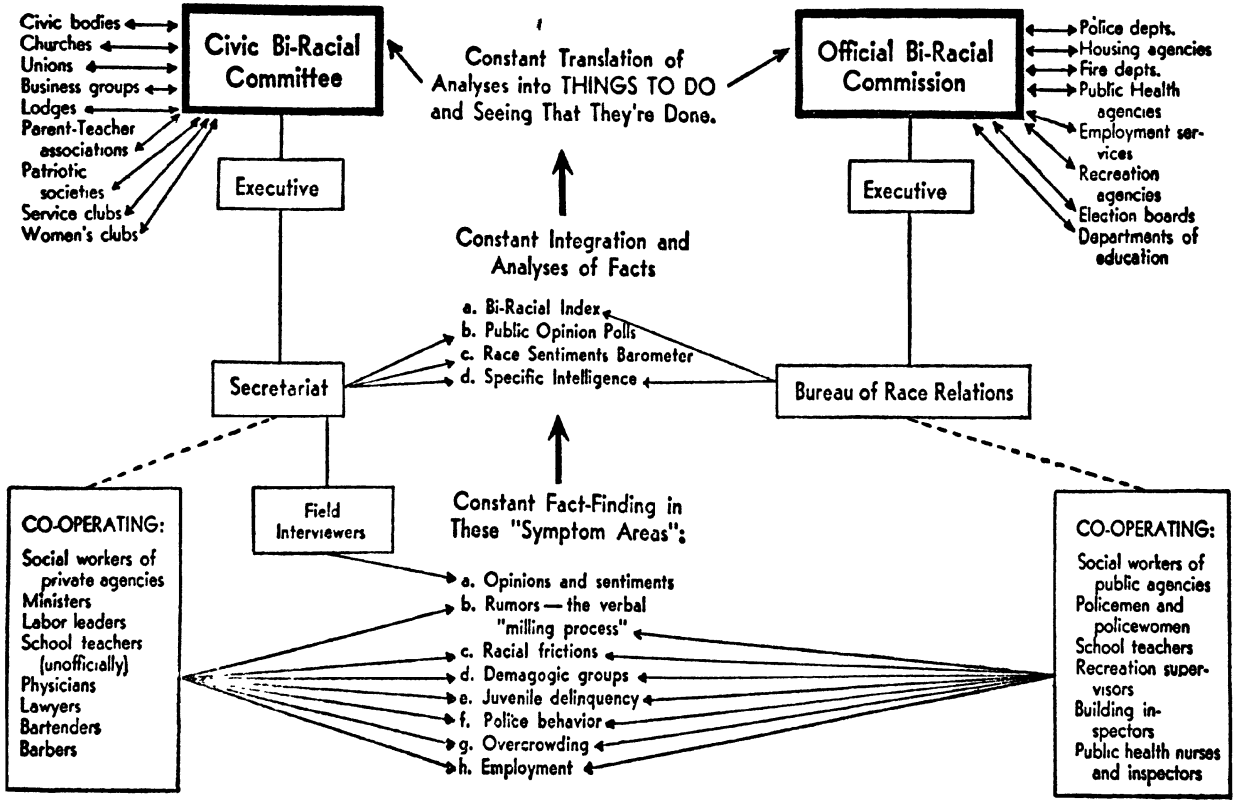
11. 2. *A civic bi-racial committee sponsored by leading civic, labor, religious, business, and educational bodies.* This organization can have the advantages of flexibility and informality usually impossible in a governmental instrument, and it can effectively organize citizen pressure behind the constructive projects of the commission, against its political enemies, and also against efforts within the commission to return to a "business as usual" psychology.

12. Both bodies must be strongly bi-racial in membership as well as in point of view, with practical Negro members who represent actual Negro interests, not so-called "white-man Negroes," and with practical white members who have a vivid appreciation of the crucial nature of white-Negro frictions. In other words, the following recent personal report and analysis by a Chicago newspaperman should be heeded:

> Chicago's Mayor has appointed the usual committee of well-wishers and idealists in an alleged attempt to try to prevent race riots here. Such people are fine in analyzing *after the fact* how situations arose and what should have been done to prevent them, but I have no confidence in them to prevent anything. . . .
>
> In cases of this sort politicians decide to be "on the level" and think they accomplish this by putting in idealists and "good people" when what they need are the so-called practical people whom they ordinarily use at other times.

13. Few white men can recognize and select Negro leaders in a manner satisfactory to the Negroes themselves because Negroes select their own leaders on the basis of somewhat different criteria. As Roi Ottley states in his book about his people, *New World A-Coming* (1943), "the day has passed when a white man can choose the Negro's political leaders." Negroes want, above all, Negro leaders that represent first of all Negro interests; if such leaders are also *persona grata* to the whites, the Negroes do not object, but they want no more "Uncle Toms."

14. In addition to such problems of organization membership, it is also well to stress the reasons for recommending the organization of both a governmental commission and a civic committee. This common dual form of organization is urged because the governmental commission may have prestige and power in the government but be politically handicapped in carrying on propaganda activities. The civic committee, on the other hand, even though it lacks governmental power, can organize educational and pressure activities that will probably be essential to the success of any race-riot prevention program.



PROPOSED CHART OF ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTION

15. Both the official bi-racial commission and the civic bi-racial committee should also be given adequate legal and budgetary support. They qualify for prestige and influence to the same extent as other bodies confronting "continuous emergencies"—police, fire, city planning, and education commissions and boards. In any city with a sizable and unassimilated Negro population, the time to establish such twin organizations is—as soon as possible. *Do not wait until your city has sacrificed citizens to mob violence in its first or second race riot*

16. *And both bodies should stand "on their own" and not be subsidiary to other comparable government commissions and civic organizations* If they are to serve their necessary purposes, they must remain as independent and free to act as possible. To assure friendly coordination, they should have certain influential members in common

17 Above all, each of the organizations should equip itself with an executive who understands that "committees do not work," that committee members talk a lot, tell others what to do, and only occasionally undertake small assignments. But the executive must understand that the real labor of accomplishment is *his*. He has to realize that it is up to him and his staff to learn how to function in the name of and through the medium of the civic committee or governmental commission for which he works. Such an executive will naturally also be a man who has had practical organizational and publicity experience in some such field as newspaper work, ward politics, salesmanship, or advertising This will give him the essential grasp of the public relations implications of his program. Without such a grasp, many civic and governmental projects fail.

18. The program for these two organizations, to be divided between them operationally or handled jointly as seems wisest in terms of support and available personnel, must include three main functions, as follows:

1. *Constant fact-finding*
2. *Constant integration and analysis of facts*
3. *Constant translation of analyses into* THINGS TO DO

As these points suggest, the *time element* is as crucial in combating race riots as it is in any dynamic public relations program formed to counteract emotional excesses. It has been said that eternal vigilance is the price of safety, and it is certainly true that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom from riots.

19. But let us try to lift these three main program elements out of the realm of generality and suggest some specific content for a constructive and persistent program:

1 *Constant Fact-Finding*

20. Essential to any anti-race-riot program is an accurate and constant "feel of the pulse" of Negro-white tensions. Without accurate first-hand reports, wishful thinking and prejudiced planning all too readily begin to flourish. This "feel of the pulse" cannot be furnished by any one agency because organizational and political quirks tend to characterize and even to distort the information obtained through any single set of channels.

21. An example will clarify this principle. A riotous mob of 400 threatened twenty-nine Negroes graduating from Detroit's large Northeastern High School the second night after Bloody Monday. Nevertheless, Police Commissioner John H. Witherspoon released to the newspapers a precinct report to the effect that his police handled a crowd of "50 to 60 youths between the ages of 15 and 20" in a routine fashion, without excitement and *without aid from soldiers.* Previous to the Commissioner's statement, however, the morning Detroit *Free Press,* on the basis of staff writer Lyford Moore's information, ran an eight-column headline on page one thus: "TROOPS FOIL GRADUATION RIOT *Class Is Escorted Past Milling Mob: Northeastern Students Taken Home Under Guard of Soldiers' Bayonets.*" Walter P Reuther, Vice-President of the United Automobile Workers' Union (C.I.O.), who spoke at the graduation exercises, verified the *Free Press* account on the basis of his own observation of the work of Federal soldiers.

22. From this example, it is obvious that the "feel of the pulse" should be taken by a *variety of kinds of reporters* so that a dependable check may be obtained. They should also be informants who have normal functions that bring them constantly into intimate contact with people scattered through a variety of occupations. They should also be so chosen that their contacts will assure geographic, economic, and social cross-sections of the city's population. Such a reportorial machinery should therefore assure frequent and frank reports from selected social workers, ministers, policemen and policewomen, labor leaders, school teachers, physicians, bartenders, barbers, recreation supervisors, judges, and others who have immediate and candid contacts with leaders and rank-and-filers among whites and blacks.

23. As the organizational chart on page 123[8] indicates, certain aspects of the reportorial function may well be canalized through a bureau under the direction of the official bi-racial commission, and

[8] Page 123 of *Race Riot.* Reproduced on page 375 of this volume.

others may best clear through the office force of the non-official bi-racial committee. Such governmental functionaries as social workers, policemen, policewomen, school teachers, recreation supervisors, building inspectors, and health inspectors furnish reports on conditions to their supervisors which can be made to include more adequate and specific information on Negro conditions and Negro-white relations. These governmental reports, clearing through the appropriate channels, can then be made available as a part of official routine—at least in summary form—to the official bureau of race relations and there "processed" to create the crystallizations discussed as part of the second function of the twin organizations. On the other hand, the secretariat of the civic bi-racial committee may arrange to obtain frequent reports from these unofficial co-operators: private social workers, labor leaders, ministers, school teachers working in an unofficial capacity, physicians, lawyers, bartenders, barbers, and a group of trained and paid public opinion interviewers.

24. These reports from *unofficial sources* of this kind will have the two merits of (1) supplying a check upon the official facts and assessments, and (2) of furnishing less formal and probably more incisive insights into evolving tendencies. The specific kinds of reports that should be received from the groups of informants are, in general, those set forth in the previous chapter as eight areas of symptoms of the riot virus. These areas are: (1) opinions and sentiments, (2) rumors—the verbal "milling process," (3) racial frictions, (4) demagogic groups, (5) juvenile delinquency, (6) police behavior, (7) overcrowding, and (8) employment. The formulations required for reports on these symptoms will be apparent from our discussion of the second program element.

2. *Constant Integration and Analysis of Facts*

25. The reports obtained directly or through supervisors in summary form would be such that the official bureau of race relations and the unofficial secretariat may be able to make them contribute to one or more of four kinds of generalizations. These generalizations may be:

26. a. *Bi-Racial Indexes.* (These assessments may be prepared by the official bureau of race relations from official reports.) Through the use of statistics on arrests, reported difficulties on buses, streetcars, in stores and restaurants, in schools and factories, records of industrial absentees and school truancies, and similar developments, an index can be established that will give a rough composite "reading" on the com-

parative calmness or feverishness of the bi-racial situation at frequent intervals. If staff and funds are available, this device would be made more useful by preparing Bi-Racial Indexes for each area of the city so that the fever-spots may be localized and may be related more easily and directly to local problems of immigration, housing, employment, antagonistic sentiments, and the like.

27. b. *Public Opinion Polls.* (These measurements may be prepared by the unofficial secretariat.) While public opinion polls yield merely a report on "surface reactions" to questions put by a stranger, they do measure the extent to which race tensions under such conditions are being verbalized in public. With such qualifications, discussed in detail in the preceding chapter (9), opinion polls can furnish a useful "running check" on developments, in terms of such significant social groupings as area, employment, age, sex, religion, and race. Naturally, great care needs to be exercised in the construction and pretesting of questions and in the selection and training of interviewers as well as in the mechanics of sampling. Fortunately in many cities fairly adequate organizations exist through which interviewing services may be obtained at less cost than would be involved in setting up one's own system. Such an arrangement, has, however, the disadvantage of making one dependent upon the relatively untrained interviewers found in many such organizations, interviewers lacking especially in the psychological training that would permit them to aid materially in the next type of generalization.

28. c. *Race Sentiments Barometer.* (This estimate of tensions may be prepared by civic committee's secretariat, subject to criticisms and suggestions from the official bureau of race relations and its supervising commission.) In addition to the statistical materials summarized in the Bi-Racial Indexes and Public Opinion Polls, competent reporters will be able to send in shrewd qualitative estimates of popular sentiments and tensions that should give more adequate assessments of bi-racial tendencies than either the Index or the Polls. Such a Race Sentiments Barometer, quantitatively rough though it must be, can estimate the intensity of emotional drives, and this will furnish a dimension not revealed by either the Index or the Polls. The Index, in other words, can be used to sum up the current behavior situation; the Polls can summarize verbal reactions to Negro-white situations; the Race Sentiments Barometer can give a basis for more fundamental diagnosis and more accurate prediction through determining the power of the emotional drives at work, the significance of the societal and psychological "ground swells."

29. d. *Specific Intelligence.* (This may be assembled by both the official race relations bureau and the secretariat of the civic bi-racial committee.) In addition to these over-all assessments of mass behavior and emotion, information should be compiled continuously on the specific program activities of anti-white and anti-Negro leaders and organizations. When they give out statements, picket Negro or white meetings, organize publicity efforts, start to expand their organizations, or whatever, *immediate estimates* of the effect and success of such actions should be made available to those who are entrusted with implementation efforts, with those involved in *Constant translation of analyses into* THINGS TO DO, as discussed below. In addition to the immediate use of such reports (frequently not of sufficient news significance to reach the pages of newspapers), they should be suitably filed by whichever organization collected them (or both) in order to give a more and more detailed picture of the prejudicial activities of intolerant and subversive white and Negro leaders and groups. It is quite possible that some such dossiers will eventually accumulate and present a composite perspective that none of the individual items could reveal: a picture of anti-social activity sufficiently damning to warrant legal indictment and trial.

30. Through these four types of summaries, the two organizations may have in effect a fever chart of the city, a chart that could not only guide their efforts but also the more long-term Negro-white projects to which reference is made at the end of this chapter But, as we said at the outset, facts are not enough for riot-prevention purposes. What can we *do* with such information once we have it at our finger-tips? Let us set forth at least a few of the effective things that we can *do* to offset riots:

3. *Constant Translation of Analyses into* THINGS TO DO

31. This significant program function is also the one on which we are most likely to fall down. People like to talk. Under compulsion, they will consent to gather facts and even permit the facts gathered to have some influence upon their opinions, especially if that influence cannot be interpreted as an opinion change in a "face-losing" sense. But once we get that far, the next step is likely to fall short of real implementation in any effective sense. It usually amounts to nothing more than passing a resolution or writing a memo that will *ask someone else or some other organization* to do the necessary job. This resolution or memo then permits us to feel that we have "done our duty" and to blame any bad consequences on the fact that the receivers

of our suggestions neither liked to be given suggestions nor to do anything effective!

32. For our present purposes, we shall have to assume that the organizations involved are sufficiently earnest in their desire to eliminate race disorders that they will provide the "persistent and effective follow-through" that Mr. Baldwin did not find in Detroit. We shall also assume that the members of the organizations will not waste time futilely on discussing the "relative merits" in the direction of their policy-making of segregation as opposed to gradual democratic assimilation. Candid students of the white-Negro situation in the United States generally agree that segregation ceased to be practical one day in the summer of 1619 when Negroes first stepped ashore as slaves in Jamestown, Virginia. The impact of the Negro upon American culture and the proportion of mulattoes in the American population demonstrate the cultural and physiological futility of all artificial restraints upon intermingling. We must also remember that the blind hate of intolerance is a product not of association but of what sociologists call "social distance." Let us never lose sight of three great lessons of the Detroit tragedy! People who had become neighbors in mixed Negro and white neighborhoods did not riot against each other. The students of Wayne University—white and black—went to their classes in peace throughout Bloody Monday. And there were no disorders between the white and black workers in the war plants, according to U. S. Attorney General Francis Biddle and to Major General Henry S. Aurand of the U. S. Army.

33. Rather than to such an oversimplified "solution" as segregation, one must look to a vast number of expedient *adjustments* through which to combat race frictions. Through adjusting situations here and there with as much wisdom as possible, through handling case after case as it arises, the tensions between the races may be eased and offset, eventually relaxed and removed, and healthier patterns of race contact may be fostered.

34. Without more ado concerning the nature of what we should do to ease tensions, let us turn to the ways in which a public relations program for the lessening of race frictions can be implemented. The actions we recommend fall into these general categories: for the official commission, (a) requests for official action, and (b) publicity; for the unofficial civic committee, (c) public education, (d) pressure activities, and (e) bi-racial experiences.

35. a. *Requests for Official Action.* Because of its official position, the bi-racial commission can make requests, complaints, and prepare

directives that will command consideration within the city government and in other governmental circles, consideration that the resolutions of the civic committee cannot command. Such requests will naturally be as multifarious as are the necessary and expedient adjustments in race relations. They will involve projects ranging from the construction of public housing to the proper enforcement of some relatively minor city ordinance. Proposals for official action originating in the civic committees may, in many cases, appropriately be referred first to the official bi-racial commission.

36. b. and c. *Publicity and Public Education.* (To be handled by the official commission and the civic committee, with activities divided between them or carried on jointly as seems most wise. The antipathy in certain circles to "official propaganda" of any sort naturally must be taken into consideration.) Through such channels as daily and weekly newspapers, radio stations, schools, churches, women's and men's clubs, labor unions, publicity materials concerning race relations should be given virtually incessant dissemination. This mass-distribution of facts cannot be achieved merely through throwing memos into the laps of editors, teachers, preachers, and program-makers. We must realize that the race relations message must compete with dozens of other messages, many of them nearer and dearer to the tastes of our hoped-for public education media. To be assured of an adequate and reasonably continual acceptance of our messages, we must translate them into the forms most easily usable by our proposed media.

37. Daily and weekly newspapers want well-written accurate news stories from dependable sources that they can insert into their columns with a minimum of editing. They also want the "stuff" out of which editorial writers, columnists, and feature writers can easily create the kind of articles *they want to write.* Radio stations do not want speeches, except in rare cases; they want attractive programs or inserts for existing programs that will make people want to stay tuned to their wave length. Schools want timely teaching aids that will fit into existing courses, that will help their teachers do a better job with the mental and physical equipment they possess. Schools and churches, unions and clubs can also be induced to utilize speakers whom they can schedule, preferably in advance, and whom they can trust to present before their respective pupils, parishioners, and members an "acceptable message."

38. Frequent opportunities present themselves for passing on bi-racial information and ideas for action to those who can go out and transmit them to great numbers of other people. Immediate examples

are teacher-training colleges, teachers' institutes, program-making conferences for club leaders, special short courses and the like for ministers, real estate operators, insurance salesmen, and others. Suitable program materials can be offered free or at a nominal price, in order to obtain widespread distribution of the message. Such materials may well include posters, play scripts, games, pamphlets, slide films, and, if possible, motion pictures. Through these media, whites in particular can be given what they sadly lack: a faithful and intimate picture of Negroes; and both groups should be presented with the real challenges to inter-racial understanding.

39. To get the most effective inter-racial understanding in the areas in which it is most needed, education and publicity efforts must also reach "the lower depths" of a community. In other words, means must be found to combat intolerance in the less "genteel" pool rooms, saloons, "social clubs," and other "joints." These are the places where potentially the most riotous elements congregate. Possibly manufacturers of alcoholic beverages and chewing tobaccos will be willing to co-operate in a local campaign of propaganda favorable to bi-racial understanding.

40 d. *Pressure Activities.* To combat riots, we must learn how to turn organizational pressures powerfully into focus so as to direct them towards the accomplishment of needed objectives. Such pressures are useful to overcome the apathy of governmental agencies; to demonstrate to the community that anti-Negro and anti-white leaders and groups do not represent majority opinions and interests and even constitute dangers to the American way of life; and to obtain financial support for constructive programs.

41. The organization of such group pressures is best handled—for the sake of effectiveness and flexibility—by the civic committee and involves more than the simple expedient of sending a letter to the presidents of a list of clubs and asking for "suitable action." Your project—a slum-clearance, recreational, police, or possibly a legislative measure—literally needs to be "sold" to the organizations in question; this "sales work" can be done most efficiently as a part of a constant educational campaign that must have been in operation for a reasonable period of time before an actual request for pressure-support is made. When such assurance of support and interest has been prepared, it should be possible to get barrages of wires or letters to legislators or other governmental functionaries; to arrange impressive delegations to attend hearings or to wait upon officials; to bring about the passage of publicity-creating resolutions when such actions are indicated as

desirable ones by the circumstances; to get financial aid; or to do whatever else may be indicated.

42. e. *Bi-racial Experiences.* Possibly the most dramatic kind of implementation for a bi-racial program is one that builds on this homely truth exemplified in the Detroit race riots of the week of June 20, 1943. *Neighbors—black and white—do not riot against each other* This principle has been utilized in another area by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, its demonstrations of the dramatic educational value of its "trialogue teams." These teams consist of a Roman Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi, and a Protestant clergyman or of similarly representative laymen. These men speak together before wide ranges of audiences—in schools, public auditoriums, before clubs, labor unions, churches, lodges, civic associations and over the radio—and thus help to give people of our different religious faiths favorable experiences in the human qualities of those professing other faiths. Similarly dramatic *bi-racial* teams would furnish a way of giving white and Negro audiences better opportunities to come into contact with outstanding people of the other race on terms of simple and effective equality and respect.

43 Other types of bi-racial experiences can also be arranged. They should all have as their goal the synthesis of neighborly attitudes for large numbers of people. They may well include joint meetings of Negro and white organizations—young people's groups, lodges, women's clubs, service bodies—with a Negro or white group serving as host and the other group providing dramatic or musical entertainment. Such joint acts as inter-racial dinners and celebrations of the Holy Communion have been tried in certain cities, but they have not reached wide enough acceptance as yet And this seems odd, especially in the case of the Lord's Supper.

44 Among the most practical bi-racial associations are those made necessary by the conditions of employment. Employers, labor leaders, and joint employer-employee committees have done spectacular work in certain industries and cities in creating conditions that brought about the employment of whites and Negroes with a minimum of friction and with resulting inter-racial neighborliness. In spite of the anti-Negro strike at the Detroit Packard plant early in June, 1943—a situation responsibly attributed to Ku Klux Klan agitation—many leaders from other walks of life as well as the general-circulation newspapers commented favorably on the results during the Bloody Monday riots of tolerance-producing experiences and education in the factories and in union ranks. An aggressive program of inter-racial co-operation

upon the part of the Greater New York Industrial Union Council and of such specific unions as the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, the Transport Workers, and the National Maritime Union, and of the Harlem-Riverside C.I.O. Community Council all bore fruit in the inter-racial union campaign to stop the Harlem "Negro Uprising" of 1943. The A. F. of L. Restaurant and Hotel Workers and the C.I.O. Federal Workers have also demonstrated in Washington the value of their work in the promotion of co-operation and in the prevention of inter-racial clashes in that tense city

45. For the sake of clarity, let us now summarize here the major steps to be taken to prevent race riots:

46. 1. Prevail upon the Governor or Mayor to set up an official bi-racial commission of effective leaders to work within the governmental structure. See that this commission has a competent executive who understands both governmental organization and public relations techniques. (See diagram, page 123.)[4]

47. 2. Set up a strong independent bi-racial committee, or, if practical, strengthen an existing bi-racial organization. Such an organization will have the advantages of flexibility and informality and of being able to organize pressures to compel official actions See that this committee has a competent executive who understands how committees function, how civic organizations can achieve program objectives, and how public relations problems are handled. (See diagram, page 123.)[4]

48. 3. Through both of these organizations—co-operatively or separately—report and check constantly

(a) opinions, sentiments, and tensions affecting Negro-white relations
(b) incidents of race frictions
(c) basic factors in living and working that make for tensions, and
(d) intelligence on anti-Negro and anti-white agitators and organizations.

49. 4. Through the two organizations, work out simplified and effective means—such as a Bi-racial Index, Public Opinion Polls, a Race Sentiments Barometer, and a fund of specific intelligence—for integrating and assessing the information gathered. If there is a division of this labor between the organizations, each should continue to maintain effective checks on the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the other's work

[4] See page 375 of this volume

50. 5. Reject all panaceas as impractical. Segregation in particular must be rejected at the outset, since the only practical preventive course is one involving thousands of workable adjustments which will in effect implement the Golden Rule and permit the growth of healthy race relations.

51. 6. Emphasize persisting action in the entire program for the prevention of race riots; constantly translate facts and analyses into THINGS TO DO—and see that they are done.

52. 7. In the THINGS TO DO, include especially

(a) the organization of the constructive pressures of the community to build sound program projects and to counteract anti-Negro and anti-white efforts, and

(b) the dramatization of sound race relations through a program of public education and bi-racial experiences such as we suggest above.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary. From the various meanings given for each, select and put in your notebook the meaning which is appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes which may be involved in its formation.

symptoms (l. 2)	synthesis (l. 466)
competent (l. 2)	compete (l. 383)
persistent (l. 8)	diminution (l. 28)
prevention (l. 36)	panacea (l. 40)
implement (l. 73)	instrument (l. 87)
segregation (l. 331)	congregate (l. 420)

2. Treat the following words as you have treated those in the preceding list. Also note that the members of each pair derive from a common root. Trace them back to this root, and find examples of other words also derived from it. Also state what elements of the original meaning of the root are to be found in the derivatives.

agencies (l. 7), reactions (l. 279)
agitation (l. 482), counteract (l. 160)
specific (l. 24), sufficient (l. 77)
significance (l. 296), artificial (l. 337)
aspects (l. 202), perspective (l. 301)

3. Throughout the section you will find effective use of punctuation for clarity of expression. Note particularly the colon, the semicolon, the comma, and the dash in paragraphs 1, 10, 24, 28, 34, 38, 40, 41, and 42.
4. What is the thought relation before and after the colon?
5. In which places does the semicolon stand between main clauses? In which between expressions that are not clauses? Are the expressions before and after the semicolon always coordinate with each other?
6. In a series why do you between the several elements sometimes find commas and sometimes semicolons?
7. Although the chapter from which our article is taken is well organized and although the authors have taken more than ordinary pains to make the organization easy for the reader to see, the actual plan of the chapter is not found until paragraph 8. Note, however, that more or less specific references to the existence of a plan appear in almost every preceding paragraph, beginning with the first. Can you see any advantage of this method over that which would put the chapter plan in the first or second paragraph?
8. In addition to outlining the chapter, what limiting of a broad topic does paragraph 8 provide?
9. Note that paragraph 9 proposes two different organizations. Is one of these exclusively white and the other exclusively Negro? Do you think they should be? Do you find the arguments of paragraphs 12 and 13 convincing?
10. What suggestion is there in the second sentence of paragraph 10 that one of the two organizations proposed in paragraph 9 should have official standing?
11. What compensating advantage over the official committee of paragraph 10 would the civic committee of paragraph 11 have? Note also paragraph 14.
12. If the work of a committee is usually done by the chairman, as paragraph 17 suggests, why have other members?
13. How practical does the paragraph 18 outline of work for the two committees seem to you? How many of the items in this outline and in the discussion following can you locate in the chart on page 375?
14. What evidence is there in paragraphs 21-22 that racial fact

finding should come from a variety of sources? Do you think the proposed variety adequate?

15. Where on the chart (see page 375) do you find the items listed in paragraph 24? If you lived in a community with a race problem, are these the kind of facts you would want brought out?
16. To how much of the material following paragraph 25 is this paragraph introductory? What is the relation of paragraph 30 to this material and to what immediately follows?
17. Where on the chart do you find the items discussed in paragraphs 26-29?
18. What reference forward do you find in paragraph 29 to the third major task of the official commission and the civic committee?
19. What commonly proposed solution of the race problem does paragraph 32 reject? What do you think of the evidence submitted in favor of the rejection?
20. To how much of the material following paragraph 34 is this paragraph introductory?
21. How would an official bi-racial public housing program (paragraph 35) work in practice? Have you known of any such project?
22. How many of the *Publicity and Public Education* suggestions of paragraphs 36-39 seem to be practicable? Have you known of any attempt to promote such suggestions? Would you think an inter-racial program should be carried into saloons and other community "joints"?
23. Examine in detail the considerable list of bi-racial experiences listed in paragraphs 42-44. Which of them seem to you practicable? Do any seem undesirable?
24. Note the first five words of paragraph 45. Do you think the summary in paragraphs 45-51 desirable? Would you if the selection were a short one? How adequate is the summary?
25. This article makes very specific proposals for the prevention of racial disorder. Consider these proposals, individually and as a whole, against the background of possible white-Negro conflict in your own community. When you have formed a definite opinion on some aspect of the problem, write a paper or prepare a talk as your instructor may direct.

IX

What Will You Do with Our Schools?

The one thing about education on which everybody is agreed is that it is not now and never has been satisfactory; and those who study it most are the most dissatisfied with it. The likelihood is strong that in your generation the entire educational system will undergo profound changes both as to content and as to method. As a leader in your community it will soon become your responsibility to help decide on these changes and put them into effect. The present generation bequeaths to you a tremendous amount of thinking, discussion, and experiment, but almost no general agreement either as to what we should teach or how we should teach it. The articles in this section by Arnold and Huxley, President Conant, Professor Jones, and Milton S. Mayer will introduce you to several significant points of view and give you some basis for the clear thinking on which your action should be based.

Science and Culture

THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY

In the early sixties Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–1895) identified himself with the advocates of a broadened education in science, and before 1880 he had become their acknowledged leader. When, therefore, in that year Sir Josiah Mason's Science College was opened in the great industrial city of Birmingham, England, it was logical that Huxley should be chosen to deliver the dedicatory address. It was logical also that in this address Huxley should present the claims of science to a more prominent place in the scheme of general education than it had hitherto enjoyed. So adequately did he do the job that to this day most students of education accept Huxley's statement as the outstanding challenge to the earlier predominance of the humanities. [From *Science and Culture,* Macmillan and Company, London, 1881.]

1. FOR US CHILDREN of the nineteenth century the establishment of a college under the conditions of Sir Josiah Mason's Trust has a significance apart from any which it could have possessed a hundred years ago. It appears to be an indication that we are reaching the crisis of the battle, or rather of the long series of battles, which have been fought over education in a campaign which began long before Priestley's time and will probably not be finished just yet.

2. In the last century the combatants were the champions of ancient literature on the one side and those of modern literature on the other; but some thirty years ago the contest became complicated by the appearance of a third army ranged round the banner of Physical Science.

3. I am not aware that any one has authority to speak in the name of this new host. For it must be admitted to be somewhat of a guerrilla force, composed largely of irregulars, each of whom fights pretty much for his own hand. But the impressions of a full private who has seen a good deal of service in the ranks respecting the present position of affairs and the conditions of a permanent peace may not be devoid of interest; and I do not know that I could make a better use of the present opportunity than by laying them before you.

4. Once upon a time a boy, with nothing to depend upon but his own vigorous nature, was thrown into the thick of the struggle for existence in the midst of a great manufacturing population. He seems to have had a hard fight, inasmuch as, by the time he was thirty years of age, his total disposable funds amounted to twenty pounds. Nevertheless, middle life found him giving proof of his comprehension of the practical problems he had been roughly called upon to solve, by a career of remarkable prosperity.

5. Finally, having reached old age with its well-earned surroundings of "honour, troops of friends," the hero of my story bethought himself of those who were making a like start in life, and how he could stretch out a helping hand to them.

6. After long and anxious reflection this successful practical man of business could devise nothing better than to provide them with the means of obtaining "sound, extensive, and practical scientific knowledge." And he devoted a large part of his wealth and five years of incessant work to this end.

7. I need not point the moral of a tale which, as the solid and spacious fabric of the Scientific College assures us, is no fable, nor can anything which I could say intensify the force of this practical answer to practical objections.

8. The only question worth discussion is, whether the conditions, under which the work of the College is to be carried out, are such as to give it the best possible chance of achieving permanent success.

9. Sir Josiah Mason, without doubt most wisely, has left very large freedom of action to the trustees, to whom he proposes ultimately to commit the administration of the College, so that they may be able to adjust its arrangements in accordance with the changing conditions of the future. But, with respect to three points, he has laid most explicit injunctions upon both administrators and teachers.

10. Party politics are forbidden to enter into the minds of either, so far as the work of the College is concerned; theology is as sternly banished from its precincts; and finally, it is especially declared that the College shall make no provision for "mere literary instruction and education."

11. It does not concern me at present to dwell upon the first two injunctions any longer than may be needful to express my full conviction of their wisdom. But the third prohibition brings us face to face with opponents of scientific education, who are by no means moribund, but alive, alert, and formidable.

12. It is not impossible that we shall hear this express exclusion of

"literary instruction and education" from a College which, nevertheless, professes to give a high and efficient education, sharply criticised. Certainly the time was that the Levites of culture would have sounded their trumpets against its walls as against an educational Jericho.

13. I am not acquainted with Sir Josiah Mason's reasons for the action which he has taken; but if, as I apprehend is the case, he refers to the ordinary classical course of our schools and universities by the name of "mere literary instruction and education," I venture to offer sundry reasons of my own in support of that action.

14. For I hold very strongly by two convictions—The first is, that neither the discipline nor the subject-matter of classical education is of such direct value to the student of physical science as to justify the expenditure of valuable time upon either; and the second is, that for the purpose of attaining real culture, an exclusively scientific education is at least as effectual as an exclusively literary education.

15. I need hardly point out to you that these opinions, especially the latter, are diametrically opposed to those of the great majority of educated Englishmen, influenced as they are by school and university traditions. In their belief, culture is obtainable only by a liberal education; and a liberal education is synonymous, not merely with education and instruction in literature, but in one particular form of literature, namely, that of Greek and Roman antiquity. They hold that the man who has learned Latin and Greek, however little, is educated; while he who is versed in other branches of knowledge, however deeply, is a more or less respectable specialist, not admissible into the cultured caste. The stamp of the educated man, the University degree, is not for him.

16. I am too well acquainted with the generous catholicity of spirit, the true sympathy with scientific thought, which pervades the writings of our chief apostle of culture to identify him with these opinions; and yet one may cull from one and another of those epistles to the Philistines, which so much delight all who do not answer to that name, sentences which lend them some support.

17. Mr. Arnold tells us that the meaning of culture is "to know the best that has been thought and said in the world." It is the criticism of life contained in literature. That criticism regards "Europe as being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working to a common result; and whose members have, for their common outfit, a knowledge of Greek, Roman, and Eastern antiquity, and of one another. Special, local, and temporary advantages being put out of account, that modern nation will in the intellectual and spiritual sphere make most progress, which most thor-

oughly carries out this programme. And what is that but saying that we too, all of us, as individuals, the more thoroughly we carry it out, shall make the more progress?" [1]

18. We have here to deal with two distinct propositions. The first, that a criticism of life is the essence of culture; the second, that literature contains the materials which suffice for the contruction of such a criticism.

19. I think that we must all assent to the first proposition. For culture certainly means something quite different from learning or technical skill. It implies the possession of an ideal, and the habit of critically estimating the value of things by comparison with a theoretic standard. Perfect culture should supply a complete theory of life, based upon a clear knowledge alike of its possibilities and of its limitations.

20. But we may agree to all this, and yet strongly dissent from the assumption that literature alone is competent to supply this knowledge. After having learnt all that Greek, Roman, and Eastern antiquity have thought and said, and all that modern literatures have to tell us, it is not self-evident that we have laid a sufficiently broad and deep foundation for that criticism of life, which constitutes culture.

21. Indeed, to any one acquainted with the scope of physical science, it is not at all evident. Considering progress only in the "intellectual and spiritual sphere," I find myself wholly unable to admit that either nations or individuals will really advance, if their common outfit draws nothing from the stores of physical science. I should say that an army, without weapons of precision and with no particular base of operations, might more hopefully enter upon a campaign on the Rhine, than a man, devoid of a knowledge of what physical science has done in the last century, upon a criticism of life.

22. When a biologist meets with an anomaly, he instinctively turns to the study of development to clear it up. The rationale of contradictory opinions may with equal confidence be sought in history.

23. It is, happily, no new thing that Englishmen should employ their wealth in building and endowing institutions for educational purposes. But, five or six hundred years ago, deeds of foundation expressed or implied conditions as nearly as possible contrary to those which have been thought expedient by Sir Josiah Mason. That is to say, physical science was practically ignored, while a certain literary training was enjoined as a means to the acquirement of knowledge which was essentially theological.

[1] *Essays in Criticism*, p. 37.

24. The reason of this singular contradiction between the actions of men alike animated by a strong and disinterested desire to promote the welfare of their fellows, is easily discovered.

25. At that time, in fact, if any one desired knowledge beyond such as could be obtained by his own observation, or by common conversation, his first necessity was to learn the Latin language, inasmuch as all the higher knowledge of the western world was contained in works written in that language. Hence, Latin grammar, with logic and rhetoric, studied through Latin, were the fundamentals of education. With respect to the substance of the knowledge imparted through this channel, the Jewish and Christian Scriptures were held to contain a complete and infallibly true body of information.

26. That the study of nature—further than was requisite for the satisfaction of everyday wants—should have any bearing on human life was far from the thoughts of men thus trained. Indeed, as nature had been cursed for man's sake, it was an obvious conclusion that those who meddled with nature were likely to come into pretty close contact with Satan. And, if any born scientific investigator followed his instincts, he might safely reckon upon earning the reputation, and probably upon suffering the fate, of a sorcerer.

27. Had the western world been left to itself in Chinese isolation, there is no saying how long this state of things might have endured. But, happily, it was not left to itself. Even earlier than the thirteenth century, the development of Moorish civilization in Spain and the great movement of the Crusades had introduced the leaven which, from that day to this, has never ceased to work. At first through the intermediation of Arabic translations, afterwards by the study of the originals, the western nations of Europe became acquainted with the writings of the ancient philosophers and poets, and, in time, with the whole of the vast literature of antiquity.

28. Whatever there was of high intellectual aspiration or dominant capacity in Italy, France, Germany, and England, spent itself for centuries in taking possession of the rich inheritance left by the dead civilizations of Greece and Rome. Marvellously aided by the invention of printing, classical learning spread and flourished. Those who possessed it prided themselves on having attained the highest culture then within the reach of mankind.

29. And justly. For, saving Dante on his solitary pinnacle, there was no figure in modern literature at the time of the Renascence to compare with the men of antiquity; there was no art to compete with their sculpture; there was no physical science but that which Greece

had created. Above all, there was no other example of perfect intellectual freedom—of the unhesitating acceptance of reason as the sole guide to truth and the supreme arbiter of conduct.

30. The new learning necessarily soon exerted a profound influence upon education. The language of the monks and schoolmen seemed little better than gibberish to scholars fresh from Virgil and Cicero, and the study of Latin was placed upon a new foundation. Moreover, Latin itself ceased to afford the sole key to knowledge. The student who sought the highest thought of antiquity, found only a second-hand reflection of it in Roman literature, and turned his face to the full light of the Greeks. And after a battle, not altogether dissimilar to that which is at present being fought over the teaching of physical science, the study of Greek was recognized as an essential element of all higher education.

31. Thus the Humanists, as they were called, won the day; and the great reform which they effected was of incalculable service to mankind. But the Nemesis of all reformers is finality; and the reformers of education, like those of religion, fell into the profound, however common, error of mistaking the beginning for the end of the work of reformation.

32. The representatives of the Humanists, in the nineteenth century, take their stand upon classical education as the sole avenue to culture, as firmly as if we were still in the age of Renascence. Yet, surely, the present intellectual relations of the modern and the ancient worlds are profoundly different from those which obtained three centuries ago. Leaving aside the existence of a great and characteristically modern literature, of modern painting, and, especially, of modern music, there is one feature of the present state of the civilized world which separates it more widely from the Renascence than the Renascence was separated from the middle ages.

33. This distinctive character of our own times lies in the vast and constantly increasing part which is played by natural knowledge. Not only is our daily life shaped by it, not only does the prosperity of millions of men depend upon it, but our whole theory of life has long been influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the general conceptions of the universe, which have been forced upon us by physical science.

34. The purely classical education advocated by the representatives of the Humanists in our day, gives no inkling of all this. A man may be a better scholar than Erasmus, and know no more of the chief causes of the present intellectual fermentation than Erasmus did. Scholarly and pious persons, worthy of all respect, favour us with allocutions upon

the sadness of the antagonism of science to their mediaeval way of thinking, which betray an ignorance of the first principles of scientific investigation, an incapacity for understanding what a man of science means by veracity, and an unconsciousness of the weight of established scientific truths, which is almost comical.

35. Thus I venture to think that the pretensions of our modern Humanists to the possession of the monopoly of culture and to the exclusive inheritance of the spirit of antiquity must be abated, if not abandoned. But I should be very sorry that anything I have said should be taken to imply a desire on my part to depreciate the value of classical education, as it might be and as it sometimes is. The native capacities of mankind vary no less than their opportunities; and while culture is one, the road by which one man may best reach it is widely different from that which is most advantageous to another. Again, while scientific education is yet inchoate and tentative, classical education is thoroughly well organized upon the practical experience of generations of teachers. So that, given ample time for learning and destination for ordinary life, or for a literary career, I do not think that a young Englishman in search of culture can do better than follow the course usually marked out for him, supplementing its deficiencies by his own efforts.

36. But for those who mean to make science their serious occupation; or who intend to follow the profession of medicine; or who have to enter early upon the business of life; for all these, in my opinion, classical education is a mistake; and it is for this reason that I am glad to see "mere literary education and instruction" shut out from the curriculum of Sir Josiah Mason's College, seeing that its inclusion would probably lead to the introduction of the ordinary smattering of Latin and Greek.

37. Nevertheless, I am the last person to question the importance of genuine literary education, or to suppose that intellectual culture can be complete without it. An exclusively scientific training will bring about a mental twist as surely as an exclusively literary training. The value of the cargo does not compensate for a ship's being out of trim; and I should be very sorry to think that the Scientific College would turn out none but lop-sided men.

38. There is no need, however, that such a catastrophe should happen. Instruction in English, French, and German is provided, and thus the three greatest literatures of the modern world are made accessible to the student.

39. French and German, and especially the latter language, are abso-

lutely indispensable to those who desire full knowledge in any department of science. But even supposing that the knowledge of these languages acquired is not more than sufficient for purely scientific purposes, every Englishman has, in his native tongue, an almost perfect instrument of literary expression; and, in his own literature, models of every kind of literary excellence. If an Englishman cannot get literary culture out of his Bible, his Shakespeare, his Milton, neither, in my belief, will the profoundest study of Homer and Sophocles, Virgil and Horace, give it to him.

40. Thus, since the constitution of the College makes sufficient provision for literary as well as for scientific education, and since artistic instruction is also contemplated, it seems to me that a fairly complete culture is offered to all who are willing to take advantage of it.

41. But I am not sure that at this point the "practical" man may not ask what all this talk about culture has to do with an institution, the object of which is defined to be "to promote the prosperity of the manufactures and the industry of the country." He may suggest that what is wanted for this end is not culture, nor even a purely scientific discipline, but simply a knowledge of applied science.

42. I often wish that this phrase "applied science" had never been invented. For it suggests that there is a sort of scientific knowledge of direct practical use, which can be studied apart from another sort of scientific knowledge, which is of no practical utility, and which is termed "pure science." But there is no more complete fallacy than this. What people call applied science is nothing but the application of pure science to particular classes of problems. It consists of deductions from those general principles, established by reasoning and observation, which constitute pure science. No one can safely make these deductions until he has a firm grasp of the principles; and he can obtain that grasp only by personal experience of the operations of observation and of reasoning on which they are founded.

43. Almost all the processes employed in the arts and manufactures fall within the range either of physics or of chemistry. In order to improve them, one must thoroughly understand them; and no one has a chance of really understanding them, unless he has obtained that mastery of principles and that habit of dealing with facts, which is given by long-continued and well-directed purely scientific training in the physical and the chemical laboratory. So that there really is no question as to the necessity of purely scientific discipline, even if the work of the College were limited by the narrowest interpretation of its stated aims.

44. And, as to the desirableness of a wider culture than that yielded by science alone, it is to be recollected that the improvement of manufacturing processes is only one of the conditions which contribute to the prosperity of industry. Industry is a means and not an end; and mankind work only to get something which they want. What that something is depends partly on their innate, and partly on their acquired, desires.

45. If the wealth resulting from prosperous industry is to be spent upon the gratification of unworthy desires, if the increasing perfection of manufacturing processes is to be accompanied by an increasing debasement of those who carry them on, I do not see the good of industry and prosperity.

46. Now it is perfectly true that men's views of what is desirable depend upon their characters, and that the innate proclivities to which we give that name are not touched by any amount of instruction. But it does not follow that even mere intellectual education may not, to an indefinite extent, modify the practical manifestation of the characters of men in their actions, by supplying them with motives unknown to the ignorant. A pleasure-loving character will have pleasure of some sort; but, if you give him the choice, he may prefer pleasures which do not degrade him to those which do. And this choice is offered to every man, who possesses in literary or artistic culture a never-failing source of pleasures, which are neither withered by age, nor staled by custom, nor embittered in the recollection by the pangs of self-reproach.

47. If the institution opened to-day fulfills the intention of its founder, the picked intelligences among all classes of the population of this district will pass through it. No child born in Birmingham henceforward, if he have the capacity to profit by the opportunities offered to him, first in the primary and other schools, and afterwards in the Scientific College, need fail to obtain, not merely the instruction, but the culture most appropriate to the conditions of his life.

48. Within these walls, the future employer and the future artisan may sojourn together for a while, and carry, through all their lives, the stamp of the influences then brought to bear upon them. Hence, it is not beside the mark to remind you, that the prosperity of industry depends not merely upon the improvement of manufacturing processes, not merely upon the ennobling of the individual character, but upon a third condition, namely, a clear understanding of the conditions of social life, on the part of both the capitalist and the operative, and their agreement upon common principles of social action. They must learn that social phenomena are as much the expression of natural laws as

any others; that no social arrangements can be permanent unless they harmonize with the requirements of social statics and dynamics; and that, in the nature of things, there is an arbiter whose decisions execute themselves.

49. But this knowledge is only to be obtained by the application of the methods of investigation adopted in physical researches to the investigation of the phenomena of society. Hence, I confess, I should like to see one addition made to the excellent scheme of education propounded for the College, in the shape of provision for the teaching of sociology. For though we are all agreed that party politics are to have no place in the instruction of the College; yet in this country, practically governed as it is now by universal suffrage, every man who does his duty must exercise political functions. And, if the evils which are inseparable from the good of political liberty are to be checked, if the perpetual oscillation of nations between anarchy and despotism is to be replaced by the steady march of self-restraining freedom; it will be because men will gradually bring themselves to deal with political, as they now deal with scientific questions; to be as ashamed of undue haste and partisan prejudice in the one case as in the other; and to believe that the machinery of society is at least as delicate as that of a spinning-jenny, and as little likely to be improved by the meddling of those who have not taken the trouble to master the principles of its action.

50. In conclusion, I am sure that I make myself the mouthpiece of all present in offering to the venerable founder of the Institution, which now commences its beneficent career, our congratulations on the completion of his work; and in expressing the conviction, that the remotest posterity will point to it as a crucial instance of the wisdom which natural piety leads all men to ascribe to their ancestors.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Throughout this address the ideas are simple. If at any point the meaning is not immediately clear it will be not because the thought is difficult but because Huxley's vocabulary is somewhat more mature than your own. At any such point reference to your dictionary for one or two key words will at once show you the meaning of the passage. Make a list of the words you look up. It will give you some notion of the maturity of your own vocabulary.

2. In paragraphs 9 and 10 Huxley announces three "explicit injunctions." Do these indicate three main divisions of the address? In what paragraph is this question answered?
3. In paragraph 13 Huxley mentions "sundry reasons" and in paragraph 14 "two convictions." Which of these expressions controls the remainder of the address? Before answering read carefully, especially paragraphs 36 and 38.
4. In paragraph 24 what do you learn about the content of the following paragraphs from the expression "the reason of this singular contradiction . . . is easily discovered"? Through what paragraphs does the discussion here introduced extend?
5. Observe Huxley's skill in dealing with the "two distinct propositions" of paragraph 18. Which of these does he dispose of quickly? Which does he intend to discuss in detail?
6. In your punctuation of main clauses do you make a discriminating use of the comma, the semicolon, and the period? Does Huxley intend a greater separation of ideas when he uses the semicolon before "but" between the two main clauses in the single sentence of paragraph 2 or when he uses the period before "But" between the second and third sentences of paragraph 3? What can you learn for your own punctuation between main clauses by Huxley's punctuation before "and" and "And" in paragraphs 30 and 31?
7. Make a précis of paragraph 46 or of paragraph 49.
8. Refer to Appendix B-I and then make a graphic or a verbal analysis of paragraph 30 or of paragraph 34.
9. Note the second sentence of paragraph 1 and keep it in mind when you read "The American Scholar Once More" and "Education and Social Improvement" later in this section.
10. Who was the boy of paragraph 4? How appropriate to Huxley's address do you consider the story of the boy?
11. In paragraph 16 does Huxley imply that "our chief apostle of culture," Mr. Arnold, is a member of the Catholic Church?
12. As a brief definition of culture what do you think of the quotation in paragraph 17?
13. What early objections to a study of nature which today seem strange are mentioned in paragraph 26?
14. What reason for the introduction of Greek into the curriculum does paragraph 30 give? Does Huxley consider the reason sound? To what extent do paragraphs 31-36 constitute an argument for now dropping Greek?
15. What sort of literary training do paragraphs 37-40 suggest Huxley would favor? What attitude toward the objection of the "practical" man in paragraph 41 does Huxley take in paragraphs 42-46?

16. What argument against an omission in the curriculum of the Science College does Huxley make in paragraphs 48-49?
17. Take some one idea of Huxley and give your reaction to it in a single paragraph. What, for example, is your personal opinion of the "two convictions" of paragraph 14? Or what are you doing to prevent the "mental twist" of paragraph 37? Or give your own reaction to Huxley's argument for the study of sociology in the Science College.
18. In a longer paper discuss Huxley's address as a whole. Or take some idea suggested in the preceding items and develop it in some detail. Whatever your topic, depend primarily on your own experience, but let your discussion show that in some way your reading of Huxley's address has broadened your own narrow experience. At the appropriate places in your paper make reference to "Science and Culture."

Literature and Science

MATTHEW ARNOLD

Before you read very far into the controversy raging today over the merits of current and historical ideas as material for education you will encounter references to Matthew Arnold (1822-1888), and as soon as you become acquainted with his basic conceptions you will understand that most of what is said today on one side of the argument—even when no mention of his name is made—is largely a present-day application of his ideas.

Matthew Arnold was a close contemporary of Thomas Henry Huxley and in the argument over education which arose with the new growth of scientific knowledge, his chief opponent. In his address at the opening of Sir Josiah Mason's scientific college at Birmingham in 1880, Huxley, possibly with just a touch of satire, called Arnold "our chief apostle of culture" (paragraph 16 of the preceding article); and Arnold at Cambridge University two years later (paragraph 3 of this address) designated Huxley as "the very prince of debaters." Taking Huxley's phrase quite seriously, we may fairly accept Arnold as the most outspoken opponent in the nineteenth century of narrowness in any sphere of life. He feared that the subordination of the humanities to science in education would result in what Robert M. Hutchins in our day has called "the cults that destroy" (later in this section). Perhaps no stronger argument for the classics in education can be found than the address which follows. [Condensed from thirty-nine paragraphs in *Discourses in America,* Macmillan and Company, London, 1885.]

1. THE USUAL EDUCATION in the past has been mainly literary. The question is whether the studies which were long supposed to be the best for all of us are practically the best now; whether others are not better. The tyranny of the past, many think, weighs on us injuriously in the predominance given to letters in education. The question is

raised whether, to meet the needs of our modern life, the predominance ought not now to pass from letters to science; and naturally the question is nowhere raised with more energy than here in the United States. The design of abasing what is called "mere literary instruction and education," and of exalting what is called "sound, extensive, and practical scientific knowledge," is, in this intensely modern world of the United States, even more perhaps than in Europe, a very popular design, and makes great and rapid progress.

2. I am going to ask whether the present movement for ousting letters from their old predominance in education, and for transferring the predominance in education to the natural sciences, whether this brisk and flourishing movement ought to prevail, and whether it is likely that in the end it really will prevail. An objection may be raised which I will anticipate. My own studies have been almost wholly in letters, and my visits to the field of the natural sciences have been very slight and inadequate, although those sciences have always strongly moved my curiosity. A man of letters, it will perhaps be said, is not competent to discuss the comparative merits of letters and natural science as means of education. To this objection I reply, first of all, that his incompetence, if he attempts the discussion but is really incompetent for it, will be abundantly visible; nobody will be taken in; he will have plenty of sharp observers and critics to save mankind from that danger. But the line I am going to follow is, as you will soon discover, so extremely simple that perhaps it may be followed without failure even by one who for a more ambitious line of discussion would be quite incompetent.

3. Some of you may possibly remember a phrase of mine which has been the object of a good deal of comment; an observation to the effect that in our culture, the aim being *to know ourselves and the world*, we have, as the means to this end, *to know the best which has been thought and said in the world*. A man of science, who is also an excellent writer and the very prince of debaters, Professor Huxley, in a discourse at the opening of Sir Josiah Mason's college at Birmingham, laying hold of this phrase, expanded it by quoting some more words of mine, which are these: "The civilised world is to be regarded as now being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working to a common result; and whose members have for their proper outfit a knowledge of Greek, Roman, and Eastern antiquity, and of one another. Special local and temporary advantages being put out of account, that modern nation will in the intellectual

and spiritual sphere make most progress, which most thoroughly carries out this programme."

4. Now on my phrase thus enlarged Professor Huxley remarks that when I speak of the above-mentioned knowledge as enabling us to know ourselves and the world, I assert *literature* to contain the materials which suffice for thus making us know ourselves and the world. But it is not by any means clear, says he, that after having learnt all which ancient and modern literatures have to tell us, we have laid a sufficiently broad and deep foundation for that criticism of life, that knowledge of ourselves and the world, which constitutes culture. On the contrary, Professor Huxley declares that he finds himself "wholly unable to admit that either nations or individuals will really advance if their common outfit draws nothing from the stores of physical science. An army without weapons of precision, and with no particular base of operations, might more hopefully enter upon a campaign on the Rhine, than a man devoid of knowledge of what physical science has done in the last century, upon a criticism of life."

5. This shows how needful it is for those who are to discuss any matter together, to have a common understanding as to the sense of the terms they employ,—how needful, and how difficult. When I speak of knowing Greek and Roman antiquity, as a help to knowing ourselves and the world, I mean more than a knowledge of so much vocabulary, so much grammar, so many portions of authors in the Greek and Latin languages: I mean knowing the Greeks and Romans, and their life and genius, and what they were and did in the world; what we get from them, and what is its value. That, at least, is the ideal; and when we talk of endeavouring to know Greek and Roman antiquity, as a help to knowing ourselves and the world, we mean endeavouring so to know them as to satisfy this ideal, however much we may still fall short of it.

6. The same also as to knowing our own and other modern nations, with the like aim of getting to understand ourselves and the world. To know the best that has been thought and said by the modern nations is to know, says Professor Huxley, "only what modern *literatures* have to tell us; it is the criticism of life contained in modern literature." And yet "the distinctive character of our times," he urges, "lies in the vast and constantly increasing part which is played by natural knowledge." And how, therefore, can a man, devoid of knowledge of what physical science has done in the last century, enter hopefully upon a criticism of modern life?

7. Let us, I say, be agreed about the meaning of the terms we are

using. I talk of knowing the best which has been thought and uttered in the world; Professor Huxley says this means knowing *literature*. Literature is a large word; it may mean everything written with letters or printed in a book. Euclid's *Elements* and Newton's *Principia* are thus literature. All knowledge that reaches us through books is literature. But by literature Professor Huxley means *belles lettres*. He means to make me say that knowing the best which has been thought and said by the modern nations is knowing their *belles lettres* and no more. And this is no sufficient equipment, he argues, for a criticism of modern life. But as I do not mean, by knowing ancient Rome, knowing merely more or less of Latin *belles lettres*, and taking no account of Rome's military, and political, and legal, and administrative work in the world; and as, by knowing ancient Greece, I understand knowing her as the giver of Greek art, and the guide to a free and right use of reason and to scientific method, and the founder of our mathematics and physics and astronomy and biology—I understand knowing her as all this, and not merely knowing certain Greek poems, and histories, and treatises, and speeches—so as to the knowledge of modern nations also. By knowing modern nations, I mean not merely knowing their *belles lettres*, but knowing also what has been done by such men as Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, Darwin. To know Italian *belles lettres* is not to know Italy, and to know English *belles lettres* is not to know England. Into knowing Italy and England there comes a great deal more, Galileo and Newton amongst it. The reproach of being a superficial humanism, a tincture of *belles letters*, may attach rightly enough to some other disciplines; but to the particular discipline recommended when I proposed knowing the best that has been thought and said in the world it does not apply. In that best I certainly include what in modern times has been thought and said by the great observers and knowers of nature.

8. There is, therefore, really no question between Professor Huxley and me as to whether knowing the great results of the modern scientific study of nature is not required as a part of our culture, as well as knowing the products of literature and art. But to follow the processes by which those results are reached ought, say the friends of physical science, to be made the staple of education for the bulk of mankind. And here there does arise a question between those whom Professor Huxley calls with playful sarcasm "the Levites of culture" and those whom the poor humanist is sometimes apt to regard as its Nebuchadnezzars.

9. The great results of the scientific investigation of nature we are

agreed upon knowing, but how much of our study are we bound to give to the processes by which those results are reached? The results have their visible bearing on human life. But all the processes, too, all the items of fact by which those results are reached and established are interesting. All knowledge is interesting to a wise man, and the knowledge of nature is interesting to all men. It is very interesting to know, that, from the albuminous white of the egg, the chick in the egg gets the materials for its flesh, bones, blood, and feathers; while from the fatty yolk of the egg, it gets the heat and energy which enable it at length to break its shell and begin the world. It is less interesting, perhaps, but still it is interesting, to know that when a taper burns, the wax is converted into carbonic acid and water. Moreover, it is quite true that the habit of dealing with facts, which is given by the study of nature, is, as the friends of physical science praise it for being, an excellent discipline. The appeal, in the study of nature, is constantly to observation and experiment; not only is it said that the thing is so, but we can be made to see that it is so. Not only does a man tell us that when a taper burns the wax is converted into carbonic acid and water, as a man may tell us, if he likes, that Charon is punting his ferry-boat on the river Styx, or that Victor Hugo is a sublime poet, or Mr. Gladstone the most admirable of statesmen; but we are made to see that the conversion into carbonic acid and water does actually happen. This reality of natural knowledge it is, which makes the friends of physical science contrast it, as a knowledge of things, with the humanist's knowledge, which is, say they, a knowledge of words. And hence Professor Huxley is moved to lay it down that "for the purpose of attaining real culture an exclusively scientific education is at least as effectual as an exclusively literary education." And a certain President of the Section for Mechanical Science in the British Association is, in Scripture phrase, "very bold," and declares that if a man, in his mental training, "has substituted literature and history for natural science, he has chosen the less useful alternative." But whether we go these lengths or not, we must all admit that in natural science the habit gained of dealing with facts is a most valuable discipline, and that every one should have some experience of it.

10. More than this, however, is demanded by the reformers. It is proposed to make the training in natural science the main part of education, for the great majority of mankind at any rate. And here, I confess, I part company with the friends of physical science, with whom up to this point I have been agreeing. In differing from them, however, I wish to proceed with the utmost caution and diffidence. The

smallness of my own acquaintance with the disciplines of natural science is ever before my mind, and I am fearful of doing these disciplines an injustice. The ability and pugnacity of the partisans of natural science make them formidable persons to contradict. The tone of tentative inquiry, which befits a being of dim faculties and bounded knowledge, is the tone I would wish to take and not to depart from. At present it seems to me, that those who are for giving to natural knowledge, as they call it, the chief place in the education of the majority of mankind, leave one important thing out of their account: the constitution of human nature. But I put this forward on the strength of some facts not at all recondite, very far from it; facts capable of being stated in the simplest possible fashion, and to which, if I so state them, the man of science will, I am sure, be willing to allow their due weight.

11. Deny the facts altogether, I think, he hardly can. He can hardly deny, that when we set ourselves to enumerate the powers which go to the building up of human life, and say that they are the power of conduct, the power of intellect and knowledge, the power of beauty, and the power of social life and manners,—he can hardly deny that this scheme, though drawn in rough and plain lines enough, and not pretending to scientific exactness, does yet give a fairly true representation of the matter. Human nature is built up by these powers; we have the need for them all. When we have rightly met and adjusted the claims of them all, we shall then be in a fair way for getting soberness and righteousness, with wisdom. This is evident enough, and the friends of physical science would admit it.

12. But perhaps they may not have sufficiently observed another thing: namely, that the several powers just mentioned are not isolated, but there is, in the generality of mankind, a perpetual tendency to relate them one to another in divers ways. With one such way of relating them I am particularly concerned now. Following our instinct for intellect and knowledge, we acquire pieces of knowledge; and presently, in the generality of men, there arises the desire to relate these pieces of knowledge to our sense for conduct, to our sense for beauty,—and there is weariness and dissatisfaction if the desire is baulked. Now in this desire lies, I think, the strength of that hold which letters have upon us.

13. All knowledge is, as I said just now, interesting; and even items of knowledge which from the nature of the case cannot well be related, but must stand isolated in our thoughts, have their interest. Even lists of exceptions have their interest. If we are studying Greek accents, it is interesting to know that *pais* and *pas*, and some other monosyl-

lables of the same form of declension, do not take the circumflex upon the last syllable of the genitive plural, but vary, in this respect, from the common rule. If we are studying physiology, it is interesting to know that the pulmonary artery carries dark blood and the pulmonary vein carries bright blood, departing in this respect from the common rule for the division of labour between the veins and the arteries. But every one knows how we seek naturally to combine the pieces of our knowledge together, to bring them under general rules, to relate them to principles; and how unsatisfactory and tiresome it would be to go on for ever learning lists of exceptions, or accumulating items of fact which must stand isolated.

14. Well, that same need of relating our knowledge, which operates here within the sphere of our knowledge itself, we shall find operating, also, outside that sphere. We experience, as we go on learning and knowing,—the vast majority of us experience,—the need of relating what we have learnt and known to the sense which we have in us for conduct, to the sense which we have in us for beauty.

15. But, no doubt, some kinds of knowledge cannot be made to directly serve the instinct in question, cannot be directly related to the sense for beauty, to the sense for conduct. These are instrument-knowledges; they lead on to other knowledges which can. A man who passes his life in instrument-knowledges is a specialist. They may be invaluable as instruments to something beyond, for those who have the gift thus to employ them; and they may be disciplines in themselves wherein it is useful for everyone to have some schooling. But it is inconceivable that the generality of men should pass all their mental life with Greek accents or with formal logic. My friend Professor Sylvester, who is one of the first mathematicians in the world, holds transcendental doctrines as to the virtues of mathematics, but those doctrines are not for common men. In the very Senate House and heart of our English Cambridge I once ventured, though not without an apology for my profaneness, to hazard the opinion that for the majority of mankind a little mathematics, even, goes a long way. Of course this is quite consistent with their being of immense importance as an instrument to something else; but it is the few who have the aptitude for thus using them, not the bulk of mankind.

16. The natural sciences do not, however, stand on the same footing with these instrument-knowledges. Experience shows us that the generality of men will find more interest in learning that, when a taper burns, the wax is converted into carbonic acid and water, or in learning the explanation of the phenomenon of dew, or in learning how the cir-

culation of the blood is carried on, than they find in learning that the genitive plural of *pais* and *pas* does not take the circumflex on the termination. And one piece of natural knowledge is added to another, and others are added to that, and at last we come to propositions so interesting as Mr. Darwin's famous proposition that "our ancestor was a hairy quadruped furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in his habits." Or we come to propositions of such reach and magnitude as those which Professor Huxley delivers, when he says that the notions of our forefathers about the beginning and the end of the world were all wrong, and that nature is the expression of a definite order with which nothing interferes.

17. Interesting, indeed, these results of science are, important they are, and we should all of us be acquainted with them. But what I now wish you to mark is that we are still, when they are propounded to us and we receive them, we are still in the sphere of intellect and knowledge. And for the generality of men there will be found, I say, to arise, when they have duly taken in the proposition that their ancestor was a "hairy quadruped furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in his habits," there will be found to arise an invincible desire to relate this proposition to the sense in us for conduct, and to the sense in us for beauty. But this the men of science will not do for us, and will hardly even profess to do. They will give us other pieces of knowledge, other facts about other animals and their ancestors, or about plants, or about stones, or about stars; and they may finally bring us to those great "general conceptions of the universe, which are forced upon us all," says Professor Huxley, "by the progress of physical science." But still it will be *knowledge* only which they give us; knowledge not put for us into relation with our sense for conduct, our sense for beauty, and touched with emotion by being so put; not thus put for us, and therefore, to the majority of mankind, after a certain while, unsatisfying, wearying.

18. Have humane letters, then, have poetry and eloquence the power here attributed to them of engaging the emotions, and do they exercise it? And if they have it and exercise it, *how* do they exercise it, so as to exert an influence upon man's sense for conduct, his sense for beauty? And here I answer that I do not know *how* they will exercise it, but that they can and will exercise it I am sure. I do not mean that modern philosophical poets and modern philosophical moralists are to come and relate for us, in express terms, the results of modern scientific research to our instinct for conduct, our instinct for beauty. But I mean that we shall find, as a matter of experience, if we know the best that

has been thought and uttered in the world, we shall find that the art and poetry and eloquence of men who lived, perhaps, long ago, who had the most limited natural knowledge, who had the most erroneous conceptions about many important matters, we shall find that this art, and poetry, and eloquence, have in fact not only the power of refreshing and delighting us; they have also the power,—such is the strength and worth, in essentials, of their authors' criticism of life,—they have a fortifying, and elevating, and quickening, and suggestive power, capable of wonderfully helping us to relate the results of modern science to our need for conduct, our need for beauty. Homer's conceptions of the physical universe were, I imagine, grotesque; but really, under the shock of hearing from modern science that "the world is not subordinated to man's use, and that man is not the cynosure of things terrestrial," I could, for my own part, desire no better comfort than Homer's line,

> "for an enduring heart have the destinies appointed to the children of men"!

19. And the more that men's minds are cleared, the more that the results of science are frankly accepted, the more that poetry and eloquence come to be received and studied as what in truth they really are,—the criticism of life by gifted men, alive and active with extraordinary power at an unusual number of points;—so much the more will the value of humane letters, and of art also, which is an utterance having a like kind of power with theirs, be felt and acknowledged, and their place in education be secured.

20. Let us, therefore, all of us, avoid indeed as much as possible any invidious comparison between the merits of humane letters, as means of education, and the merits of the natural sciences. But when some President of a Section for Mechanical Science insists on making the comparison, and tells us that "he who in his training has substituted literature and history for natural science has chosen the less useful alternative," let us make answer to him that the student of humane letters only, will, at least, know also the great general conceptions brought in by modern physical science; for science, as Professor Huxley says, forces them upon us all. But the student of the natural sciences only, will, by our very hypothesis, know nothing of humane letters; not to mention that in setting himself to be perpetually accumulating natural knowledge, he sets himself to do what only specialists have in general the gift for doing genially. And so he will probably be unsatisfied, or at any rate incomplete, and even more incomplete than the student of humane letters only.

21. If then there is to be separation and option between humane letters on the one hand, and the natural sciences on the other, the great majority of mankind, all who have not exceptional and overpowering aptitudes for the study of nature, would do well, I cannot but think, to choose to be educated in humane letters rather than in the natural sciences. Letters will call out their being at more points, will make them live more.

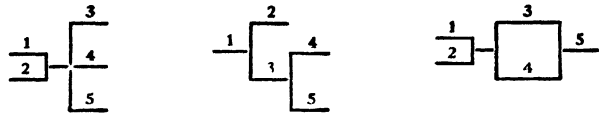
22. And therefore, to say the truth, I cannot really think that humane letters are in much actual danger of being thrust out from their leading place in education, in spite of the array of authorities against them at this moment. So long as human nature is what it is, their attractions will remain irresistible. As with Greek, so with letters generally: they will some day come, we may hope, to be studied more rationally, but they will not lose their place. What will happen will rather be that there will be crowded into education other matters besides, far too many; there will be, perhaps, a period of unsettlement and confusion and false tendency; but letters will not in the end lose their leading place. If they lose it for a time, they will get it back again. We shall be brought back to them by our wants and aspirations. And a poor humanist may possess his soul in patience, neither strive nor cry, admit the energy and brilliancy of the partisans of physical science, and their present favour with the public, to be far greater than his own, and still have a happy faith that the nature of things works silently on behalf of the studies which he loves, and that, while we shall all have to acquaint ourselves with the great results reached by modern science, and to give ourselves as much training in its disciplines as we can conveniently carry, yet the majority of men will always require humane letters; and so much the more as they have the more and the greater results of science to relate to the need in man for conduct, and to the need in him for beauty.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. What is the meaning of the word "letters" as Arnold uses it in paragraph 1? Does your dictionary explain the single and double "t" in "literature, "littérateur," and "letter"?
2. In paragraphs 5-7 what misunderstanding between himself and Huxley is Arnold attempting to clear up? What terms are responsible for the misunderstanding? How did these terms differ in meaning for the two debaters? Are you careful to

make your own words understood clearly when you speak or write?

3. In the first sentence of paragraph 2 what two questions does Arnold ask? How much of his discussion does Arnold devote to the first question? How much to the second? Before answering read paragraph 22 carefully.
4. Which of the graphs below best represents the structure of paragraph 13? Explain your choice. Before answering consult Appendix B-I.



5. Make a précis of paragraph 13.
6. In paragraph 10 the third sentence might have been written in three short sentences as follows: "Up to this point I have been agreeing with the friends of physical science. I have a confession to make. I now part company with them." How does Arnold's single sentence show better than these three sentences the relative importance of the several ideas? Which idea as Arnold writes it becomes parenthetical, which goes into a subordinate clause, and which into the main clause?
7. In paragraph 6 note the punctuation of "says Professor Huxley" and "he says." Note particularly how the comma and the period are placed with reference to the quotation marks.
8. Note the punctuation before "and (And)" and "but (But)" between main clauses in paragraphs 5-9. What degree of separation does Arnold indicate by the comma? By the semicolon? By the period?
9. Since this address is largely an answer to Huxley's previous address, Arnold again and again refers to Huxley. In paragraph 1 are two quotations. Locate them in paragraphs 6 and 10 of Huxley's address. If these quoted passages are not original with Huxley where did he get them? If in checking quotations you find any where the wording fails to agree exactly, remember that both Huxley's address and Arnold's were printed in various places and that from time to time both authors made slight revisions in wording.
10. Note in paragraph 3 Arnold's first mention of Huxley. Is the reference specific enough for you to locate it as Huxley's address is reprinted in this volume?
11. In paragraph 4 compare the second sentence with its original in paragraph 20 of Huxley. Also compare the last two sen-

tences of paragraph 4 with their original in paragraph 21 of Huxley. Why does Arnold use quotation marks with only one of these passages?

12. Does paragraph 42 of Huxley's address justify Arnold's reference to it in paragraph 8? Does paragraph 35 of Huxley justify Arnold's statement in the second sentence of paragraph 10?
13. What real difference of opinion between Arnold and Huxley is suggested at the end of paragraph 8 and developed in the paragraphs following?
14. How effective an argument for "humane letters" do you consider paragraphs 10-19? Do paragraphs 44-46 of "Science and Culture" make you think that Huxley would seriously object to this argument? Exactly what is the point of difference between the two debaters? Before answering look carefully again at paragraphs 35-40 of Huxley and at paragraph 21 of Arnold.
15. What do you understand Arnold to mean in paragraph 12 by relating "pieces of knowledge to our sense for conduct, to our sense for beauty"?
16. In a single paragraph give your reaction to some one idea proposed by Arnold. What do you think of Arnold's defense in paragraph 2 of his competence to discuss the place of science in education? Or in order to understand "the great results of the scientific investigation of nature" mentioned in paragraph 9, how much of the detailed processes must we make ourselves familiar with through laboratory courses? Or do you believe some knowledge of humane letters as important for a cultivated personality as Arnold in paragraph 19 asserts it to be?
17. In a longer paper discuss Arnold's address as a whole. Or develop some idea in more detail than is suggested in item 16 above. Always keep in mind your own experience in education and your own needs, and connect them with what Arnold has to say.

The American Scholar Once More

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

After a distinguished career as a teacher of American literature at the University of Michigan, Howard Mumford Jones (1892–) joined the faculty of Harvard University in 1936. In 1943 he became Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. Again and again he has challenged the neglect of American culture in American schools, nowhere more effectively than in the address here reprinted. The conflict over the subject matter of education which he emphasizes seems as far from settlement as when Huxley and Arnold debated it two generations ago. [*Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, 39.732-739, March 26, 1937. By permission of Professor Jones, the publisher, and *The Atlantic Monthly*. An address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Dartmouth College on March 1, 1937.]

1. A HUNDRED YEARS have elapsed since the most famous Phi Beta Kappa address ever delivered was spoken in Cambridge. Although anything less than a reading of all that golden essay is to do injustice to it, I shall begin by briefly recalling it to your memory. The scholar, said Emerson, is Man Thinking; and the principal instruments of his education are three—nature, books, and action. From nature, rightly understood, he will learn that the laws of the universe are also the laws of the human mind. The office of books is not to create book-worms, but independent souls. The life of action is not to be swallowed up in business, but to translate intellect into character. And the final object of education is that the soul may be weaned from a passive clinging to what has been said and done in the world and prefer instead a vigorous intellectual independence. "We have listened too long," he said, "to the courtly muses of Europe." The essay concludes with its eloquent plea for a race of vigorous American individuals—"the spirit of the American freeman is already suspected to be timid, imitative, tame"; and the young sage declared to the young men of 1837: "We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own mind." Everyone will recall how members of that audience went

out from the meeting as if they had listened to a voice proclaiming: "Thus saith the Lord."

2. I am frequently told that Emerson is outmoded. In the realm of economic life rugged individualism, it is true, has a quaint, archaeological flavor, but Emerson was not discussing the life of business, but the life of citizenship and the life of thought. I propose now to inquire how far the liberal college in America has been faithful to the program suggested by his address.

3. In 1837 there were no universities in the United States with their innumerable professional colleges, vocational branches, graduate schools, extension divisions, and correspondence courses. The curriculum of the college was still centered in the humanities—the classics, philosophy, some history, a course in "natural philosophy" which, unlike most modern science courses, was really philosophical, and some training in rhetoric and oratory. The content of that curriculum was, I am afraid, meagre, the instruction was not good, libraries and laboratories were inadequate, and the life of the undergraduate suffered from obsolescent regulations. But the liberal college of 1837 had one advantage over the liberal college of today. It knew what it was doing; and it had a unified concept of college education. It conceived that the humanities were central to the training of an educated man.

4. A hundred years later the liberal college of Emerson's day has, in effect, almost disappeared. The most characteristic educational institution in the country is the State university; and if we examine the college of arts in any State university, we discover that, though it exists as a formal organization, its intellectual unity has vanished. In its first two years it is trying to do the work which the high schools, under the direction of educational experts, have ceased doing—that is, it is trying to get its students to read and write. It is also offering "service courses" for the benefit of the professional schools which feed upon it—beginning instruction in this or that branch of knowledge which the student must get out of the way before he can fully enter the engineering school or the school of law or the school of medicine. In its last two years it has in fact become a vocational school for the training of teachers of English or history or the foreign languages, or for the training of biologists, chemists, social service workers, archaeologists, and so forth.

5. It is a commonplace that the multiplication of knowledge has meant the multiplication of courses; and that any unity of aim which the college may once have had has in fact disappeared beneath an avalanche of specialized instruction by specialists. The formal paper

requirements of general training in the first two years and specialization in the second, of concentration and distribution, of major subjects and related minor subjects—the phrases differ—though designed to retain what can be kept of the old unified concept, do not in fact achieve their object. And if I select as an example the college of liberal arts in the State university with which I am most familiar, the same conditions, to greater or less degree, exist in privately endowed universities, and even, to some extent, in what are euphoniously known as the "ivy colleges." Proponents of instruction in the psychology of salesmanship or statistical measurement or journalism claim that their subjects, properly pursued, are as "liberalizing" as literature or philosophy; but where every course is equally humane, the concept of the humanities loses all meaning.

6. There have been gallant attempts to check or redirect the current of educational development and to revive the concept of a unified humane education in the liberal college. Mr. Meiklejohn headed for a time an experimental college at the University of Wisconsin, in which the students, after directing their energies to Greek civilization, turned their attention to civilization in the United States. If the educationalists are right in supposing that the proper procedure in learning is to proceed from the known to the unknown, this attempt violated the first principle of pedagogy; at any rate, the college has since been closed.

7. More recently, Professor Norman Foerster, director of the School of Letters at the University of Iowa, has issued a book called "The American State University," in which, after an exhaustive analysis of the evils now existing in the liberal college, he proposes that we shall abandon what he calls the naturalistic view of life and return to the humanistic. Mr. Foerster is somewhat vague as to the details of his curricular reform, but it seems to imply that we should all adopt a dualistic theory of human nature. He submits a list of great books which have been proposed as central to such a curriculum; of the fifty-three authors named, I note with interest that only two have to do with the United States—an item called "American State Papers" and the final name in the list, William James. The list, however, is not of Mr. Foerster's composing; he remarks that the past hundred years are represented by it "somewhat injudiciously" and he says that the present cannot be represented by great books at all—there would have to be "lectures and demonstrations illustrating the principles and modern history of science." But in a general way a curriculum which would center around great names from Homer to William James, provided the writings of these geniuses are interpreted to throw light upon the dualistic nature of man, would have Professor Foerster's approval.

8. A third interesting experiment is that being carried on at the University of Chicago. With the formal reorganization of the university which has gone hand-in-hand with this change we need not trouble ourselves. The underlying philosophy of the Chicago idea is what concerns us. This underlying philosophy, clearly and emphatically presented by its president, Mr. Hutchins, seeks in effect to return to the mediaeval concept of university training. By cutting through specialization and fact-finding to underlying principles, the proponents of this scheme hoped to alight upon certain controlling instruments in education. The method, at least as it is exemplified by some members of the Faculty, depends on Socratic analysis. Rhetoric and grammar, in the sense of the exploration of meaning, receive renewed importance; and the primary business of the college seems to be to discuss principles rather more, and applications rather less, than has been customary in many college courses. "To aid in his understanding of ideas" (I quote Mr. Hutchins) "the student should be trained in those intellectual techniques which have been developed for the purpose of stating and comprehending fundamental principles."

9. With any attempt to restore unity to the liberal college one must have a certain sympathy. I confess, however, that Mr. Hutchins is over hasty in his scorn of specialists; and I am compelled to inquire, if the principal business of the college student is to learn to state and comprehend fundamental principles, when is the proper time for his beginning to apply them? I am of the philosophy that a fundamental principle remains an airy abstraction until you do something with it or about it; and though I hail with pleasure Mr. Hutchins's insistence upon the desirability of putting first things first, I wonder whether a loving and long perusal of Plato's "Republic" is really going to change the voting habits of American citizens so fundamentally that we can relegate our present departments of sociology and political science to an inferior position in the educational scheme of things. The habit of making metaphysical inquiry into what history or literature or philosophy may be before you get around to the facts of history or literature or philosophy has its weaknesses; and the weaknesses of this educational reform seem to me to be two: it tends to subordinate the genetic study of human institutions to a system of metaphysical absolutes; and it tends to create students whose habits of analysis may become so strong as to hinder their habits of action—and action, as Emerson reminds us, is one of three requisites of a humane education.

10. However this may be, I wish to call your attention to one quality which all three of these reforms of the liberal college have in

common. In Emerson's phrase, they have all listened to the courtly muses of Europe. Mr. Meiklejohn did not get around to American life until his students had spent a year on Greek civilization. The list of great names in Mr. Foerster's book contains only two American items out of fifty-three. Mr. Hutchins sets before us the example of mediaeval European universities and urges us to revive the practices of the mediaeval schoolmen.

11. No one in this audience, I trust, wishes to be a chauvinist. No one can seriously argue that what the world needs is more nationalism. After certain performances by the self-styled patriotic societies, or the drive for teachers' oath bills, or our contemptible attitude towards foreigners, no one but desires less, rather than more, one-hundred-per-cent Americanism. We are accustomed to say that the essence of a liberal education is an acquaintance with the best that has been said and done in the world, and not merely in the United States. Everyone will agree that a knowledge of other times and other nations, other geniuses than American ones, other art than American art, other cultures than our own is indispensable to the humanely educated man.

12. But at the same time I am impressed by two facts about these reforms of the liberal education. The first is that, given American youth to educate, these outlines of great books, this return to scholastic analysis, this occupation with Greek civilization first and American civilization afterwards, have a curious air of hanging in a vacuum. The connection between the reading proposed, and the fact that the reader is going to live in the United States of America in the year nineteen-hundred-and-something is tenuous and remote. The student is required to accept too much on faith; and the teacher is left with only the vaguest directions as to how this analysis, this reading, this exploration of a remote culture are to be brought to bear upon the civilization into which our student is to be catapulted at the end of four years in college.

13. I should not so much mind the cloistral air of these programs, were it not that each of the reformers argues that his proposal is directly intended to create better American citizens. Both Mr. Foerster and Mr. Hutchins cite with admiration the ideas of Thomas Jefferson, who in his letter to Peter Carr of 1814, urged that Virginia should establish schools "where every branch of science deemed useful at this day and in our country should be taught." Mr. Hutchins tries to get around this letter by saying that Jefferson did not mean college, when he said college, and university, when he said university, but the uncomfortable fellow will not down: in his discussion of the University of Virginia Jefferson explicitly called for "all the branches of useful

science," and when he said "useful," it is clear that he meant those branches of knowledge which would be relevant to the American cultural problem. However much some of our so-called cultured men may dislike the fact (and some of them apparently do), we have to deal with education in the United States; and the second weakness I would point out in these schemes is that the American cultural tradition is, in fact, ignored. They are set up as if Europe were the main thing that mattered.

14. And if it be argued that it is essential for American students to get a world-view from their four years in the liberal college, I can only retort that the reforms in question do not even give that. As H. G. Wells long ago pointed out, European education has agreed tacitly to ignore three-fourths of the human race. I refer, of course, to the civilization and the arts of Asia, not to speak, in lesser degree, of Africa. The return to Europe, which is at the bottom of these representative proposals, is a return to an attitude of mind which Emerson was expressly endeavoring to destroy. "The spirit of the American freeman," he said, "is already suspected to be timid, imitative, tame." "I ask not," he remarks, "for the great, the remote, the romantic; what is doing in Italy or Arabia; what is Greek art, or Provençal minstrelsy; I embrace the common, I explore and sit at the feet of the familiar, the low. Give me insight into today, and you may have the antique and future worlds." If this be chauvinism, I can only say, like Patrick Henry, make the most of it.

15. The claims of the world and of our own country; the necessity of understanding the past and understanding the present; the desirability of acquainting the rising generation with the works of dead geniuses, and at the same time not inducing in them what scholarship too often induces—a lack of sympathy for present art, an attitude of superiority towards the American experiment, and a disdain for democracy—how shall we solve a problem so complex?

16. I suggest we return to the practice of the Greeks. The ancient Greeks were unfortunate in that they had no college presidents, no professors of anything, and no schools of education to instruct them in the desirability of knowing the best that had been done and thought in the world; but I am impressed by the fact that these Greeks, whose sagacity we today so much admire, placed their own culture foremost as an object of study. Plato's "Republic" is not a vague attempt at comparative political science; it is a rather practical inquiry into what can be done to improve the Greek city-state. Thucydides is not writing the history of the world; he tells us he is writing the history of the

greatest thing that ever happened to Hellas. The inquiries of Aristotle are not into what other people thought, but, to a remarkable degree, into what the Greeks thought.

17. I am not now interested to inquire whether the great Greek thinkers might have taken a world-view of civilization, and did not—they might certainly have told us more about the Egyptian and Persian cultures than they chose to; I am not now inquiring whether their attitude towards the *barbaroi* was provincial; I am merely saying that on the basis of an exploration of their own culture they created a body of literature to which we have ever since been recurring. Neither do I propose that, in our search for a central point around which to build a humane education, we should so far imitate the Greeks as to concentrate on the United States and throw everything else out the window. What I am saying is this: first, the supposition that humane education is necessarily an anti-national or un-national education is a supposition which, in the case of the Greeks, clearly breaks down; and second, that a study of one's own culture, a preparation to live in the state to which birth has consigned one for better or worse, would seem to offer a center around which a humane education could conceivably be built.

18. And I further point out that the French, who are in the modern world sometimes considered the successors of the classical peoples, in their educational system do precisely what the ancient Greeks may in a sense be said to have done. The French tradition is central in French education. The calm assumption that French thought and French literature are the most civilized thought and literature in the modern world is an assumption which has its amusing aspects; but I suspect that the solidity of the French intellectual tradition owes more to the refusal of the Frenchman to be diverted from his fine belief in the superior validity of his own tradition than our more enthusiastic advocates of educational cosmopolitanism are willing to admit. In the very last paragraph of his great "Histoire de la Littérature Française," perhaps the finest history of a national literature ever written, M. Lanson, after speculating on what the future of that literature may be, concludes that there will still be masterpieces, reading which future Frenchmen will find in them "le visage de la France éternelle."

19. I have yet to hear any member of an American English department assure his class that future American literature will mirror "le visage de l'Amérique éternelle." And before we smile at an idea which may seem incongruous, I think we had better first inquire why we are willing to accept M. Lanson's dictum as entirely proper, and why we treat the same idea as satirical byplay when it is applied to a republic

whose government has outlasted every European government save two, the history of whose country extends backward to the invention of printing, and the study of whose civilization is seriously pursued over the entire civilized world.

20. I cannot too often insist that I have no desire whatsoever to cut off American students from the fullest possible knowledge of the thought and culture of other lands. But I am continually impressed by the fact that among the humanities we seem to stress the importance of an acquaintance with every great culture except our own. In the single field of literature in English, for example, note the casual treatment of our own literary history. It is a subject which is almost invariably at the bottom of that heap of miscellaneous courses which constitute the curriculum of the English department. Thousands of college students are annually graduated who have no knowledge of their own literary tradition whatsoever. Thousands more are graduated with no knowledge of the history of their own country. Those who know anything about American philosophy or American religion or the American theatre or the history of painting or architecture or music in their own country are negligible.

21. I wonder whether we shall ever make headway with the humanities, so long as we insist, as in fact we do insist, that an understanding of American civilization is the last thing that we are going to teach. Is it any wonder that alert minds are drawn into economics and sociology and science and schools of pedagogy and engineering and law, when those in charge of the humanities persist in their refusal to bring to bear upon the problems of life in the United States what they have to offer? I see no use in scolding young America because it finds a seminar in capital and labor vital in the nation in which young America has to find a job. The depopulation of the classics departments, the drift out of philosophy into social problems, the complaint that our best minds do not go into the study of modern languages—these are symptomatic of a deeper malady than the urge for vocational study—they are symptomatic, I believe, of the profound fact that the undergraduate wants to understand his own country, and that the humanities have mainly failed to show him how they could help him to comprehend it.

22. It is one thing vaguely to summon the student to learn the best that has been done or said in the world; another thing to summon him to the problem: through what inquiries into the past and present can I best understand the country in which I am going to live? When Emerson says in his oracular way: "Give me insight into today, and you may have the antique and future worlds," he does not mean we are

to discard past times and foreign countries, but rather that the value of past times and foreign countries is that value which they have towards the enrichment of life in present-day America. I submit that we are altogether too vague about how we propose to secure these values. I submit that intelligent citizens are not created by a mere passive exposure to the past. I submit that teaching the humanities in America is not the same thing as teaching America the humanities.

23. While the humanities have been exploring the sources of Ben Jonson's comedies or Greek art or the epistemology of Duns Scotus—all of which, I freely admit, are admirable things in themselves—the social studies, so-called, have moved into the American field. The one thing that we can be reasonably sure of in the present state of the liberal college is that if the student has any acquaintance with the interpretation of life in his own country, it will be an economic interpretation. Even the historians have, in a number of cases, swung over to economic determinism. But the economic interpretation of history or of society, though a valuable interpretation, is fundamentally a rather naïve one.

24. Since the days of Thorstein Veblen, that scarecrow of the British classical school, the economic man, has been wonderfully dressed up, but he still remains economic man. According to those who first brought him into being, economic man was a very simple creature. He was motivated by a single and selfish desire—the desire to seek pleasure and avoid pain. He had a supernaturally intelligent mind. For example, he always bought in the cheapest market and sold in the dearest, which is more than most business men have been able to do. His sole reading matter seems to have been Ricardo's book on rent and Malthus's essay on the increase of population. His life was devoted to economic gain; and what he did in his spare time, if he ever had any, I haven't the slightest idea. He must have married and begot children, because Malthus worked out what would happen if he had too many children and the wheat crop didn't go around, but how he ever fell in love, or how he proposed to his girl, or whether he mislaid the ring at the wedding I do not know. I assume he was once a boy and that he eventually grew old, and that he was filled with dreams and memories—probably of the time he bought pigs in one town and sold them at a slight profit in another, but it seems more probable that he was created full-grown, at about forty-two. His world must have had starlight and moonrise and the scent of flowers in it, but like a well educated pupil of Adam Smith, he determinedly paid no attention to these things; and if he was ever actuated by rage or hate or love or passion, quickened by a drum-

beat, or awed by an ocean storm, there is no record. He was not English nor American nor Chinese; he had no legends, no tradition, no customs; he was simply economic man.

25. Now when you strip the merely sociological interpretation of the modern world of its manifold variations, it is surprising how often—I do not say always, but often—you will find that you are dealing with economic man—economic man multiplied into masses or nations, but fundamentally very like the imaginary being whom Ricardo and Malthus created for their calculations. Within the limits of the proper frame of reference, this concept of human nature is very useful; but just as it is difficult to conceive of economic man writing "Hamlet" or painting the Sistine Madonna, so it is difficult in a nation "explained" only by economic forces also to explain the style of Emerson or the wide appeal of the "Gettysburg Address."

26. The advances made by the social sciences in the last few decades have my profound admiration. Their exponents are to be commended for having made America their laboratory. They are not in the least to blame because they have done their job extraordinarily well. No competent social scientist but admits as a matter of course that sociology is not all of existence, that economic motives are not even three-fourths of life. But when in the social sciences the student learns, or thinks he learns, that present-day America is in the grip of vast economic forces; while the humanities are off somewhere else talking about the sources of Chaucer or mediaeval scholasticism or the art of Cimabue, the practical conclusion which the student is likely to draw is either that the humanities have no place (except a decorative one) in the present United States or that humane arts and letters are something practised long ago by persons who are now excessively dead. And if I seem to speak with momentary disrespect of the labors of the classicist, the metaphysician, the philologian, or the literary historian, it is only because I am trying to see things from the point of view of the American undergraduates, the majority of whom, I am convinced, come to college because they are genuinely desirous of a better comprehension of the age in which they live. The difficulty of the humanities seems to be that they too often manufacture only meek young men in libraries; but man thinking, Emerson sternly reminds us, must not be subdued by his instruments.

27. It may be that a return to the methods of the scholastics will prove of lasting benefit at the University of Chicago. It may be that Mr. Foerster will convert enough persons to a philosophy of dualism to enable him at Iowa to reduce laboratory techniques to their proper

subordination and get rid of the courses which now clutter up the curriculum of the college of liberal arts. It may be that someone somewhere sometime will be able to make ancient Greece so exciting a topic that American undergraduates will abandon the New Deal for the Peloponnesian War. I am, however, skeptical that the college of liberal arts can be permanently unified around a method, a system of ethics, or a return to a civilization over twenty centuries in the past. I think that Emerson, with the uncanny penetration of genius, saw more deeply into the problem of national education than the educators do. And I venture to suggest that a living core of interest around which the liberal college could once more be given a vital unity is the study and comprehension of American civilization.

28. I can see the classicist turn pale, and the professor of Chaucerian scholarship wince, while the metaphysician who has just completed a monograph on the monadism of Leibnitz utters faint sounds of inarticulate distress. The entire body of foreign language teachers rises in anguish, or would rise, I am sure, if the conventions of polite conduct did not restrain them. Yet I am suggesting only that we do what the ancient Greeks did; and proposing that we improve on their practice. I do not suggest that the present curriculum be abolished, or that we begin insisting that all good Americans shall remain sublimely ignorant of the effete monarchies of Europe—as Jefferson once thought that they should. I am merely proposing that the problem of American civilization, instead of being placed obscurely in the rear of our studies, shall be placed somewhere near the front. If we are really interested in educating American citizens for an intelligent participation in American life, I suggest that the liberal college might seek out ways and means of bringing before its students a far richer and more comprehensive knowledge of the American heritage, not only in the field of economic existence, but in those areas we vaguely call culture, than it has yet attempted to do. And when I speak of the American heritage I do not in the least propose that the New World shall neglect what it owes to the Old.

29. What I am seeking is not an administrative reorganization nor a curricular upset nor an absorption with the immediate and the contemporary, but a point of view. The liberal college has been too eclectic, not merely in the sense that it has admitted all kinds of courses, but in the sense that its courses in the humanities themselves have been without any governing philosophy, any genuine educational aim. They seek too often to produce imitation Europeans, and imitation Europeans are always inferior to the genuine article. We try to bring America to

Greece or Rome, Italy or France, instead of discovering what it is that Greece and Rome and France and Italy have to bring to America. I return once more to Emerson, when he says: "I look upon the discontent of the literary class as a mere announcement of the fact that they find themselves not in the state of mind of their fathers, and regret the coming state as untried; as a boy dreads the water before he has learned that he can swim." "It is," he says, "a mischievous notion that we are come late into nature; that the world was finished a long time ago." We cannot forever tacitly insist that the humane values are found everywhere but in the United States. We do not necessarily need to abandon what we are teaching, but we need to teach it in a different way. Goethe did not become a Hellenist first and a German afterwards; it was when he discovered that an artificial education had quite unfitted him to understand the significance of his own cultural traditions that he embarked upon that remarkable career of self-improvement which made him the greatest German of his age.

30. Let us remember that the United States is also a very large and important part of the world. Let us sharply remind the nationalist and the one-hundred-percent patriot that he is merely the heir of an immense period of historic time which requires patient study but let us not at the same time forget that if the humanities are to dwell upon the virtues of Herodotus or Chaucer, they cannot therefore neglect the virtues of Whitman and Henry Adams. If there is culture in France, there is also civilization in the United States. The best corrective of American provincialism is not merely a knowledge of Europe, but also a richer knowledge of the struggle of the republic to become what it has dreamed of becoming. I do not desire to drive Europe out of the colleges, I merely insist upon the necessity of putting America in. How long can we safely permit our students to believe that the rise of industry is all there is to the story of American life? We have faced backward and turned to Europe in the humanities; cannot we sometimes turn westward and appraise our own accomplishments? The spirit of Emerson is likewise America. We have neglected the resources of our own spiritual life too long—I trust we shall not have to pay dearly for our neglect, in the materialism of which so many now complain, or in a narrow and extravagant nationalism, which, uncorrected by an understanding, not only of the spiritual struggle of mankind at large, but also by an understanding of the larger purposes of life in this republic, may yet obliterate the America of Emerson in the America of Ford.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. What advantage does paragraph 3 claim for the liberal college of 1837? Note the clear definition of the word "humanities." The word is often used in the address. Would the dictionary definition be adequate here?
2. How nearly do you approve the statement in paragraph 11 about "one-hundred-percent Americanism"? The word "chauvinist" in this paragraph has an interesting origin. Look it up in your dictionary.
3. Where in paragraph 2 does the author explain the use he intends to make of Emerson's address?
4. Note carefully the first sentence of paragraph 6. How many "gallant attempts" does Professor Jones analyze? Which paragraphs are devoted to each attempt? What expressions at the beginning of paragraphs 7 and 8 help you to answer this question?
5. For clearness in this address paragraph 10 is important. Which sentence refers to paragraph 1? Which to paragraph 6? Which to paragraph 7? Which to paragraphs 8 and 9?
6. Note how paragraph 12 keeps the reader from forgetting ideas presented earlier. What expressions in the second sentence remind us respectively of paragraphs 7, 8-9, and 6?
7. Of the "two facts" introduced in the first sentence of paragraph 12 where is the first discussed? The second?
8. Note how paragraph 27 again promotes clearness by recalling points previously discussed. To which paragraphs do each of the first three sentences refer? Which sentence suggests especially paragraphs 1, 14, and 22?
9. Consult Appendix B and then make a graphic and a verbal analysis of paragraph 10.
10. Make a précis of paragraph 27 or of paragraph 28.
11. See what you can learn from Professor Jones' free use of series. Note the form *a, b, and* c (nature, books, and action) in the third sentence of paragraph 1, the form *a, b* (quaint, archaeological) in the second sentence of paragraph 2, the form *a, b, c* in the second sentence of paragraph 5, the form *a or b or c* in the last sentence of paragraph 5. Identify other examples of these several forms in the first five paragraphs. What two forms occur in the last sentence of paragraph 4? Note the punctuation with the several forms.
12. What punctuation separates the series of main clauses quoted from Emerson in the next to the last sentence of paragraph 1?

What punctuation does Professor Jones use to separate the series of main clauses in the third sentence of paragraph 3? Which punctuation gives the greater separation and the greater emphasis to the main clauses? Keep your eye on the use of punctuation with series throughout the address.

13. Why is there a comma before "who" and after "peoples" in the first sentence of paragraph 18 but no comma before "who" and after "country" in the last sentence of paragraph 20?
14. What part of paragraph 1 is devoted to a précis of Emerson's address and what part to Professor Jones' comment on it? As a swift précis this paragraph is well worth your careful attention. Get clear especially the reference to "the final object of education." It has important bearing on Professor Jones' address.
15. What change in the liberal college curriculum through a hundred years do paragraphs 4 and 5 explain. What essential unifying subjects of study have largely disappeared?
16. How effective an argument for replacing European culture with American do you consider the quotations from Emerson in paragraph 14 to be? Is this "chauvinism" or only a praiseworthy independence?
17. What educational system of the past is presented in paragraphs 16 and 17 as an argument for emphasizing American culture in American education? What weaknesses in the system does Professor Jones call attention to? How far does he propose to follow it in America?
18. What educational system of the present also offers an argument for Americanism in American education? How important do you consider the weak point and the strong point of this system?
19. How effective do you consider the argument for a study of American culture which is presented in paragraph 19?
20. How far does the analysis in paragraph 20 apply to your own institution? How far do you approve? If you are not well enough acquainted with the facts, ask some upper-class friend to give them to you.
21. Do you agree that the humanities, as indicated in paragraph 21, are losing ground because they emphasize European culture and that other studies are gaining because they emphasize American culture? Are there any other factors operating against the humanities?
22. How far do you agree with what is said about "past times and foreign countries" in paragraph 22?
23. As between the "admirable things in themselves" mentioned in paragraphs 23 and 26 and the social studies, which seem

to you more important? Do not answer hurriedly or without careful consideration of the latter part of paragraph 25.

24. In the four closing paragraphs Professor Jones gives a very clear and effective statement of his argument for an increased emphasis on American culture in American schools. How convincing do you find it? How far do you believe it would check the drift away from the humanities into the social studies and the sciences?
25. The proposals of Professor Jones certainly have no "curious air of hanging in a vacuum." Under the influence of this address and others of similar tone, courses of study are actually being modified in our schools. Sooner than you now expect, you may find yourself in a position where your own view will help to determine how far our schools should emphasize American culture because it is the culture of our own country. With this possibility in mind consider carefully the function of education not only for "making a living" but for "living a life." Ask yourself how far American culture, as such, contributes toward these two objectives, and when you have reached a conclusion which you feel you can defend, express some aspect of your view in a single paragraph or a short paper. Or in a longer paper discuss the matter in such detail and scope as your instructor may direct.

Socrates Crosses the Delaware

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE AND THE GREAT BOOKS

MILTON S. MAYER

According to *Harper's* "Personal and Otherwise," Milton S. Mayer "is a Chicago newspaper man. He has a part-time connection with the University of Chicago, and it was there that he first became interested in this educational program which has caused such a commotion in the educational world." In addition to his duties at the University of Chicago, Mr. Mayer now conducts a monthly column in *Common Sense* As you read his defense of the "Great Books" theory of education, you should keep in mind the challenge to that theory in "The American Scholar Once More" and also the fundamental arguments of Huxley and Arnold—all in this section. [*Harper's Magazine,* 179:64-75. June, 1939 By permission of Mr. Mayer.]

1. ON THE SOFTLY SLOPING GREEN of St. John's College in Annapolis there stands a tree that was old when the Susquehanna Indians played Czechoslovakia to the white man. It is a great tulip poplar, known to two centuries of St. Johnnies as the Liberty Tree. They say that fifty years ago the Liberty Tree was dying. It looked healthy enough from a distance; its branches were rich and luxuriant, but its wondrous trunk was hollowed with rot The Liberty Tree required desperate and drastic surgery. One Fourth of July a crowd of St. Johnnies stuck some explosive—dynamite, they say—inside the trunk and blasted out the rot. The Liberty Tree revived, and if you happen to be in Annapolis you may see it approaching its six or seven hundredth birthday in its pristine vigor

2 Two years ago there arrived at St. John's College a couple of young men who believe that the tree of human liberty is dying—dying not of old age or of wounds inflicted from without, but of rot from within. These young men hold that the trunk of the tree of liberty is education and American education, they say, is rotten. So they threw

up their jobs as professors in a great university and went to St. John's College and stuck some dynamite inside the trunk of the human liberty tree.

3 "Winkie" Barr—no one knows how Stringfellow got to be "Winkie"—and Scott Buchanan take the ancient view that liberty—human liberty—is something more than the animal liberty of bacon and beans, that it is first and foremost the freedom of the human mind. And they hold that the mind cannot be freed from ignorance and prejudice, any more than the body can be freed from disease, except by the exercise of painful discipline.

4. For fifteen years as students and another fifteen years as professors (both are about forty years old) they watched American education flourish externally while the proportion of really free men and women produced by the schools and colleges grew smaller and smaller, while the discipline of the mind gave way to "college life," while, as President Woodrow Wilson of Princeton once observed, the sideshows of education were putting the main tent out of business. They decided to do something about it.

5. And, unlike so many of us, they knew what they wanted to do. They wanted to revive the liberal education that the Adamses and Jefferson and Jay and Madison had in college. They wanted to restore to American education the books that Washington, Franklin, and Lincoln read without the benefit of four comfortable years in an expensive university; they wanted to discipline young men's minds in reading, writing, and reasoning, the human arts of understanding and communication, the historic liberal arts from which our "liberal arts colleges" take their name. This is the education for which President Robert M. Hutchins of Chicago has been touting for ten years, and St. John's college today is the answer to the question, "Yes—but will it work?"

6. The purpose of St. John's, according to the charter granted it in 1784, was "the liberal education of youth in the principles of virtue, knowledge, and useful literature." One of the petitioners for that charter was William Paca, who had signed the Declaration of Independence, and three other signers, Charles Carroll, Samuel Chase, and Thomas Stone, served on the college's Board of Visitors and Governors. To St. John's, Washington sent his adopted son and his two nephews, and at St. John's the privileged few who in those days went to college learned to read and to read good books. This liberal education, which, strangely enough, is labeled "experimental" these days, had been given at St. John's since 1696, when the institution was founded as King

William's School and its object was stated, not as preparation for jobs nor as four years of fun, but as "the propagation of good Learning."

7. Good learning eventually finds its way into books. We all admit that good books are somehow good. We recognize that there exists an unbroken tradition, going back to Greece and Rome, in which our American institutions and ideals are rooted. We concede that this tradition is most classically recorded and expressed by the best men and the greatest teachers in every age, men who, though they may have lived centuries apart, went to school together, refining, reworking, and bequeathing the tradition they inherited. We know that man alone, through the medium of language, hands down to his descendants something more than mere reflexes.

8. We know all this. We know what most of the great books are, beginning with Homer. We pay them homage whenever we hear them mentioned, and we quote them impressively out of Bartlett's *Quotations.* They are the books we all intend to read some day, though we didn't read them in school or college. Most of them are found in every standard library. They are published and sold in standard sets, most of them selling for less than a dollar. We don't have to go to college to read them; most of the *Harvard Classics,* indeed, are not read even at Harvard. Whatever our occupation, whatever our station, we can read these books if we want to. And we can understand them if we try: there is nothing anyone can teach a man that a man can't learn by himself.

9. But a "classic" is, by popular definition, a book that nobody reads. The very word is odious, suggesting drudgery and dust, something we can leave to professors—who, incidentally, don't read them either. We tell ourselves that most of these books are "dated," that things have changed since they were written. But we forget that while things have changed, men have not. Today we have Reno and radio, incendiary bombs instead of the stake, and tanks instead of rams; but we love, hate, work, and fight for the same reasons as the ancient Greeks; and we live and die with or without the same aspirations. Details have altered, the scale is larger, new instruments and technics have been devised; but human nature and the problems it raises are timeless.

10. A great book deals with these problems and is as good today as it was yesterday. It is a book that is contemporary in any age and in any place. What are the best sellers? *Uncle Tom's Cabin? Horatio Alger? Peck's Bad Boy? Gone with the Wind?* Not compared with the Bible, *The Divine Comedy, Don Quixote, Hamlet,* or *Paradise Lost.* These books have been read by millions in every language. It may be

estimated, so conservatively as to raise no dispute, that the *Iliad* has been read, over the last 3,000 years, by 25,000,000 people. Last year's best sellers are forgotten or out of print.

11. The first American college class in fifty years to have read these books, to have had firsthand contact with the original sources of our civilization, are the members of the Class of '41 at St. John's College. Not only are they reading them; they are learning how to read. They are not memorizing snatches from them or learning their dates; they are being taught to bring to the reading they will do in later life the arts of language, the processes of analyzing and criticizing terms and propositions, arguments and contradictions. They are sharpening the instruments—the only instruments—with which men are able to distinguish ends and means, significant and trivial, general and particular, and straight and crooked.

12. This is the education that was given at the liberal arts colleges of the country a century or two ago. Today it is given in no other liberal arts college in America but St. John's. A century ago the selected few went to college; today the unselected many. Is this the best education for the many, as it was for the few? The Messrs. Barr and Buchanan have undertaken to find that out, bringing with them the faith, without which democracy itself must be a fraud, that ordinary boys and girls can be educated—can learn something more than a trade—if the schools will only give them a chance

13. And the St. John's boys are ordinary. Nearly all of them come from the farms and small towns of Maryland, and few of them would be admitted to Harvard or Chicago. At least half of them are working their way through school. If the members of the Class of '41 at St. John's are able to absorb the best education, if they turn out to be free men—in the historic sense of that word—then the excuse that the "masses" cannot cope with the best education will no longer serve as an excuse for handing out the worst. As to whether the Class of '41 will turn out to be free men, we shall have to wait ten or fifteen years. As to whether they are able to master the books, we shall see in a moment.

II

14. Two years ago St. John's was probably the worst example extant of the kind of educational philosophy that is gradually putting the American college on the rocks. This once proud institution, older than any college in America except Harvard and William and Mary, had fallen to low estate. It had a $350,000 debt in the form of an over-

due mortgage on its own property. Faculty morale was nonexistent. Standards had been abandoned in a futile effort to attract students. There had been three presidents in seven years, the last of whom suggested making the school co-educational, doubtless with the notion that the proximity of the Naval Academy would serve as bait Mr. H. L. Mencken, a big Maryland taxpayer, observed just before Barr and Buchanan took over that the most impressive thing about St. John's was that it received $67,000 a year from the State and that every student cost the taxpayers $249.

15. Hundreds of small colleges were—and are—as sorely straitened as St. John's was. Their decline, paralleled by the enrichment of the universities, may be traced, in part, to the spread of the elective system. Two generations ago the required curriculum gave way to an assortment of "offerings." The educator, who was once thought qualified to prescribe for ignorance as the physician does for disease, was reduced to the role of nurse, and the student became both patient and doctor, selecting whichever kind of pill looked easiest to swallow.

16. The universities rapidly abandoned the effort to do good teaching and became research institutions, offering the undergraduates, as a substitute for mental discipline, lavish accommodations for fun and frolic. The colleges, instead of picking up the teaching burden, made the fatal mistake of trying to compete with the universities at their own game. It is said of a small boy, but it might as well have been a college freshman, that he came home from a "progressive" school in Virginia and said, "Mama, I don't want to learn what I want to learn; I want to learn how to read and write."

17 With the exception of a few Copeys or Frosts—vestiges of the time when teaching was a great profession—the college and university faculties came to consist of specialists, mediocre or renowned. The colleges began to complain that they could not do good teaching because the best men went into research. They ignored the fact that the best teachers, though they were somewhat older than Methuselah, were still available. Modern America is the first country since Athens which believes that Socrates actually died when he took the hemlock.

18. Most of the colleges survived by offering diplomas to children who could not meet the entrance or financial requirements of attending a big university. American parents continued to want their boys and girls to be Bachelors of Arts, even though the Arts had disappeared from education and the Bachelors never matured into intellectual Benedicts. The failure of charm-school education, designed to develop the "whole man" and leave his mind alone, has become so notorious

that even business men, according to a recent poll in *Fortune,* have lost their faith in college graduates as prospective successes.

19. By 1936 St. John's had reached the bottom of its bag of tricks and was ready to close its doors, when one of its trustees heard about the great books. In its modern form the great books idea was John Erskine's, who taught them to a selected group of Columbia students from 1920 to 1930. Barr, a Virginia product, and Buchanan, an Amherst boy in the great days of Meiklejohn, had been at Oxford together as Rhodes scholars and eventually teamed up again at the University of Virginia. There they reworked and expanded Erskine's list and later Hutchins invited them to Chicago. They went on tinkering with the list, adding the classics of science, from Euclid to the present, to those of philosophy, history, politics, economics, and belles lettres. The present list numbers something like one hundred and twenty; it is changing all the time, mostly at the modern end. Joyce, for instance, has been added to the books that the present sophomore class at St. John's will study in their senior year, and *Moby Dick* and Mark Twain seem to be about to make the grade.

20. Early in 1937 Barr and Buchanan accepted the presidency and deanship of St. John's and Hutchins took a place on the Board. The Board was reorganized six months later, with Hutchins as chairman and Surgeon General Thomas Parran as vice-chairman. How Barr happened to take the presidency instead of Buchanan is a mystery. Neither of them wanted to be an administrator; both wanted to teach. The likelihood is that they tossed a coin and Barr lost and took the job.

21. The fact is that Hutchins and Barr on the one hand and the St. John's trustees on the other were all skeptical—Hutchins and Barr at taking over so sick a baby as St. John's, the trustees at undertaking so "revolutionary" and "experimental" a program as the great books. The man who carried off both camps was Buchanan, the most excited and infectious book agent of modern times. How he did it and goes on doing it is another mystery. Superficially he's a phlegmatic type, slouching round in old clothes, staring vacantly at the stars or at nothing at all, sitting in the center of a circle of students and scratching his head and grinning. But Barr insists that St. John's is all Buchanan's: "Scott repairs the plumbing, teaches the books, wipes the undergraduate nose, and keeps the faculty hopped up about their glorious mission while I'm out grubbing for money for the next payroll."

22. Barr's tribute to his team-mate is more than slightly exaggerated. Actually, the two men happen to be one of those happy combinations that are made, so to speak, in heaven. Barr is just as phrenetic as

Buchanan is phlegmatic, just as precise as Buchanan is whimsical, just as striking as Buchanan is slouchy. The two of them are selfless, devoted to each other, and indifferent to worldly goods. Barr, though his heart was in the books, reluctantly accepted the role of front man, leaving Buchanan free to handle the curriculum. As an historian, editor of the *Virginia Quarterly Review,* and orator of no ordinary parts, "Winkie" Barr has always been closer to the public than his philosopher associate, and the division of labor turned out to be a good one.

23. By the time the Great Books Twins set out for Annapolis in the fall of 1937 they knew what they wanted to teach and how they wanted it taught. But the situation called for "practical" men. Barr and Buchanan have been practical men ever since, though they both teach evening seminars to faculty and students. Finances—their budget is $210,000 and their income is $140,000—are still far from rosy, for donors are not as adventurous as educators. "The first year," says Barr, "I lost twenty pounds—two pounds before each payday. I've got the twenty pounds back. The difference now is that the faculty is with us. If we ran out of money tomorrow—and we might, we might—every man on the staff would go right on teaching."

III

24. The real miracle of St. John's is not the books or the students, but the teachers. When the faculty—an ordinary collection of specialists—were invited to go to school again, they learned that they would have to familiarize themselves with every field of knowledge; a few of them quit, a few more couldn't stand the gaff and had to be let out; but with the exception of a few bright young men from Columbia, Virginia, and Chicago, the St. John's staff that is teaching a liberal arts curriculum is the same that was frozen in departmental ruts three years ago

25. Many of the critics of the St. John's program argue that, even if the curriculum is good, the teachers are not prepared, or not competent, to teach it. But Barr and Buchanan have demonstrated that ordinary teachers can be taught to teach a good curriculum to ordinary boys. And the reason is that the St. John's idea of a teacher is not Mark Hopkins on one end of a log but Socrates in the middle of a question. The teacher is merely an instrument, a mediator which the student uses. The student is the active party; he is a learner. The educability is within the student, the education in books and laboratories; and the teacher's job is to bring them together. One reason why college graduates look back on education as a grind is that the average pro-

fessor—whom the students study instead of ideas—is as stale as a stone after the first few years of doing his stuff. His stuff isn't good enough to galvanize the teacher himself or his students.

26. Today at St. John's the teachers are excited. They are meeting old and eternally exciting ideas, and since they are meeting them for the first time those ideas are not only exciting but novel. To the degree that the teachers are stimulated, they stimulate their charges. Shakespeare is no longer memorized or covered a scene at a time; the world and wonder of Shakespeare are lived by men and boys to whom they have suddenly become as real as the current newspaper, and infinitely more readable. Books are read not once, but twice or three times, until their prose and poetry are drained, their arguments dissected, their themes and their situations lifted out of cold print into the life that modern people live and the problems they confront.

27. The St. John's books are no more in number than the textbooks that the ordinary college student reads. But instead of reading books about masters, or books about books about masters, the St. Johnnies, students and faculty alike, sit at the feet of the masters themselves. And why not? These books are the original masterpieces of the human tradition; why shouldn't we prefer them to imitations, just as we prefer a Rembrandt to a copy of a Rembrandt, a live singer to a phonograph recording, a story told first-hand, new goods to used? The timelessness of great art, great architecture, great music we recognize; we can enjoy them casually. But the beauty of human thinking has to be sought, the wisdom extracted. In Flexner's phrase, you have to tear the heart out of a book.

28. At St. John's they are learning their mathematics from the great mathematicians—Euclid, Apollonius, Descartes, Newton, Russell; their science from the original giants of science—Galen, Ptolemy, Copernicus, Galileo, Harvey, Kepler, Boyle, Dalton, Faraday, Darwin, Mendel, Maxwell, Pasteur; their literature from Homer, Euripides, Sophocles, Æschylus, Aristophanes, Virgil, Dante, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Cervantes, Balzac, Swift, Goethe, Molière, Tolstoi, Ibsen, Lewis Carroll; their philosophy from Plato, Aristotle, the Bible, Augustine, Aquinas, Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Spinoza, Voltaire, Hume, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer; their history and social sciences from Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarch, Justinian, Machiavelli, Grotius, Montesquieu, Adam Smith, Bentham, Gibbon, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Marx.

29. These men—and their peers—are the real faculty of St. John's College, the greatest college faculty ever assembled anywhere in the

history of the world. Not only are they the best teachers; they work for nothing. All of them except Joyce, Freud, Russell, and a few others are mistakenly regarded as dead by most educational institutions, and so they are not invited to join the faculties of other colleges, and the students never meet them. Instead, though we know that minds are elevated only by greater minds, the American college boy is expected to have his intellect strengthened by teachers whose intellects are no greater (and, not so rarely, smaller) than his own. His only contact with great minds outside of Shakespeare and one or two others is through the medium of textbooks written by ordinary (and, not so rarely, inferior) pedagogues. "Aren't you sorry"—Mr. Barr asks his interviewer—"for the students in all the other colleges who have nobody to teach them but oafs like me?"

30 You can get the great books list—the fact that they have had thousands of requests for it indicates that something is up in America —from St. John's. Most of us are civilized enough to recognize most of the authors by name at least. How many of them have we read? We have read O'Neill, who isn't on the list, but O'Neill would be the first to say that he is no match for Sophocles. We have read *Anthony Adverse,* but Hervey Allen would never compare it with *Don Quixote.* We have read Edna St. Vincent Millay, but not Dante, Hemingway but not Dostoevsky, Ogden Nash but not (since childhood) Lewis Carroll, Will Durant but not Plato, *How to Win Friends and Influence People* but not Aristotle's *Rhetoric,* Bertrand Russell's *Marriage and Morals* but not his *Principles of Mathematics* or Freud's *Theory of Sex,* and we have seen Gilbert and Sullivan but not Aristophanes, *Abie's Irish Rose* but not Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme.* Homer's description of the encampment before Troy in Book VIII of the *Iliad* makes a "ham" out of the modern war correspondent, and the orations of Pericles and Cicero grow greater compared with the greatest utterances in the United States Senate. "The Greeks," said someone, "could not broadcast the trilogy of Æschylus, but they could write it."

31. A college faculty every one of whose members teaches from the first year through the fourth, a faculty who start with Homer and teach Jefferson and Freud before they teach Homer again, have at least an even chance of keeping out of the rut and avoiding the stoop-shouldered banality that characterizes the teacher five or ten years in harness. In addition, the St. John's faculty has another reason for living and growing: it has undertaken to revise, improve, and embellish the present list of classics. St. John's does not claim to have chosen all the best books—though no educated man would quarrel with most

of the selections. What it is trying to do is to find out which are the most readable and teachable books of all time and present its findings to American education.

32. Of course these are not all the books that a person ought to read. Of course the intelligent citizen should read the best of the current books and magazines and the news and views of the day. The point is that these are not enough; by themselves they may startle and bewilder, but they lack significance. What good does it do our elders today to have memorized the boundaries of Austria-Hungary instead of studying the nature of justice? Can we make the rich boy understand the poor boy simply by telling him how many people are starving? The students, says Alexander Meiklejohn, do not need more information *to begin with*, "the essential difficulty," he adds, "is that they do not think about the information which they already have."

33. The great books, say Barr and Buchanan, are simply those that can most effectively induce thinking. Each of them should create in the reader a never-sated hunger for knowledge. Each of them should be the jumping-off place to a dozen or a hundred books that the citizen ought to read outside of school and college and until the end of life. These educators look upon college not as the end of good reading, but the beginning. Great books do not inform the student of the bargains at the stores; they do not contain this week's map of Greater Germany. But they argue—and they teach the student to argue back —the enduring principles and problems that underlie the actions of men and nations.

34. Some educators mistrust books as static and compare them unfavorably with something vague called "experience" or "observation" or "living." But, say the Great Books Boys, what else are the classics but the collective experience, observation, and living of the human race? If individual experience were the greatest teacher, war veterans would all hate war. If individual experience teaches, how can the average college boy learn anything about tyranny, love, infidelity, betrayal, sacrifice, or perseverance in the face of dishonor or death? Must he wait until Hitler is here before he learns to recognize a Hitler when he sees one? Human experience—not the experience of the individual, but the experience of the race—is full of Hitlers. We want to be able to recognize the arrows of outrageous fortune before they are lodged in our back.

35. Some of the books they read at St. John's are very old. Some were old when Chief Justice Marshall said (Ogden *v.* Saunders, 1827), "When we advert to the course of reading generally pursued by

American statesmen in early life, we must suppose that the framers of our Constitution were intimately acquainted with the writings of those wise and learned men, whose treatises on the laws of nature and nations have guided public opinion." Some of these books were old when Tom Paine read them, when Voltaire and Milton and Spinoza read them, when Newton and Galileo read them. But they are new because they deal, every one of them, with Twentieth-Century human nature; and Freud and Russell and Joyce, though they write in the Twentieth Century, deal with the same human nature, the nature of the Greeks, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and modern America.

36. The D. A. R. may be worried when it learns that the St. John's books include only four American works. But Barr and Buchanan point out that the one hundred and fifty years of the United States is a continuation of the three thousand years of Europe. "The world," says "Winkie" Barr, "did not begin last Tuesday." The American classics are the Constitution, the *Federalist Papers,* William James' *Principles of Psychology,* and Veblen's and Young's *Projective Geometry.* Has any patriot any additions to offer? They will be courteously received and rigorously tested by the five rules formulated by St. John's for admission to the hall of intellectual fame. Here they are—try them on your latest best-seller:

1. A great book is one that has been read by the greatest number of persons—not from week to week, but from year to year and from age to age.

2. A great book has the largest number of possible interpretations—not ambiguities but significances—each interpretation possessing a clarity and force that will allow other interpretations to stand by its side without confusion.

3 A great book raises questions about the great themes in human thought—questions, for instance, concerning number and measurement, matter and form, ultimate substance, tragedy, and God, questions on whose constant cultivation hang the issues of orthodoxy, heresy, and freedom which are always with us.

4. A great book must be a work of fine art—it must have an immediate intelligibility and style which will excite and discipline the ordinary mind by its form alone.

5. A great book must be a masterpiece of the liberal arts, a work whose author was or is a master of thought and imagination, whose writing has been faithful to the ends of these arts.

37. Those are the entrance requirements, and when books so written are read chronologically they illuminate one another and simplify one another's understanding. Newton takes on new meaning from

Euclid, Freud from Sophocles, Kant from Plato, Marx from Hegel, the American Constitution from Locke. The best commentary on a great book, Barr and Buchanan hold, is another great book. Current textbooks in special subject matters are the best examples of books that are detached from the intellectual tradition of the race and are doomed, therefore, to early death.

IV

38. Scientists are sometimes contemptuous of books, but St. John's is the only liberal arts college in America that is genuinely respectful of science. Four years of laboratory science are compulsory for every student. "Not by books alone shall a St. Johnnie be saved," says President Barr. And he points to the college motto, with its succession of Latin puns—"Facio Liberos ex Liberis Libris Libraque," which means, in literal and awkward English, "I Make Free Men out of Children by Means of Books and Balances." "Balances"—laboratory work—occupy every St. Johnnie three hours a week, thirty-six weeks a year. Ernest L. Midgette, a rising star in engineering, abandoned his post at Johns Hopkins last year to teach St. Johnnies how their world was made—and how to make parts of it themselves.

39. St. John's recognizes that principles can be understood in other media than words, that men understand through their hands as well as their heads. Mr. Midgette—his title is merely that of tutor, the professors being Euclid, Galileo, *et al*—shudders every time he considers that the man who drives an automobile has the power of from ninety to one hundred and fifty horses under his feet without knowing how it got there or what it means. "Is it any wonder," he asks himself and you, "that some of our scientific marvels are as much a curse as a boon?"

40. In the laboratory—on its outside a lovely red brick, white-colonnaded building like the rest of St. John's, on its inside a cavernous old place with a striking absence of mystifying machinery—the St. Johnnie freshman, or "rat," begins by constructing a straight edge and a ruler with a piece of string and a stick of chalk. Then he goes on to the manufacture of scales and thermometers, to the reproductions of Archimedes' work on gravity, hydrostatics, and the lever. The freshmen stick to mathematics and measurement, carrying out their book study in the solids of Euclid, the conics of Apollonius. Geometry is the tool of all the sciences, and the St. Johnnie who came to college glorying in the possession of an "unmathematical mind" discovers that the principles of geometry are, not easy perhaps, but conquerable by hardy spirits.

41. On from the simplest fundamental experiments the young scientists move to the construction of the world system as Ptolemy knew it, adding, correcting, refining, as Copernicus, then Kepler, then Newton added, corrected, refined. In his second and third year laboratory the St. Johnnie performs the classical experiments of modern science, from Galileo's discoveries with the inclined plane to the living Millikan's measurement of forces on the electron. His last year—the third and fourth years are still in blue-print of course—he will combine scientific findings in order to investigate concrete problems of central importance He will proceed from physics and chemistry to biology and the medical sciences, where the best combination of problems is found in the cell, in blood balances, in embryology

42. Strange and wonderful things happen to these ordinary boys as they ply between "books and balances." As they discover in the seminar that the moral and political principles of Plato and Aristotle are as good today as the day they were written, so they discover at the work table that the mechanical principles of Galileo haven't changed. "You could construct a modern span bridge with nothing but Galileo," says Mr. Midgette. "His only error was his unawareness of the elasticity of some materials, and Hook discovered that within fifty years of Galileo's death." Professor Edward J. Kasner of Columbia—one of the twelve men who Einstein thinks understands him—was lecturing at St. John's and confessed that he had never been able to find the equation of a certain curve. A freshman arose and said, "Why, we had a theorem in Apollonius' *Conics* the other day that might solve it." And between them, Apollonius, Kasner, and the freshman, they found the equation.

43. The liberal arts are the arts of thinking. We think by means of symbols, and the chief symbols we use are words and numbers. An hour a day, five days a week, for four years, every St. Johnnie studies mathematics in a small class called a tutorial, and another hour a day he studies language. The language tutorials are in Greek the first year, Latin the second, French the third, and German the fourth. Their purpose is not to make Greek or Latin scholars out of college boys who are going to speak English the rest of their lives, but to instruct them in the arts of language. The classics they read in English translation, but taking one's native language apart has psychological difficulties: it is so much a part of us that its internal problems are hard to get hold of In a foreign language, says President Barr, "all the joints show" The structure of English is approached through the structure of the languages that went into its making. And, inci-

dentally, when the young man reading his books is disturbed by—or dissatisfied with—a passage in translation he can refer to the original.

44 That is the curriculum, then, of the liberal arts and the great books: five hours a week each of language and mathematics; two two-hour seminars a week in which the masterpiece under discussion is torn apart and kicked round with the same thoroughness (and, let it be noted, the same enthusiasm) with which the same boys consider the charms of the local queens in dormitory bull sessions; a three-hour laboratory session each week; and one or two lectures a week on special topics in the liberal arts. The seminars are held in the late afternoon or the evening and continue informally until the college Coffee Shop closes at midnight.

45. Do the boys really like it? The answer is: which boys? Remember, the "new" program was installed two years ago, and the present junior and senior classes are still under the elective system. The old-program boys don't like it because they feel like an ailing and penniless old aunt in the house. They are, or act as if they are, contemptuous of the new-programmers, who don't seem to have much time for fun but seem to have a good time anyway. The first year of the Barr-Buchanan administration the entering freshmen were allowed to choose between the old program and the new. Two-thirds took the old. But something funny happened: six upper classmen, one of them a senior and all of them student leaders, sacrificed from one to three years of standing and began over again in the new program. Last year (and from now on) the new program was the only one offered the entering freshmen.

46. The subdued civil war—it sometimes breaks out in the blowing of the lights or minor vandalism—does not make life any easier for Dean Buchanan, nor, incidentally, for the faculty teaching in both programs and going to school itself. But two years on the barricades have hardened the administration and the teachers to toil and turmoil. With the graduation of the Class of '41 (the present sophomores, who are split between the old and new programs) St. John's will get under way full-steam as the kind of college it wants to be.

47. The new-program boys like it fine. At least they act as if they do and they say they do—and that after two years of an education designed to make them act and talk for themselves. Barr and Buchanan are amazed that they like it as well as they do, for St. John's is run on the basis that an educator is a physician, and patients don't always like the doctor, even if he cures them. Intercollegiate athletics—consuming $17,000 out of a $210,000 budget— is being

thrown out next fall, and the intramural program is being extended to afford participation to every boy in five sports, at least two of which he will be able to play through life. There were squawks at this from new-programmers, old-programmers, and alumni, but they could not meet the Barr-Buchanan argument that a bad football team was bringing St. John's neither money nor students nor glory. The five campus fraternities, which for years have enjoyed college-owned houses at a nominal rent, were given a chance to enforce social discipline, and when they failed they were told that next year their houses will be dormitories. St. John's is an educational institution, not a picnic ground.

48. Hard work? Yes, it is hard work, but it isn't dull. The backs of the classroom benches are completely carved up with initials, class numerals, and fraternity letters—mutely recalling the days when college was so dull and empty that the boys turned to whittling while their parents paid tuition for their education. There's no more whittling going on, and it isn't because there's a rule against it but because you've got to read and write and listen and think—or you'll bust out of school and the old man will make you go to work. In 1937 Dean Buchanan dropped 26 boys—despite the desperate need of tuition money—and put 51 more—approximately one-third the student body—on probation, with the remainder of the year to get off or get out. They got off.

49. Hard work? Of course it is. And why not? How old should a boy be before he learns to work? Why should an undergraduate, sixteen or eighteen years old, spend his time at football games, dances, and beer sessions, while a graduate student, a year or two older, spends his time at his studies? Hard work has stunted the growth of children, but it wasn't hard work with the mind. Chinning oneself is hard work, but boys do it anyway; at St. John's they're chinning the head along with the body. The St. Johnnie spends no more time in class than the average student, and not much more time at his books. But the time he spends is spent working hard. If he works, he has time for shows and dances and campus activities.

V

50. John Dewey, the leading opponent of the Hutchins-Barr-Buchanan curriculum, admits that the great books and the liberal arts are the best education for those who are able to master it—an education, he admits further, for which the reformers have found no substitute. It may be too early to say that ordinary—very ordinary—

boys have mastered it; perhaps they only think they have. But they are lapping it up and liking it, and they and their teachers are satisfied that it is not too hard for boys who are willing to exert themselves for an education.

51. We Americans are victims of the pernicious notion that good books are beyond the comprehension of the average mind. But millions of average minds have comprehended them in ages past, boys of fourteen and men of eighty. In one important sense they are easier than the books most of us read, because they are more intelligibly written. They are harder only in the sense that they are more meaningful, more compact; instead of demanding of the reader that he have two—or no—ideas per one hundred pages, they compel him to think about something at every page, or at every paragraph. The reader who opens Plato the way he opens E. Phillips Oppenheim is likely to find that Pato doesn't make sense.

52. Barr and Buchanan hold that the best education is best for any boy or girl, average or superior. To the charge that the St. John's program is "aristocratic"—a charge arising from the fact that it was popular in the days when only the children of the rich went to college—St. John's replies that this is indeed an aristocratic education, but for an aristocracy of brains and character, an aristocracy that anyone can join regardless of wealth or caste. In Plato's ideal state kings were going to be philosophers and philosophers were going to be kings. The world is not suffering just now from overproduction of idealism, and Barr and Buchanan are not ashamed of being idealists.

53. Whether an education that trains boys to think for themselves and transmits to them the wisdom of the race is useful depends on what we mean by useful. In so far as it teaches them to read, write, and reason it is not likely to keep them out of a job. But it is not designed to get them a job. Education so designed, says Barr, is not education but training. "The St. John's program," he goes on, "is concerned with preparing men for the business of living—concerned that they meet not only their bills, but other and subtler obligations which free men must meet." Every animal can be trained for a job; man alone can be educated in the use of reason and free will.

54. Are these powers worth cultivating? Not if we live to eat, not if man shall live by bread alone. But if he has higher hopes than these, if unlike his closest anthropoid cousins, he is not satisfied with an infinity of bananas and female companionship, then he will cultivate the values that are truly and uniquely human. Reason and free will do not operate mechanically to make man better; if he uses them

for evil, if he chooses vicious ends or lets his animal instincts distract him from the worthy ends he has chosen, then, through the exercise of his superior powers, he may be more effectively savage than the most savage brute. The tortures to which men, women, and children are being submitted in Europe and China today have never been used by the beasts.

55. The men who have restored the liberal arts to a small segment of American education are interested in producing liberal men. And by liberal men they mean men who are sufficiently liberated from animality to use their will and intelligence. They do not want to indoctrinate boys with the kind of sentimental "liberalism" that falls away under the pressures of life. They do not want to produce "liberals" who hate bad men, but liberals who understand what makes men bad, how to protect themselves against them, and how to avoid becoming bad men themselves.

56. "The day's news suggests that the liberal democracies are paralyzed," says Stringfellow Barr. "If they are, it is because we Twentieth-Century liberals have missed the point of our own faith. We have slithered into the belief that liberty meant being left alone, and nothing else. We have come to assume that liberalism is the absence of authority, because we can no longer distinguish between authority and tyranny. We have forgotten that the mind that denies the authority of reason falls under the tyranny of caprice. We have forgotten that he who will not answer to the rudder must answer to the rock. We have allowed totalitarian dictators to take out a copyright on words like 'authority' and 'discipline,' although their tyranny is a caricature of authority and their terrorism is a caricature of discipline."

57. American liberalism has erred, Barr suspects, through having asked too little. We have asked for what animals and small children want, but not what free men and women require. We have shouted for freedom of speech, a free press, and free assembly, while one by one these freedoms have disappeared in one modern state after another. We have asked ourselves fearfully whether we too would lose those freedoms. But we have not demanded, as our ancestors did, both for themselves and their children, a mind freed from ignorance, an awakened imagination, and a disciplined reason, without which we cannot effectually use our other freedoms or even preserve them.

58. There are five million college graduates in America. Most of them proclaim their faith in human liberty, and the most illiberal of them proclaim it the loudest. What kind of education did they have?

Though few of them were ever likely to starve, they insisted on being educated for a job. Most jobs require little or no knowledge of the books that deal with the great problems of men and nations, and most college degrees require no more. Is it possible that so few of these five million are "men of principle" because they failed to find out what principles were in the course of their education?

59. There is no magic in books; no guarantee goes with them. Men have read them and still turned out bad. But we want our children to learn how to think; the men who wrote these books thought well. We want our children to think about important things; the men who wrote immortally did that. Books are only teachers, and, as such, are only means to an end. The end is men who think for themselves. If our liberal institutions survive another fifty or one hundred years, St. John's College hopes to have contributed liberally educated men to their support. Mr. Walter Lippmann, who is not given to hysteria, ventures that men will some day say that St. John's was the seedbed of the American Renaissance.

60. If the higher learning in America has failed to produce high and learned men, it is sometimes hard to see how those same men will ever reform American education. But we know that even in bad systems, as in bad states, good men arise to provide leadership. The elder Holmes once said in the early days of this country that the United States, by its very existence, threatened every government in Europe. So St. John's College, insignificant as it is in buildings, endowment, and prestige, by its very existence threatens every college and university in America.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. What allusion to our early history is there in the first sentence of paragraph 1? Of what striking figure of speech does the entire paragraph consist? Is it realistic and convincing? How is the figure continued into paragraph 2?
2. What is the "liberty of bacon and beans" (paragraph 3)? How important is it as compared with the "freedom of the human mind"?
3. In paragraph 4 what allusion is there to the figure of paragraph 1? What value has such a backward allusion? What additional figure of speech does the paragraph contain?
4. What allusion is there in paragraph 5 back to the last sentence of paragraph 3?
5. How much of the argument in paragraphs 6-7 has emotional and how much has logical value? How convincing do you consider it?
6. How effective is the argument of paragraphs 9-10 that the great books are "contemporary in any age"? How do you explain the fact that current best sellers are soon forgotten?
7. Does Mr. Mayer in paragraphs 12-13 consider a knowledge of great books suitable only for "the selected few"? What is your own judgment?
8. Do you believe undergraduates better qualified to choose subjects of study for themselves than college faculties are to choose for them? What is the view of paragraph 15?
9. From your experience on the campus do you think a college or university must emphasize either "mental discipline" or "fun and frolic," but not both? How accurate do you consider the characterization of American schools of higher education in paragraphs 15-18?
10. What allusion back to paragraph 6 is there in paragraph 21?
11. In your dictionary look up "frantic," "frenzy," "phrenetic." What common meaning and what common language source have they? What common meaning and language source have "phlegm" and "phlegmatic"? How do the root meanings of these words apply to the characterizations of the two St John's leaders in paragraphs 21-22?
12. How good a statement of the teacher-student-book relation do you consider paragraph 25? How does the characterization fit your own school experience?
13. Do you believe a person no longer living can discuss topics of interest to you? How can he? Does Mr. Mayer in paragraph

29 convince you that the authors of the "great books" are "mistakenly regarded as dead"?

14. Have you read any of the classics listed in paragraph 30? Do you think one could more wisely spend his time on them or on the recent books with which they are contrasted?
15. Do you think one can become soundly educated by reading only current books? How convincing do you find the argument of paragraphs 32-33?
16. How many books have you read that would qualify under the five St. John's rules of paragraph 36? If we are invited to test our reading by these rules we have a right to criticize them rigidly Could a "great book" itself in the beginning meet the test of rule 1?
17. From paragraphs 38-44 you can with some imagination work out a fairly detailed schedule of St. John's studies. How does it compare with your own? How would you like it? Do you believe science to be adequately represented?
18. Note in paragraph 45 that Mr. Mayer's discussion was written when the St. John's program had been in operation for only two years. Are you familiar with any part of what has been written about the school in recent years?
19. Does the reaction of the students, old and new, reported in paragraphs 45-47 and the comments in the two paragraphs following impress you favorably with the St. John's system? Do the seats in your classroom show any carvings? Are the carvings recent? Do you consider this matter in the same light as does Mr. Mayer?
20. Do college students generally believe education should be "designed to get them a job"? How convincing do you consider the argument on this point in paragraphs 52-54?
21. According to paragraph 55 what is more important than learning to "hate bad men"?
22. What do you think of the view of liberalism and liberty in paragraphs 55-58? Do you think the St. John's curriculum likely to produce graduates of the kind desired by its leaders?
23. You have been reading in "Socrates Crosses the Delaware" of an educational philosophy which has in recent years produced a great deal of controversy in our periodicals, in books, and in private discussion. How does it now appeal to you? Select some aspect of the problem which interests you and set down your view in such a paper as your instructor may wish.

The Future of Our Higher Education

JAMES BRYANT CONANT

James Bryant Conant (1893–) became an instructor in Chemistry at Harvard University on receiving the Ph.D. degree from that institution in 1916. Rising steadily to the chairmanship of the Chemistry Department in 1931, he became President of Harvard University in 1933. He has been visiting lecturer at the University of California and research associate at California Institute of Technology. He has been given degrees and other honors by many American and two European universities. He was a major in the Chemical Warfare Service in 1918, is author or editor of several volumes in the field of chemistry, and is a member of various scientific and honorary societies. [*Harper's Magazine*, 176:561–570, May, 1938. By permission of the author and the publisher.]

1. THE FABRIC OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM of education has been woven with four distinct threads of different hue: two represent the aristocratic traditions of the old world, two the democratic forces unleashed on a new continent. As year by year the cloth slowly and continuously comes from the loom the proportion of the threads changes in response to variations in the complex social life of a great nation. From decade to decade the pattern alters. At times we who tend the educational machinery may fancy that we control the changing lines and varying intricacies of color, but we delude ourselves. We are not designers—free agents capable of radically altering the pattern through our collective wisdom. The design in broad outline is determined by forces far beyond our control, forces which, indeed, control each of us as surely as they controlled our predecessors.

2. Our task, I take it, in the famous phrase of Gladstone, is "working the institutions of the country." We must keep the machines running—foresee the need for fuel and oil, for new parts from time to time, and repair the breaks in the colored yarns. But to perform these functions satisfactorily we must to some extent foresee what is to come. We must estimate the strength and weakness of the threads. As historians we can trace the changes on the cloth; as prophets we may hope

to outline those to come. And since it has always been the role of prophets not only to foretell the future but to urge the desirability of the inevitable, we may from time to time pretend we are more than skilled machinists; each of us may temporarily assume the role of a masterful designer.

3. Now, examining in retrospect the first cloth which came from the early American educational loom I find the two aristocratic threads predominating. As I foresee the future I see these threads largely displaced by the two of democratic origin. Perhaps all eyes are not the same as mine. The very nature of this miraculous textile manufactured by schools, colleges, and universities makes its appearance most deceptive. Where one man discovers a beautiful design another sees a jarring inconsistency of line and color. For example, on a modern section from another country I spell out the words tyranny, dogmatism, decay. Others see on the same strip in letters of flaming gold—loyalty, happiness, efficiency, patriotism. But I have undertaken to examine the weave of the American product, not to decipher the pattern. Let us proceed, therefore, with an attempt at an objective examination.

4. One of the binding elements in all education for hundreds of years has been the perpetuation of a learned class. When the members of this class are related, one to another, generation after generation, we can speak of a learned aristocracy. The clearest example is perhaps the French *noblesse de robe* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the earliest colonial period the New England clergy occupied a not dissimilar position. This element in the early American educational fabric was strong. Nor is it negligible to-day. In this century we must amplify the phrase "a learned ministry" to include the lay as well as the spiritual leaders of the country. May the desire to be one of the company of leaders continue to be inherited! A nation is poor which cannot count among its assets family names synonymous with highly trained ability placed at the disposal of the people.

5. The other aristocratic element represents not the tradition of learning within a family but the passing on of power and wealth from generation to generation. The education of what to-day we call the "privileged group" has been one of the tasks of the universities of the world since the end of the Middle Ages. A gentleman's education from century to century has not been simple to define, nor in many cases easy to administer. Indeed, an impartial appraisal of this golden thread has always proved difficult. Some would pluck it out; others see the whole cloth as one of gold. And only a specialist within a laboratory can examine gold objectively.

6. But there is no use ignoring, bewailing, or magnifying the problem. As long as the institution of the family exists certain sons will inherit from their fathers special relationships to local social groupings. The privileged position may be transmitted by virtue of wealth or social prestige or political power; but like the poor, the privileged are always with us. Their education must be fitted into the general scheme. As far as possible it should be made not a separate component but an integral part of our institutions of higher learning. On this point I quote, as a matter of historical record, from President Eliot's inaugural address at Harvard in 1869:

7. "The poorest and the richest students are equally welcome here, provided that with their poverty or their wealth they bring capacity, ambition, and purity. The poverty of scholars is of inestimable worth in this money-getting nation. It maintains the true standards of virtue and honor. The poor friars, not the bishops, saved the church. The poor scholars and preachers of duty defend the modern community against its own material prosperity. Luxury and learning are ill bedfellows. Nevertheless, this College owes much of its distinctive character to those who, bringing hither from refined homes good breeding, gentle tastes, and a manly delicacy, add to them openness and activity of mind, intellectual interests, and a sense of public duty. It is as high a privilege for a rich man's son as for a poor man's to resort to these academic halls, and so to take his proper place among cultivated and intellectual men. To lose altogether the presence of those who in early life have enjoyed the domestic and social advantages of wealth would be as great a blow to the College as to lose the sons of the poor. The interests of the College and the country are identical in this regard. The country suffers when the rich are ignorant and unrefined. Inherited wealth is an unmitigated curse when divorced from culture."

8. Turning now to the democratic elements in the development of American education, we recognize at once their mighty influence. Approximately a century ago a period of educational reform set in. On both sides of the Atlantic democratic and liberal ideas began their devastating attack on an educational system largely conceived in the aristocratic tradition. In England old citadels had to be captured first. The siege of Oxford and Cambridge lasted for half a century. In the United States the course was one of expansion and development: the great American public-school system has been the result. The institutions of higher education were so little developed in this country as to offer no such resistance as in Great Britain. Those already in existence were remodeled, a multitude of others founded.

9. The two different currents in this democratic reform of education—the two threads I have mentioned—are described in a recent history of the American Republic in these words:

10. "Jefferson . . . proposed to train an intellectual aristocracy—one selected for 'genius and virtue,' not anyone who had the ambition—to serve the Republic. And he proposed to do this in colleges and universities free from sectarian or political control, in order to give the scholar's mind free play. Jacksonian Democracy, on the contrary, affirmed that all men were born equal, envied intellectual pre-eminence, and preached the doctrine of equal educational privilege for all."

11. I have ventured to apply the word democratic to both these elements which have predominated so strongly in recent times. I have done this in spite of the fact that the historians just quoted have employed the phrase "intellectual aristocracy" in describing the Jeffersonian approach to educational problems. To my mind Jefferson's proposal—"to cull from every condition of our people the natural aristocracy of talent and virtue"—was so democratic as to be revolutionary. The eighteenth-century system of higher education was operated by and large for a selected group, but a group selected primarily from the sons of the learned ministers, the wealthy merchants, or the prosperous planters. To me a "natural aristocracy" chosen afresh with each succeeding generation is a necessary element in a democracy.

12. There are, however, a sufficient number of real problems in education without laboring a possible dispute about the meaning of such amorphous words as "democracy" and "aristocracy." As to the Jacksonian democratic tradition, here there can be no doubt as to the correctness of the term. This political philosophy included a demand for education for the people and all the people. The sweep of the new idea throughout the land will be recorded by future historians, I believe, as one of the significant achievements of the American Republic. On the solid basis of our public-school system we can face the educational problems of the future in a way never before possible in the history of the world.

13. But in one important respect the future will be different from the past. One condition which has greatly affected educational history in the United States in the past fifty years will be absent in the coming period which we are entering. I refer to the tremendous increase in the population during the nineteenth century, the ever-enlarging school system, the ever-increasing college and university student body. All this was part and parcel of an expanding universe; part and parcel of a nation whose development every day in every way was not only

to be better and better, but larger and greater by every quantitative test.

14. This is all past. One of the few elemental factors which control the destinies of nations and civilizations has changed its direction in this country. By 1960 or thereabouts we shall have a stationary population. The expansive pressure on our schools will soon be gone; indeed, a lessening of the tension is already evident. In the kindergarten and the first five elementary grades there was a decrease in attendance of 7.7 per cent for the whole country in 1935-36, as compared with a decade ago. It has been estimated that an actual diminution in the first-year high-school class will be felt in 1939-40. A stationary population with a relatively high percentage of adults and a relatively small percentage of youths to be educated presents a totally different picture from the situation which existed a generation ago. What will be the influence of this changed condition on the course of educational development?

15. The fundamental difference will be one of altered emphasis. We shall cease to be concerned with a breathless race to provide enlarged accommodations. We shall have time to stop and consider other important matters. One of the most important, surely, is adult education, but space does not permit my discussing this subject. And as far as higher education of young people is concerned, the first question on the agenda is: Higher education for whom?

II

16. In a recent article, "Education in a Changing World," Professor Kandel has expressed the view that "in the United States the supreme task of educational statesmanship to-day is to discover more accurate and more reliable methods of educational guidance. This will mean not merely the substitution of new-type tests for the old examinations, but more careful attention to teachers' estimates, and particularly to a continuous record of the development of each pupil's interests, abilities, and aptitudes. Only in this way can education contribute to the happiness of individuals and the welfare of society."

17. With this statement I heartily agree. The problem of "culling the natural aristocracy from every condition of our people" is much more complex and difficult than Jefferson imagined. We have only begun to envisage the ways and means of approximating his ideal. We must not only perfect our methods of selecting those most suitable for certain types of higher education but arrange for a different type of

training for those not so "culled." Selection is not a "weeding out process"—it is one aspect of educational guidance which has as its aim the direction of every youth into a fruitful field of labor. Only a relatively few should proceed through the long and somewhat tedious process of "book learning" that leads to the professions. The others should receive a training which not only equips them for work in certain vocations but prepares them for life as well-rounded, intelligent, and useful citizens in a democratic society.

18. Clearly the basic conditions for the differentiation of higher education are universal elementary education and universal opportunities for secondary education. Toward the first goal we have made great strides in the past fifty years. Though much more remains to be done, the groundwork has been laid. Relatively little talent is lost to the country because of a lack of educational opportunities at the lowest level. When we consider high school, college, and university, however, the case is quite otherwise. It has been stated that 63 per cent of the persons between the ages of fourteen and seventeen now attend public or private high schools; only 11 per cent of those between eighteen and twenty-one attend colleges or universities.

19. The proportion of the population which is now receiving a higher education may be too large or too small. This is not an easy question to answer without defining carefully what we mean by "higher education." But only the most unrealistic optimist would believe that the accidental interplay of social and economic forces has resulted in the selection of the *right* 11 per cent of our youth for college work. And no one who thinks in terms of adapting the education to the student would imagine that the same type of training would be desirable for the entire 100 per cent of boys and girls of college age even if it were felt advisable for everyone to go to college.

20. Furthermore, the most casual inspection of the situation in different parts of the country shows that the future course of development must vary from section to section. There must be an adaptation of present local traditions. There is no single answer to the problem of higher education applicable to the entire nation. In the present diversity of our methods lies strength for the future. One group of institutions may perform one task; another totally different group may serve an equally useful but dissimilar purpose. We do not need to reduce our present heterogeneity to uniformity. We need rather to adapt each component part of our educational plan to some end consistent with the general objectives of modern society.

21. Let us start with the professional education offered in our uni-

versities and work backward through the age groups of the American student body. I am inclined to think that probably there are too many rather than too few students attending the universities of the country. I should very much question the desirability of increasing materially the number in our professional schools. Indeed, in some instances the number might well be reduced. The social problems created by serious unemployment in the learned professions are obvious. The German experience in the decade after the War should warn us against the perils lying in wait for a nation which trains a greater number of professional men than society can employ.

22. In medicine the danger seems slight, though nearly twice as many doctors enter the profession as are lost by death each year. The peculiar conditions necessary for a first-class medical course, such as expensive laboratories and association with hospitals, make it possible to control the inflow of students. Probably five to ten times as many young men would like to study medicine as are admitted annually. Though the exclusion of so many results in much disappointment, I cannot but feel that the situation in this sector of our universities is satisfactory.

23. With the law there is no such selective process at work. Within the limits set by geographic and economic factors almost anyone with a modicum of intelligence and academic ability can enroll in a law school and eventually become a lawyer. Many competent observers feel that the profession is seriously overcrowded. If a statistical analysis should convince the members of the bar that this is, indeed, the case I imagine it would be difficult to devise ways and means to restrict entry into the profession. It would certainly require, first, the education of public opinion.

24. But in so far as a redistribution of public funds for educational purposes can be accomplished, the numbers in our universities can be controlled. Certainly before any institution embarks on an expansion of the student body in a professional school the authorities concerned should consider carefully the questions: Is there a need in this direction? Will this new venture do more good than harm? Before further academic training is provided for a large number of students bent on entering some particular profession or vocation, the first question to consider is the employment situation. The second is the relation of the proposed course of study to entry into this particular line of work—in short, the placement of the graduates.

25. An institution of higher education cannot light-heartedly open the doors of a new school or department offering professional or

vocational training without weighing carefully the possibility that there will be a large number of unemployed graduates. It is easy to say that another year or two of schooling is as desirable as a year or two of partial unemployment. As far as university instruction is concerned, I challenge this point of view. I doubt if society can make a graver mistake than to provide *advanced* higher education of a specialized nature for men and women who are unable subsequently to use this training. Quite apart from economic considerations, the existence of any large number of highly educated individuals whose ambitions have been frustrated is unhealthy for any nation. The problem of unemployment in the learned professions is likely to become more acute in this country as the relative proportion of adults in the population increases. It deserves our most serious attention.

26. Let us assume that we do not need any increase in the total number of students in the professional schools of our universities. That all is well with the present situation, however, by no means follows as a matter of course. On the contrary, a revolutionary change is much to be desired. At the risk of being dogmatic without sufficient evidence, I suggest that the country at large would benefit by an elimination of at least a quarter, or perhaps one-half, of those now enrolled in advanced university work, and the substitution of others of more talent in their place. That there is a large untapped reservoir of such promising material I have no doubt. That geographic and economic factors prevent our utilizing this reserve I feel quite certain. In spite of our much-vaunted democracy of opportunity and "education for all," can anyone doubt that of the 89 per cent who do not go to college at least 5 per cent of high ability have failed to proceed for economic reasons? Probably this figure is too low; but it is sufficient to illustrate the point.

III

27. The opportunities for higher education are very unequally divided. Youths of the large cities are at a great advantage compared with those who dwell in towns or rural communities. Every metropolitan center has one or more large universities, and if a boy lives at home he can obtain professional education in these cities at low cost. No such privilege is available for the young man in a community beyond the commuting range. This situation has arisen accidentally, but its results are most unfortunate.

28. What is the remedy? To attempt to locate universities at every crossroad? Hardly. By necessity, first-class professional training must

be carried on in relatively few centers in the country, perhaps a hundred or so. The advancement of knowledge and university teaching must go hand in hand. A community of scholars must not grow too large; nor can it thrive if too small. Each group must have expensive libraries and laboratories. It is an impossible ideal to imagine a university in every city or large-sized town. Notice, please, I am discussing universities; we are coming to the college problem later. The location of our present universities is already a matter of history. It is extremely unlikely that these institutions could be moved, or new ones founded in sufficient numbers to change the present pattern appreciably for years to come. There is, therefore, only one way to provide a university education for the promising youths who are now debarred by economic and geographic factors: by a generous subsidy—by large scholarships, or by providing opportunities for earning a sizable amount of money.

29. It is strange that, in spite of the great need for scholarships in our present educational system, the basic considerations involved in a discussion of this subject are often entirely misunderstood. For example, a prominent educator said recently, "Unblushingly, presidents of large and dignified universities have announced they are going out to buy students or at least bribe the unsophisticated youth to attend their universities and have even boldly applied to their alumni for large funds for this purpose." Now there can be no question that the scholarship system has been gravely abused. That, however, does not justify a sweeping condemnation of the system, let alone an attack on proposals to increase endowments designed to provide financial aid to students.

30. Under the name of scholarships subsidies have been given to athletes, and tuition has been discounted by many an institution to increase enrollment. I do not propose to discuss either of these practices. I should like to point out, however, that while scholarships of an amount less than the tuition are essentially rebates, they may be a desirable feature of an institution's general policy. In other instances they may be merely a method of filling up the vacant ranks by attracting boys to come to one place rather than to another. If an institution needs more students, and can accommodate them without appreciable extra expense, it is clearly profitable to enroll a greater number even at a greatly reduced tuition.

31. The danger in this sort of competition lies in the temptation offered to boys and girls to undertake types of education for which they are not adapted. Such competition to some extent nullifies intelligent educational guidance. Furthermore, it is a wasteful process to have two colleges or graduate schools bidding against each other for the same boy

Not only is it wasteful of money, but it has a bad influence on the youth concerned. A great deal of this now goes on, we must admit, not only at the college level but in the graduate schools. Conferences between officials of colleges and professional schools, however, can go far in reducing these undesirable practices to a minimum. This is particularly true if the principle is recognized that the amount of financial aid should be determined not by the institution's desire for the particular student, but by the applicant's need as evidenced by the income of his family.

32. When we consider that probably less than 3 per cent of the families of this country receive an annual income of $5,000 or more, it is quite clear why competition occurs. The boy or girl who does not live at home and who will accept a scholarship of tuition, or less, must clearly have some resources, or be prepared to earn extra money. Can anyone believe that any large proportion of such youths come from families with a total income as low as $2,000? And yet 80 per cent of the families of the country probably receive no more than this amount. It is perfectly evident to me that at the college level, and at the advanced professional-school stage, all the institutions of the country have been fishing in one small pond. They have been concerned, by and large, with a competition for the most promising youths in the income-tax-paying group; and at least three-quarters, or more probably 90 per cent, of the youths of the country are not to be found within this class.

33. In a country with forty-eight States generalizations are dangerous. The reader may feel that I am painting much too dismal a picture of the fate of the poor boy, and that I am overlooking the existence of our great State-supported universities. No one can be unmindful of the value of their work. It is true that an education can be obtained at these centers at very low cost. Furthermore, earning one's way through college is still both possible and fashionable; probably easier at our State universities than at the privately endowed institutions, but still possible at both.

34. Nevertheless, I submit the following facts to support my plea for a greatly enlarged scholarship policy for the country: (1) the statistics in regard to the income of the families of the country (less than 3 per cent with $5,000 or more, 80 per cent with income of less than $2,000) and the number of students of college age in our colleges or universities (11 per cent) as compared with the high-school figure of 63 per cent; (2) the fact that, with the unemployment situation as it is to-day, working one's way through college is much more difficult than in former times; (3) the empirical evidence collected incidentally during

the past few years in connection with the administration of the Harvard National Scholarships in certain States in the Middle West. The Dean's Office has found case after case of a most likely candidate for university work—a young man of outstanding ability and personality—who could not afford to go even to the public supported university of his State. A scholarship which would pay the total cost of his education away from home would enable such a boy to go on; otherwise his higher education would consist only of high-school work or the instruction offered in a local academy. These youths are lost to the professional leadership of the country. They are lost to the advancement of knowledge and its application to the needs of society. No one can estimate the potential gifts to civilization which are yearly squandered by cutting off the further education of boys and girls for financial reasons.

35. A sound scholarship policy, I am convinced, can be established only if one starts with the premise that the stipend be adjusted to the financial needs of the individual. For the student absolutely devoid of resources the award must be large enough to cover all the expenses of an education away from home. To pay this same stipend to a boy whose family can provide a portion of the requisite amount is not only a waste of precious funds but of dubious advantage to the boy.

36. In recent years at Harvard College there has been developed in connection with the "National Scholarships," now available in the Middle and Far West, what we call a "sliding scale." The study of a great many actual cases has yielded basic data indicating the probable contribution to a boy's education that a family of a certain size with a certain income can afford to make. Tables have been constructed as a guide in adjusting the stipend of each successful applicant for this new type of scholarship. For example, it is estimated that a family with a total of three or four dependents and an income of $2,000 can hardly be expected to contribute more than one or two hundred dollars a year toward the college education of a promising son. The balance to make up the total amount ($1,000) needed for all expenses of the Freshman year at Harvard is provided by the College. On the other hand, a family with an income of over $5,000 and one or two children should be able to supply almost the total requisite amount.

37. The award of a "National Scholarship" is made in the first instance solely on the grounds of merit, of promise as determined by a careful study of the individual and his record. The stipend is adjusted in the way just mentioned; the brilliant applicant from a well-to-do family receives a small sum as a prize. When the lists are published the amount of the award is not made public. No one outside the Dean's

Office knows whether a given winner receives $100 or $1,000; or, rather, no one outside the Dean's Office except an official of another college. For a statement of our scale has proved of great value in eliminating the unfortunate aspects of the competition between institutions. If a successful applicant receives an award from another college larger than the one proposed on the basis of this scale, he is of course welcome to accept it and go elsewhere. An extension of this same principle to the graduate schools would be helpful.

38. Certain of the features of the system just described might not be of value in another institution, but as to the importance of the principle of the "sliding scale" I venture to be quite dogmatic. Unless the universities of the country can supply scholarships with large stipends to boys without financial backing they cannot "cull from every condition of our people" that natural aristocracy to which Jefferson referred.

39. In this article the word scholarship is used as a general term to designate financial assistance given to the student of ability and character. From the point of view of society it is of little importance whether the money comes to the recipient as a pure scholarship award, as a loan, or in return for employment. In any case an educational road for a promising youth has been opened irrespective of his finances. From the point of view of the student, however, the distinction is obviously very great.

40. Except in certain professional schools whose graduates will soon be in a position to repay the loans, any considerable sum of money lent to a student is apt to prove a millstone round his neck. For each college and each professional school there is some maximum figure beyond which a loan should not be made. Lending money beyond this breaking point is almost certain to start a young man in active life with a severe handicap. The temptation to repudiate the loan is great. There is no surer way of destroying moral fiber than through such temptation. And yet much is to be said in favor of the student's actually borrowing a certain fraction of the financial assistance he receives.

41. The merits of requiring a boy or girl who receives assistance to render service in return by work done in odd hours are open to debate. The disciplinary value of such work may often be considerable. We have had fortunate experience with such financial aid at Harvard; for one type of student we should be loath to relinquish it. For another type, however, we believe the outright grant of a scholarship is highly desirable.

42. These problems cannot be solved in general terms. Each college and each professional school must develop its own policy. In one lo-

cality certain kinds of employment are more readily available than in others. Whatever work is required should be carefully controlled. All too many students are to-day struggling so desperately to earn a living while attending a college or university that they permanently impair their health. A generation or so ago it was an easier matter to earn one's way through college—though we often fail to consider at what cost certain students obtained an education even in those days. The development of a well-rounded individual with sound health is worth much to the country. The future officers of the Army and the Navy are not expected to pay their way through West Point or Annapolis by doing chores. Why should we treat the future leaders in our non-military adventures with less consideration?

IV

43. For those who proceed beyond high school but do not contemplate entering a learned profession, a university education is not essential. A certain type of college, unlike universities, can be widely distributed throughout the country. Indeed, in certain parts of this nation such colleges—junior colleges—are rapidly expanding. Some sort of liberal arts education should precede a professional training, particularly for the gifted student. But a general college education can be given at greatly reduced cost locally, since students live at home. The economic basis for the junior college movement seems clear. But the question remains as to what proportion of the population should receive even a two-year college education. To answer this question or to discuss the nature of such a two-year course lies beyond the scope of this article. On the relation of such junior colleges to our universities, however, I should like to hazard an opinion.

44. Some prominent educators maintain that the road to all university work should lead through a two-year junior college. Perhaps this may be the eventual outcome of the development of our educational system, though the resistance to the trend toward junior colleges will be great in certain sections of the country. Personally I should prefer the alternative by which selected high-school graduates leave their local communities and go directly to a four-year college of what may be called the "university type." In such a liberal arts college about half the students are headed for further higher education. The atmosphere is quite different from that of a local two-year institution where only a small proportion plan to go on to university work. The liberal education which these four-year colleges provide, particularly if they are

part of a university, I believe to be of value. It is not only a question of academic standards, the quality of the teaching, the scholarly atmosphere, but the diversity of the student body. In such colleges the four threads of the American educational pattern are drawn together. The youths from all parts of the country rub shoulders and forget their provincial prejudices. In such centers a liberal arts course preparatory to a professional training can be offered, of special significance for the youth of great promise. Is it not worth while to insure a balanced group in these institutions by a liberal scholarship policy which will tap all economic levels of society?

45. If the advanced work in a university is to be made available on a broader scale than hitherto, a great extension of financial assistance will be necessary. If the selection of the group to receive this aid is made on graduation from high school, the junior college can then be left to perform its special task. Each locality will decide what type of education it wishes to provide at public expense. In making this decision the relatively few university students can be disregarded, for under the plan I am suggesting they will have left the local community at the end of the high-school course and have proceeded to a liberal arts college en route to advanced university work.

V

46. It is obvious that there can be no single uniform pattern for the development of higher education in the next generation. Sectional differences are too great. The colleges and universities already established are too varied. Nothing short of a violent revolution or a national dictator could reduce them to uniformity. And the uniformity thus established would automatically eliminate the university spirit; it would, indeed, eliminate the universities themselves in all but name. It is, nevertheless, possible to proceed along the road of development in many different ways. Some educational innovations will suit the temper of the times and will flourish; others will be ill adjusted and will perish. No one educator can outline the perfect plan; nor can all of us (even if we agreed, which is most unlikely) call the tune. We can, however, define the problems, suggest the alternative routes, and by public discussion do our part in directing the forces of democracy toward ends we feel desirable. Without attempting to play the role of supreme educational planner, any one of us may post warning signs on roads he believes dangerous or impassable.

47. Those of us who are confident of the continued triumph of

democracy on this continent can have no fear lest the Jacksonian tradition of education for all perish. But in regard to the Jeffersonian tradition we may feel more apprehension, for it has never taken deep root even in this country, its native land. We must continually urge upon the nation the desirability of directing the expenditure of public money for education with the selective process in mind. University education for all is to me a contradiction in terms. A two-year course in a junior college, however, might conceivably be desirable for every boy and girl, though many educators doubt the value even of high school for certain types of students. This much is certain: that a selection of a group of promising students from all economic levels for higher education in the universities is essential for the continued vitality of a democracy.

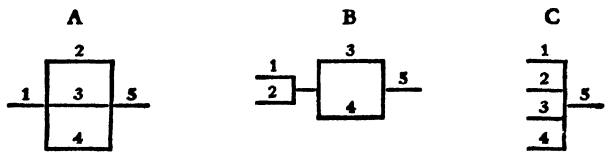
48. The four threads of the American educational fabric are knotted together in our great centers of learning. In the future, as in the past, the aristocratic and the democratic traditions must be united in correct proportions. Our institutions of higher learning must neither be overwhelmed by numbers nor cut off from the great reservoirs of talent made ready by our superb public-school system. Above all, Jefferson's ideal must be achieved. If we can in the next decade draw appreciably nearer to the goal he outlined, higher education will flourish as never before. Our children will see what the world has never witnessed: a nation in which basic education is truly universal and careers are open to the talented drawn from every class and section of the land.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. In line 9, what is the meaning of "intricacies"? Is it related in meaning and in language source to "intrigue"? To "trick"?
2. In line 10, what common meaning and language source does "radically" have with "eradicate"? With "radix"? Is it related to "radius"? To "radish"?
3. In line 79, how is "distinctive" related to "distinguish"? Is it related to "extinct" or "extinguish"?
4. In line 179, how is "envisage" (see "visage") related in meaning and language source to "view"? What other English words come from the same root? Is "vision" among them? Is "vivid"? Is "vivacious"?
5. In the third sentence of paragraph 19, what is meant by "unrealistic optimist"? By "accidental interplay of social and

economic forces"? In the next to the last sentence of paragraph 20, what is meant by "to reduce our present heterogeneity to uniformity"? In the next to the last sentence of paragraph 32, what is meant by "fishing in one small pond"?

6. Note that the first sentence of the article introduces the analogy of weaving. Does this analogy extend throughout the article or is it limited to the first sentence or the first paragraph? How valuable in the explanation do you find it? Does it add interest, or clearness, or both?
7. In lines 9-11 there is an appositive. How is it set off? What other punctuation might the author have used? Would it have given the appositive as much emphasis?
8. Note the punctuation before "but" joining main clauses in the following places: in line 9, in line 66, in line 204, and in line 251; before "and" joining main clauses in the following places: in line 295, in line 364, and in line 455. What other instances in the article can you find? Why does President Conant vary the punctuation in these places? What effect for separation and emphasis of ideas does the varying punctuation give?
9. In compound sentences without conjunctions between the main clauses what punctuation do you find in line 20; in line 59; in line 530? What other instances do you find? Is there anywhere a comma between main clauses without a joining conjunction?
10. Note the colon in line 2; in line 255; in line 376; in line 551; in line 563. In which of these cases is the colon followed by an enumeration of particulars called for before the colon and in which by a restatement of the idea before the colon? Note especially the use of colon and semicolon in the first sentence of paragraph 34.
11. Consult Appendix B-I and then indicate why you prefer graph A, B, or C to represent the structure of paragraph 27.



12. Make a précis of paragraph 3; or of paragraph 26; or of paragraph 35; or of paragraph 36; or of paragraph 44.
13. Make a précis, two or three sentences in length, of each of the five divisions of the article.

14. Study the organization and the transition of President Conant's article. Which of the four threads mentioned in the first paragraph is introduced in the first sentence of paragraph 4? In the first sentence of paragraph 5? What transition expression at the beginning of paragraph 8 tells you how far the discussion has progressed? What topic for discussion does paragraph 15 introduce? What is the relation of sections II-IV to this topic? What is the function of section V?
15. What is meant in paragraph 3 by the reference to "another country"? How far do you consider the opposing points of view here suggested to be the outcome of careful consideration of essential facts and how far the result of blind emotion?
16. What do you think of President Eliot's view in paragraph 7?
17. In paragraph 10 which at first thought seems wiser to you, the view of Jefferson or that of Jackson? Does President Conant later attempt to harmonize the two views? How?
18. What fundamental change in the school situation is outlined in paragraphs 13-15? Will a change in population surely produce a corresponding change in elementary school, high school, and college attendance?
19. Realizing fully that your background for discussing the question is less extensive than that of President Conant, comment on his view in paragraph 25. Note that he is discussing university education for the professions.
20. Do you agree with the principle advocated in paragraph 26? If you accept the principle, what do you think of the proportions one-fourth or one-half there stated?
21. Do you agree that the situation outlined in paragraph 27 is "most unfortunate"?
22. What is your opinion of the "sound scholarship policy" explained in paragraphs 35-37?
23. Do you agree with the criticism of student loans in paragraph 40?
24. How convincing is the argument in paragraphs 41 and 42 against working one's way through college?
25. In paragraph 43 President Conant declines to say "what proportion of the population should receive even a two-year college education." Have you an opinion on this point?
26. How far do you agree with the argument in paragraphs 44 and 45 against junior college training for high school students who expect to go on for university work?
27. Do you agree, as is suggested in parapraph 47, that the Jeffersonian principle of education is in more danger than the Jacksonian? Which principle does the author favor in paragraph 48?

28. Write a paper of such length as your instructor may direct. For a single paragraph or a short paper choose a topic from items 15-27. For a longer paper, comment on the article as a whole, or give your own view of some aspect of college education as now broadened by the reading of President Conant's article.

X

The Garment of Thought

MOST PERSONS wish to become acquainted with a larger number of words and to increase their skill in the use of those they already know. Many will agree that a good vocabulary deserves even the extremely important place which Mr. Johnson O'Connor claims for it. In recent years not only college students but also educators, magazine and book writers, and the public generally have thought and said a great deal about words. How much is really new in this discussion and how much a restatement in new terms of principles long recognized you may in part learn in this section through articles by authors as far apart in time as John Locke and Archibald MacLeish.

*

WORDS

This is man's noblest edifice. All else
Crumbles and rots. His loftiest stone is thrust
Into the patient and ironic dust.
His iron ships, his scornful citadels
Are blown apart by gas, by fiery shells
And mingle in forgotten pools of rust.
But words, mere words, invulnerable, august,
Become his statesmen and his sentinels.

—Louis Untermeyer, *Selected Poems and Parodies*, 1935. By permission of Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Words are the dress of thoughts, which should no more be presented in rags, tatters, and dirt than our person should.

—Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773).

Vocabulary and Success

JOHNSON O'CONNOR

As Director of the Human Engineering Laboratories at Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, New Jersey, Johnson O'Connor has made a scientific study of vocabulary. Immediately on the original publication of this article (see below) it aroused an interest which has increased with succeeding republications and has occasioned a burdensome correspondence. At one time within a single month there arrived at the Laboratories "something like three thousand letters . . . requiring answers." Many of the questions in these letters, so far as they relate to vocabulary building, are answered in Mr. O'Connor's *The English Vocabulary Builder*, which is published by the Human Engineering Laboratories and of which this article now constitutes the introduction. [*The Atlantic Monthly*, 153:160–166, February, 1934. By permission of Mr. O'Connor and the *Atlantic*.]

1. WHAT IS SUCCESS? And how is it gained? Whether one thinks of success as financial reward, or as assured social position, or as satisfaction in able work accomplished and recognized, or as a combination of the three and something more, many factors contribute. Most of them elude our understanding and remain intangibly beyond definition. A vital force drives some individuals over every obstacle. With others that great generalization, character, adds strength of a different sort. Neither may ever be restricted to a hard and fast formula; certainly, at the moment, neither can be measured. But other more concrete constituents of success have been isolated and studied in the laboratory. One of these is a large English vocabulary.

2. An extensive knowledge of the exact meanings of English words accompanies outstanding success in this country more often than any other single characteristic which the Human Engineering Laboratories have been able to isolate and measure.

3. What is meant by vocabulary? Just what the word signifies. Does the word *enervating* mean *soothing, exciting, distressing, invigorating,* or *weakening*? For most well-educated persons the choice

is between *invigorating* and *weakening*. Fifty-two per cent of the college graduates whom we have measured choose *invigorating* as the synonym; only sixteen per cent choose *weakening*, the dictionary definition. Does *stilted* in the phrase, "his stilted manner," mean *irresolute, improper, cordial, stiffly formal,* or *vicious*? A majority of educated persons mark *stiffly formal*, but more than a third mark *irresolute*. Answers to the meaning of *scurrilous*, in the phrase, "scurrilous rogue," divide themselves more or less evenly between *hurrying, desperate, abusive, frantic,* and *diseased*, with *desperate* the most popular. For *peremptory*, a majority mark *decisive*, but many choose *persuasive, uncertain*, and *angry*. *Pleasant*, the fifth choice, is not as popular. *Linguist* and *glutton* are equally enticing as synonyms for *polyglot*. For *refulgent*, in "a refulgent smile," *repellent* is most intriguing and *very bright* next, with *mischievous, flattering*, and *sour* all following closely in popularity. For *monograph* forty per cent choose *soliloquy* and less than twenty per cent *treatise* and *epitaph* each.

4. The word *vocabulary*, as used in this article, signifies a knowledge of the dictionary meaning of just such words as *enervating, stilted, scurrilous, peremptory, polyglot, refulgent,* and *monograph*. Not until one attempts to pick an exact synonym does one realize the difficulty. One may like the sound of a word and use it in a picturesque way without being accurate in its meaning.

5. To measure the vocabulary of an individual, the Laboratory uses a list of one hundred and fifty test words. Each is printed in italics in a short phrase and is followed by five choices, all of which fit the phrase but only one of which is a synonym of the test word. The instructions are: "Underline that one of the five choices which is nearest in meaning to the word in italics." The words to be defined were selected by Alexander Inglis of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University. His intention was to include words which appear once or twice in 100,000 words of printed matter. It is a general reader's vocabulary from which technical terms have been excluded. The test words vary from some that are quite easy, such as

Thrilling experiences—dangerous, exciting, unusual, disgusting, profitable,

to others that are more difficult, such as

Glabrous heads—bald, over-sized, hairy, square, round,

which only twenty-one per cent of college graduates mark correctly. Since one fifth, or twenty per cent, should guess the correct answer,

the meaning of *glabrous* is practically unknown. The test measures knowledge of words one recognizes, not necessarily of those one uses. The words one uses accurately are, no doubt, fewer than those one recognizes, but there is probably a relation between the two.

6. Three hundred high-school freshmen average 76 errors in the list of 150 words. Seven hundred college freshmen average 42 errors. One thousand college graduates from a wide variety of colleges—most of them, however, in the eastern part of the United States—average 27 errors, and vary from the one person in a thousand who achieves a perfect score to the one who knows less than 50 of the 150 items. The college professors whom we have measured average 8 errors; major executives average 7 errors. Major executives score higher in this English vocabulary test than any other selected group with which we have experimented.

7. By the term "major executives" is meant all individuals who, for five years or longer, have held the position of president or vice president in a business organization. Such a definition includes both successful and unsuccessful executives, provided only that they have survived five years; it includes alike forceful personalities and figureheads; but it has the great advantage of excluding our personal judgment from the process of selection. Major executives as thus defined average in the top ten per cent of college graduates as a whole.

8. Although it is impossible to define success rigidly or scientifically, it seems to be true, nevertheless, that a large vocabulary is typical, not exclusively of executives, but of successful individuals. It happens that in the business world successful men and women are designated by this special appellation, "executive." The successful lawyer or doctor is marked by no such name. But if, to the best of one's ability, one selects successful persons in the professions, they also score high in vocabulary.

9. For one meaning of success the Century dictionary gives "a high degree of worldly prosperity." The measured English vocabulary of an executive correlates with his salary. This does not mean that every high-vocabulary person receives a large salary, but the relation between the two is close enough to show that a large vocabulary is one element, and seemingly an important one.

10. Furthermore, the executive level which a man or woman reaches is determined to some extent by vocabulary. In many manufacturing organizations the first step in the executive ladder is the leading hand, called sometimes the working foreman. This man is in charge of half a dozen or a dozen others. He works at the bench or at a machine as they do, but is the executive of the group. The next step is the foreman,

who may be in charge of as many as a hundred or more individuals. He does no bench work, he is not a producer, but devotes full time to his executive duties, to the keeping of records and to the handling of the personnel. The next step in many large organizations is the department head or superintendent or manager, who ordinarily does not come in direct contact with the workers, but handles them through his foremen. The final step is the major executive or official, the vice president or president of the organization.

11. These four executive ranks represent four degrees of success, in one sense in which that word is used. One is *advanced* from leading hand to foreman, from foreman to manager, from manager to president. As far as we can determine by measurements, the leading hand and the official have much the same inherent aptitudes. They differ primarily in vocabulary. Typical non-college-graduate shop foremen average, as a group, about as high as college graduates. Department heads score higher, roughly fifteen errors, and major executives the highest of all, averaging only seven errors. Whether the word "executive" refers only to the major group or is used in the broader sense to mean anyone in charge of other workers, it is still true that the executive scores higher than those under him and higher than other persons of similar age and education.

12. An interesting sidelight on the high vocabulary scores of executives is that they were unforeseen. When a scientist expects a result and finally achieves it there is always the feeling that, regardless of the care he has taken, personal bias may have entered. Six or eight years ago the Human Engineering Laboratories tested forty major executives of the Telephone Company who had offered themselves as victims to be experimented upon in a search for executive characteristics. At the same time the Laboratory was also revising the vocabulary test, not with the notion of using it with executives, but with the hope that it might prove of value in education. One day, with no thought of the consequences, I gave it to an executive, and from then on was asked for it regularly because of the interest it aroused. I paid little heed to the results until one day an executive refused to take the test. He had been obliged by lack of money to leave school at fourteen, and had earned his own living since. With no further formal education, he had worked his way to a major position. He had taken the aptitude tests without hesitation, but vocabulary seemed to him so directly the result of schooling that he knew in advance he would fail. His own words were that he had made his way without being found out and he was not willing to give himself away. But in scientific work one cannot test

only those who think they will do well, and we finally persuaded him to try the vocabulary test. He made two errors where the average college graduate makes twenty-seven.

13. Was it luck? Or was it significant of something which we had not recognized? The Laboratory listed the vocabulary scores of one hundred executives and, parallel with them, the scores of one hundred miscellaneous college graduates. The difference between the two arrays was striking. Only nine per cent of the college graduates scored as high as the average major executive.

14. Why do large vocabularies characterize executives and possibly outstanding men and women in other fields? The final answer seems to be that words are the instruments by means of which men and women grasp the thoughts of others and with which they do much of their own thinking. They are the tools of thought.

15. Before accepting so far-reaching a conclusion several more obvious explanations must be examined and excluded. The first and most natural supposition is that successful persons acquire words with age and with the experiences of life. Success does not usually occur early. The successful group were necessarily older in both years and experience than the general run of college graduates with whom they were compared; and their large vocabularies might be the inevitable result of age.

16. To probe this point a study of the growth of vocabulary with age was undertaken. From twelve, the earliest age for which we have a large number of measurements, to twenty-two or twenty-three vocabulary expands steadily and at a uniform rate. Through this school period the score on the vocabulary test of one hundred and fifty items improves five words a year. From twenty-three to fifty vocabulary continues to increase, but changes no more in these twenty-five years than in two school years—not enough to explain the high scores of executives. Normally, vocabulary is acquired early in life, before most men have made appreciable progress toward a responsible position. The large vocabularies of successful individuals come before success rather than after. Age and the experiences of life may contribute new words, but certainly do not explain in full the high vocabulary scores of business executives.

17. The next thought is that effective schooling may be the source both of a wide vocabulary and of executive success. It is known, from the work which the American Telephone and Telegraph Company has undertaken, that there is a relationship between school success and business success later in life. Although not everyone who leads his class

becomes a brilliant executive, and although not everyone who fails in school fails in life, in general school success preludes executive success. Schooling may be the vital factor of which the large vocabularies which we are measuring are but by-products.

18. To obtain evidence bearing on this point, we measured the vocabularies of twenty men who had left school at the age of fifteen and who had worked their way into major positions. They also averaged only seven errors. Their scores equaled those of the college-graduate executives. In the case of these twenty men it is their vocabularies which are important rather than their formal school education. Their large vocabularies are not the result of schooling and must, we therefore conclude, be significant for some other reason than as a by-product of an educational background.

19. Is, then, a college background of no importance? Has the non-college man the same chance of becoming an executive as has the college graduate? This fact seemed worth determining. Of the major executives in a large industrial organization, sixty per cent are college graduates, forty per cent non-college. At first glance, college would seem to have done little, for almost half are not college men. But, to be fair to education, there is another angle from which to view this result. Of the college graduates with this same company, more than three quarters are in executive positions, whereas, of the non-college men, well under a tenth are in similar positions. College graduates, in general, average measurably higher in vocabulary than do non-college persons. Furthermore, of the college group a significantly larger percentage are executives.

20. One would like to conclude without further preamble that the vocabularies of the college group are large because of directed effort and that these purposefully gained vocabularies have contributed to executive success. Non-college executives, then, are those rare individuals who pick up words so easily that their vocabularies are large without effort. But there is one further possibility which must be investigated.

21. Although the vocabulary test was designed to measure knowledge which must have come through books or by word of mouth, a high score may reveal an underlying aptitude for language. It may be this flair which is the contributing factor in both vocabulary and success later in life.

22. It should be possible to isolate and measure diathesis apart from knowledge. We have worked on this approach for a number of years, thus far unproductively. For the time being we must leave the conclu-

sion of this part of the research in abeyance and admit that the vocabularies of successful executives may reveal an aptitude.

23. Vocabularies may always be consciously increased regardless of the presence or absence of any gift. A knowledge of the meaning of each word at one's command must have been obtained by word of mouth or through reading, by some educational process.

24. Furthermore, with groups of individuals of apparently similar aptitudes, the amount of vocabulary added in a given period varies with different educational techniques. At Stevens Institute of Technology the freshman class is divided alphabetically into four sections. Each of these studies freshman English under a different member of the faculty. Four years ago the entire class took the vocabulary test the first week of freshman year. The four sections averaged about the same in vocabulary, and there was no reason to suppose that, selected as they were, one would score higher than another or have more ability. Yet, when remeasured nine months later, two of the sections had improved more than average academic freshmen, one section had improved only half this amount, and the fourth had retrogressed slightly.

25. The improvement of one section may have been due to the fact that the instructor was interested in the vocabulary test and its implications. The important fact is that differences in vocabulary improvement were caused by differences in teaching techniques—in other words, that an improvement in vocabulary score can be produced by education.

26. Those boys and girls whom the Laboratory has measured and urged to better their vocabularies, and then remeasured at the end of two or three years, have shown more than average improvement. Here again vocabulary is induced independent of aptitude. It is for this reason that the Human Engineering Laboratories, in helping a youngster to find himself and start in the right direction, use a vocabulary test in lieu of a general intelligence test.

27. We come now to the question of whether or not that increment of vocabulary directly due to educational stimulation contributes to success. The four sections of the freshman class at Stevens Institute of Technology to which reference has been made, which took freshman English with different members of the faculty and improved different amounts in vocabulary, were followed to see the effect of these new vocabularies on school work the next year. The four sections averaged nearly the same in school marks freshman year. Sophomore year the two sections which had enlarged their vocabularies the previous year showed general gain in all school subjects—not strikingly, not enough

to prove the point once and for all time, but enough to suggest that a vocabulary acquired consciously reflects in general school improvement the next year.

28. It is always possible that the improvement in school work was due to inspired teaching, to added incentive, but if this were true it would seem as if the improvement in school work should appear immediately freshman year, whereas it did not appear until sophomore year after the vocabulary had been acquired. This seems to indicate that it is the additional words themselves which are the tools used the next year, that words are important in and for themselves.

29. Granted that diction is important, and many would agree without elaborate proof of the point, how, from the standpoint of the school, can it best be given; and, from that of the individual, how best achieved? Is it a knowledge of Latin and Greek which lays a sound foundation for a real understanding of words? Or is it constant reading? Or the assiduous perusal of the dictionary? Probably all contribute; as yet we have found no straight and easy road.

30. In the search for a road to vocabulary we have unearthed several facts which throw light on the learning process. One of these, which, if rightly interpreted, may prove to be of far-reaching importance to education, is that vocabulary advances with an almost unbroken front. The words at the command of an individual are not a miscellany gathered from hither and yon. With a very few exceptions they are all of the words in the dictionary up to those of an order of difficulty at which his vocabulary stops abruptly, and almost no words beyond. In the revised form of the test which is now available for school use, the items are arranged in order of difficulty as determined by actual test results. The first fifteen or twenty words of the test are known to the average high-school freshman or sophomore. The next thirty to forty are on the border line of his knowledge. Some he recognizes, others are vaguely familiar, and others he has not yet encountered. The balance are so far beyond him that he marks correctly no more than the one in five which he guesses by pure chance.

31. For convenience of scoring, the words are divided into ten groups of constantly increasing difficulty. One who knows the words of Group II, second in difficulty, almost invariably marks correctly every word of Group I. Another youngster who may know the words of, let us say, Group VI rarely fails on a single word in any of the first five easier groups. Similarly, one who fails on twelve of the fifteen words in any one group—that is, marks correctly only the one word in five which he guesses—almost never knows a word in any more difficult

group. There are not, as we had expected, stray words in the difficult part which one who fails earlier in the test has stumbled upon and remembered. These unusual words, if previously encountered as they must have been in reading and conversation, are too far beyond the point he has reached to make any lasting impression.

32. The one exception to this rule is the foreign student who may know difficult words because of their similarity to his own language, but miss much easier ones. Thus the Southern European often marks correctly such difficult words as *cephalic, garrulity,* and *piscatorial,* because of knowledge of Italian and French, but fails to know much easier words of Old English origin, such as, for instance, *knack, blotch,* and *cope.*

33. In the region where learning is taking place, the commonest error is the confusion of a word with its exact opposite. Among seventh- and eighth-grade and first-year high-school pupils, nearly a third mark *found guilty* as the correct meaning of *acquitted. Upright* is the most popular misconception for the meaning of *reclining*; and, strange as it may seem, *neat* is the commonest misconception of *untidy.* The seventh-grade youngster berated for keeping an untidy room quite often evidently receives the impression that he is too orderly. The failing is not limited to the high-school group. For *incontrovertible* the correct answer *indisputable* is usually marked by college men, but of the remaining four choices *unsound* is by far most popular. In the phrase "You *allay* my fears"—where the five choices are *justify, calm, arouse, increase,* and *confirm—calm* is usually answered by the educated group, but *arouse* is next most popular. In the phrase "He *retracts* his criticism," *withdraws* is the correct answer and *repeats* is the most common delusion. In "He *vented* his wrath," *poured forth* is correct and *restrained* is the commonest misapprehension.

34. One need but turn to words of which one is not quite certain to see how difficult it is to distinguish opposites. One evening at dinner with a delightful Dean of education, we fell to discussing this question. He recognized *cathode* and *anode* instantly as electrical terms designating the two poles, but hesitated a moment before saying which was which. *Port* and *starboard* he admitted he had never straightened out and resorted to some such phrase as "Jack left port." *Gee* and *haw* were beyond him. He surmised that they meant *up* and *down,* but said frankly he did not know the words. When told that they were used in plowing, he was instantly interested, but did not care at all which was which. He was taking the first step in the learning process, placing them in their correct environment. The fifty-

two per cent of college graduates who choose *invigorating* as the meaning of *enervating* are on the verge of knowing the word. The dictum of modern education, never to teach what a thing is not, has perhaps come from a realization of this confusion of opposites. The confusion seems, however, to be a natural step in the learning process.

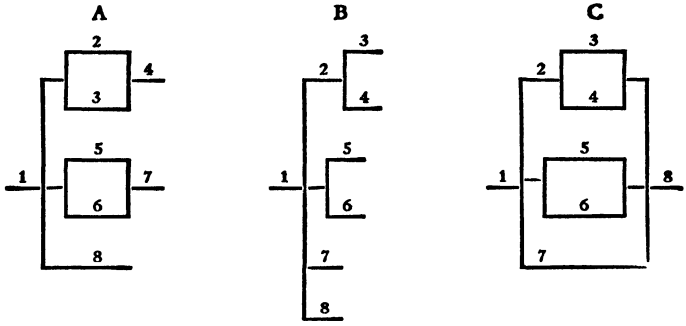
35. In the study of human beings the factors involved are so numerous and so intertwined with one another that the experimenter, in unraveling the strands, must pause periodically to make certain that he is progressing. What then has been discovered? An exact and extensive vocabulary is an important concomitant of success. So much is known. Furthermore, such a vocabulary can be acquired. It increases as long as an individual remains in school or college, but without conscious effort does not change materially thereafter.

36. There may be some subtle distinction between a natural vocabulary picked up at home, at meals, and in reading, and one gained by a study of the dictionary. The latter may not be as valuable as the former. But there is nothing to show that it is harmful and the balance of evidence at the moment suggests that such a consciously, even laboriously, achieved vocabulary is an active asset.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. When Mr. O'Connor is not quoting words from his test, what kind of words does he himself employ in this article? A student of words, he presumably has an unusually large vocabulary. Would he have been wise to express his opinions in more learned words?
2. List as completely as possible the new words you have learned in some one college course during the present term. Mark in some different way those which belong exclusively to the specialized language of that subject, and those which are of more general usefulness.
3. Jot down a very few words recently encountered in textbooks or lectures which have seemed to you pompous, or affected, or needlessly difficult. Consult the dictionary. Consider what synonyms, if any, would have done as well or better. Do you find any justification for the choice of the word actually used, or do you think your objection stands? In either case, be prepared to defend your opinion.
4. Study paragraph 10 as an example of a brief and exact analysis. Write a précis which clearly reveals the structure of the

paragraph. Tell why you prefer Graph A, B, or C. Refer to Appendix B-I.



5. Read the following passage:

Many men have left school (1) before getting through. *Some of these men have been successful* (2) in life and *they have worked their way* (3) into major positions, and so *Mr. O'Connor wanted to study their vocabularies,* (4) and so *he measured the vocabularies of some of these successful men.* (5) *There were twenty of them* (6) and *they had left school early.* (7) *They were only fifteen* (8) at that time.

Now compare the passage with the first sentence of paragraph 18 to see what you can learn for the improvement of your own sentence structure.

a. Has Mr. O'Connor omitted any of the ideas of the passage? How do the two versions compare in length?

b. How many main clauses in the passage? Which is the only one of these retained in Mr. O'Connor's sentence? What repetition of ideas in the passage have been avoided? What constructions such as infinitive phrase, relative clause, and prepositional phrase have been substituted for some main clauses?

6. Note the length of sentences in paragraph 18. How many words in the longest? In the shortest? Study the arrangement of long and short sentences in this paragraph, throughout the article, and in your other reading. What do you find?

7. Exactly what, restated in your own words, is Mr. O'Connor's main assertion in paragraphs 1 and 2?
8. In paragraphs 6 and 7, do you take the meaning to be that a business man learns more new words than a college teacher does? Defend your answer either by analysis of what is actually said in these paragraphs, or by reference to other parts of the article.
9. As an experiment, deliberately introduce in your conversation with friends an occasional word which you have not habitually used. If it passes unnoticed, you have safely added a word to your active vocabulary. If it draws comment, observe what kind of comment. Discuss social timidity as a factor retarding the development of vocabulary.
10. Paragraphs 15-22 state and dismiss some possible objections to a conclusion stated in paragraph 14. Analyze this portion of the article:
    a. Restate the argument of paragraph 14.
    b. State which of the eight following paragraphs present objections and which refute them. Quote words or phrases near the beginnings of any of the paragraphs which serve as labels of their positions in the argument.
    c. Are all of the possible objections dismissed with equal finality?
    d. Can you think of other objections?
    e. Is it your impression that Mr. O'Connor has examined his evidence with sufficient care, and stated his conclusions with sufficient caution?
    f. Given Mr. O'Connor's evidence, would you feel justified in stating more positively than he does a connection between vocabulary and success?
11. Notice in paragraph 30 the assertion that we normally acquire new words only up to a certain degree of difficulty. Have you noticed in this article any words which are probably beyond your present normal level of easy learning? See not only the words quoted from the test, but words occurring in the discussion—for instance, in paragraphs 8, 22, 29, 35. List half a dozen others in the article which are now ready to come into your working vocabulary. Which of the two groups would you be wise to study?
12. Almost everyone readily admits that he wishes his vocabulary were larger; almost no one consciously and systematically strives to enlarge his vocabulary. What seems to you the best method of improving your word stock? Consider how your present vocabulary has developed and try to suggest a

method practical enough that you would be willing actually to attempt it.

13. Which, if any, of the following assertions do you consider Mr. O'Connor to have definitely made?
    a. Vocabulary and success are directly proportional.
    b. Success is impossible without a large vocabulary.
    c. A large vocabulary is a guarantee of success.
    d. Men who are failures have small vocabularies.
    e. A business executive needs a larger vocabulary than a college professor.
    f. A large vocabulary is useless unless easily and naturally acquired.
    g. Promotion in business is accompanied by an increase in one's vocabulary.
14. Write an original paragraph, analyzing with the precision and clearness of paragraph 10 some group (whether of persons, things, or ideas) with which you are familiar, such as the students in your college, the groups in a band or orchestra, the types of internal-combustion motors, the views held by your friends on some debated point.
15. Write a discussion—a paragraph or a longer paper, as directed by your instructor—of a topic or idea suggested to you by one of the preceding items or by class discussion of "Vocabulary and Success."

Of the Abuse of Words

JOHN LOCKE

John Locke (1632–1704), a contemporary and fellow-countryman of John Milton and Sir Isaac Newton, was trained as a physician but is best known for his writings on education and philosophy. The selection that follows is strongly suggestive of much recent writing on words. It is from the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, probably Locke's most famous work. [*The Works of John Locke*, edited by J. A. St. John: Volume II, 1868, pp. 5, 7, 8, 94–103, 117–119, 125; Volume I, 1867, pp. 81–83.]

1. WHEN A MAN SPEAKS to another, it is that he may be understood; and the end of speech is, that those sounds, as marks, may make known his ideas to the hearer. That, then, which words are the marks of, are the ideas of the speaker; nor can any one apply them, as marks, immediately, to anything else but the ideas that he himself hath; for this would be to make them signs of his own conceptions, and yet apply them to other ideas; which would be to make them signs and not signs of his ideas at the same time, and so in effect to have no signification at all.

2. Though the proper and immediate signification of words are ideas in the mind of the speaker, yet, because by familiar use from our cradles we come to learn certain articulate sounds very perfectly, and have them readily on our tongues, and always at hand in our memories, but yet are not always careful to examine or settle their significations perfectly; it often happens that men, even when they would apply themselves to an attentive consideration, do set their thoughts more on words than things. Nay, because words are many of them learned before the ideas are known for which they stand: therefore some, not only children but men, speak several words no otherwise than parrots do, only because they have learned them, and have been accustomed to those sounds. But, so far as words are of use and signification, so far is there a constant connexion between the sound and the idea, and a designation that the one stands for the other; without which application of them, they are nothing but so much insignificant noise.

3. Words, by long and familiar use, come to excite in men certain ideas so constantly and readily, that they are apt to suppose a natural connexion between them. But that they signify only men's peculiar ideas is evident, in that they often fail to excite in others the same ideas we take them to be signs of: and every man has so inviolable a liberty to make words stand for what ideas he pleases, that no one hath the power to make others have the same ideas in their minds that he has, when they use the same words that he does. And therefore the great Augustus himself, in the possession of that power which ruled the world, acknowledged he could not make a new Latin word; which was as much as to say, that he could not arbitrarily appoint what idea any sound should be a sign of in the mouths and common language of his subjects. It is true common use, by a tacit consent, appropriates certain sounds to certain ideas in all languages, which so far limits the signification of that sound, that, unless a man applies it to the same idea, he does not speak properly: and let me add, that, unless a man's words excite the same ideas in the hearer which he makes them stand for in speaking, he does not speak intelligently. But whatever be the consequence of any man's using of words differently, either from their general meaning, or the particular sense of the person to whom he addresses them, this is certain, their signification, in his use of them, is limited to his ideas, and they can be signs of nothing else.

4. There are several wilful faults and neglects which men are guilty of in this way of communication, whereby they render these signs less clear and distinct in their signification than naturally they need to be.

5. In this kind the first and most palpable abuse is, the using of words without clear and distinct ideas; or, which is worse, signs without anything signified. Of these there are two sorts.

6. I. One may observe in all languages certain words, that, if they be examined, will be found in their first original and their appropriated use not to stand for any clear and distinct ideas. These, for the most part, the several sects of philosophy and religion have introduced; for their authors or promoters, either affecting something singular and out of the way of common apprehensions, or to support some strange opinions, or cover some weakness of their hypothesis, seldom fail to coin new words, and such as, when they come to be examined, may justly be called insignificant terms. For having either had no determinate collection of ideas annexed to them when they were first invented, or at least such as, if well examined, will be found inconsistent, it is no wonder, if, after the vulgar use of the same party they remain empty sounds with little or no signification amongst those who think it

enough to have them often in their mouths, as the distinguishing characters of their church or school, without much troubling their heads to examine what are the precise ideas they stand for. I shall not need here to heap up instances—every man's reading and conversation will sufficiently furnish him wherewithal abundantly to content him.

7. II. Others there be who extend this abuse yet further, and by an unpardonable negligence familiarly use words which the propriety of language has affixed to very important ideas, without any distinct meaning at all. Wisdom, glory, grace, etc., are words frequent enough in every man's mouth; but if a great many of those who use them should be asked what they mean by them, they would be at a stand, and not know what to answer: a plain proof, that, though they have learned those sounds, and have them ready at their tongues' end, yet there are no determined ideas laid up in their minds, which are to be expressed to others by them.

8. Men having been accustomed from their cradles to learn words which are easily got and retained, before they knew or had framed the complex ideas to which they were annexed, or which were to be found in the things they were thought to stand for, they usually continue to do so all their lives; and without taking the pains necessary to settle in their minds determined ideas, they use their words for such unsteady and confused notions as they have; contenting themselves with the same words other people use: as if their very sound necessarily carried with it constantly the same meaning. This, though men make a shift with in the ordinary occurrences of life, where they find it necessary to be understood, and therefore they make signs till they are so; yet this insignificancy in their words, when they come to reason concerning either their tenets or interest, manifestly fills their discourse with abundance of empty unintelligible noise and jargon, especially in moral matters, where the words for the most part standing for arbitrary and numerous collections of ideas, not regularly and permanently united in nature, their bare sounds are often only thought on, or at least very obscure and uncertain notions annexed to them. Men take the words they find in use amongst their neighbours; and that they may not seem ignorant what they stand for, use them confidently, without much troubling their heads about a certain fixed meaning; whereby, besides the ease of it, they obtain this advantage, that, as in such discourses they seldom are in the right, so they are as seldom to be convinced that they are in the wrong; it being all one to go about to draw those men out of their mistakes who have no settled notions, as to dispossess a vagrant of his habitation who has no settled abode. This

I guess to be so, and every one may observe in himself and others whether it be so or not.

9. Secondly, another great abuse of words is inconstancy in the use of them. It is hard to find a discourse written on any subject, especially of controversy, wherein one shall not observe, if he read with attention, the same words (and those commonly the most material in the discourse, and upon which the argument turns) used sometimes for one collection of simple ideas, and sometimes for another; which is a perfect abuse of language: words being intended for signs of my ideas, to make them known to others, not by any natural signification, but by a voluntary imposition, it is plain cheat and abuse, when I make them stand sometimes for one thing and sometimes for another; the wilful doing whereof can be imputed to nothing but great folly, or greater dishonesty. And a man in his accounts with another may, with as much fairness make the characters of numbers stand sometimes for one and sometimes for another collection of units (v.g., this character, 3, stands sometimes for three, sometimes for four, and sometimes for eight) as in his discourse or reasoning make the same words stand for different collections of simple ideas. If men should do so in their reckonings, I wonder who would have to do with them? One who would speak thus in the affairs and business of the world, and call 8 sometimes seven, and sometimes nine, as best served his advantage, would presently have clapped upon him one of the two names men are commonly disgusted with. And yet in arguings and learned contests, the same sort of proceedings passes commonly for wit and learning; but to me it appears a greater dishonesty than the misplacing of counters in the casting up a debt; and the cheat the greater, by how much truth is of greater concernment and value than money.

10. Thirdly, another abuse of language is an affected obscurity, by either applying old words to new and unusual significations, or introducing new and ambiguous terms, without defining ither; or else putting them so together, as may confound their ordinary meaning.

11. Artificial ignorance and learned gibberish prevailed mightily in these last ages, by the interest and artifice of those who found no easier way to that pitch of authority and dominion they have attained, than by amusing the men of business and ignorant with hard words, or employing the ingenious and idle in intricate disputes about unintelligible terms, and holding them perpetually entangled in that endless labyrinth. Besides, there is no such way to gain admittance or give defence to strange and absurd doctrines, as to guard them round about with legions of obscure, doubtful, and undefined words, which yet

make these retreats more like the dens of robbers, or holes of foxes, than the fortresses of fair warriors, which, if it be hard to get them out of, it is not for the strength that is in them, but the briars and thorns, and the obscurity of the thickets they are beset with. For untruth being unacceptable to the mind of man, there is no other defence left for absurdity but obscurity.

12. Thus learned ignorance, and this art of keeping even inquisitive men from true knowledge hath been propagated in the world, and hath much perplexed whilst it pretended to inform the understanding. For we see that other well-meaning and wise men, whose education and parts had not acquired that acuteness, could intelligibly express themselves to one another, and in its plain use make a benefit of language. But though unlearned men well enough understood the words white and black, etc., and had constant notions of the ideas signified by those words, yet there were philosophers found who had learning and subtility enough to prove that snow was black; i.e., to prove that white was black. Whereby they had the advantage to destroy the instruments and means of discourse, conversation, instruction, and society, whilst with great art and subtility they did no more but perplex and confound the signification of words, and thereby render language less useful than the real defects of it had made it; a gift which the illiterate had not attained to.

13. Nor hath this mischief stopped in logical niceties, or curious empty speculations; it hath invaded the great concernments of human life and society—obscured and perplexed the material truths of law and divinity—brought confusion, disorder, and uncertainty into the affairs of mankind, and if not destroyed, yet in a great measure rendered useless these two great rules, religion and justice. What have the greatest part of the comments and disputes upon the laws of God and man served for, but to make the meaning more doubtful, and perplex the sense? What have been the effect of those multiplied curious distinctions and acute niceties but obscurity and uncertainty, leaving the words more unintelligible, and the reader more at a loss? How else comes it to pass that princes speaking or writing to their servants, in their ordinary commands are easily understood; speaking to their people in their laws, are not so? And doth it not often happen that a man of an ordinary capacity very well understands a text or a law that he reads, till he consults an expositor or goes to counsel, who, by that time he hath done explaining them, makes the words signify either nothing at all, or what he pleases.

14. Fourthly, another great abuse of words is, the taking them for

things. This, though it in some degree concerns all names in general, yet more particularly affects those of substances. I shall instance one only, and that a very familiar one: how many intricate disputes have there been about matter, as if there were some such thing really in nature, distinct from body, as it is evident the word matter stands for an idea distinct from the idea of body? For if the ideas these two terms stood for were precisely the same, they might indifferently, in all places, be put for one another. But we see, that, though it be proper to say there is one matter of all bodies, one cannot say there is one body of all matters: we familiarly say one body is bigger than another; but it sounds harsh (and I think is never used) to say one matter is bigger than another. Whence comes this, then? viz., from hence: that, though matter and body be not really distinct, but wherever there is the one there is the other; yet matter and body stand for two different conceptions, whereof the one is incomplete, and but a part of the other. For body stands for a solid extended figured substance, whereof matter is but a partial and more confused conception. But since solidity cannot exist without extension and figure, the taking matter to be the name of something really existing under that precision, has no doubt produced those obscure and unintelligible discourses and disputes, which have filled the heads and books of philosophers. We should have a great many fewer disputes in the world if words were taken for what they are, the signs of our ideas only, and not for things themselves. For when we argue about matter or any the like term, we truly argue only about the idea we express by that sound, whether that precise idea agree to anything really existing in nature or no. And if men would tell what ideas they make their words stand for, there could not be half that obscurity or wrangling in the search or support of truth that there is.

15. To remedy the defects of speech before mentioned to some degree, and to prevent the inconveniences that follow from them, I imagine the observation of these following rules may be of use, till somebody better able shall judge it worth his while to think more maturely on this matter, and oblige the world with his thoughts on it.

16. First, a man shall take care to use no word without a signification, no name without an idea for which he makes it stand. This rule will not seem altogether needless to any one who shall take the pains to recollect how often he has met with such words as instinct, sympathy, and antipathy, etc., in the discourse of others, so made use of, as he might easily conclude that those that used them had no ideas in their minds to which they applied them, but spoke them only as sounds,

which usually served instead of reasons on the like occasions. Not but that these words and the like have very proper significations in which they may be used; but there being no natural connexion between any words and any ideas, these and any other may be learned by rote, and pronounced or writ by men who have no ideas in their minds to which they have annexed them, and for which they make them stand; which is necessary they should, if men would speak intelligibly even to themselves alone.

17. Secondly, it is not enough a man uses his words as signs of some ideas: those he annexes them to, if they be simple, must be clear and distinct; if complex, must be determinate, i.e., the precise collection of simple ideas settled in the mind, with that sound annexed to it, as the sign of that precise determined collection, and no other. This is very necessary especially in moral words; which, having no settled objects in nature, from whence their ideas are taken, as from their original, are apt to be very confused. Justice is a word in every man's mouth, but most commonly with a very undetermined, loose signification; which will always be so, unless a man has in his mind a distinct comprehension of the component parts that complex idea consists of: and if it be decompounded, must be able to resolve it still on, till he at last comes to the simple ideas that make it up: and unless this be done, a man makes an ill use of the word, let it be justice, for example, or any other. If any one who makes his complex idea of justice to be such a treatment of the person or goods of another as is according to law, hath not a clear and distinct idea what law is, which makes a part of his complex idea of justice, it is plain his idea of justice itself will be confused and imperfect. This exactness will, perhaps, be judged very troublesome, and therefore most men will think they may be excused from settling complex ideas so precisely in their minds. But yet I must say, till this be done, it must not be wondered that they have a great deal of obscurity and confusion in their own minds, and a great deal of wrangling in their discourse with others.

18. Thirdly, it is not enough that men have ideas, determined ideas, for which they make these signs stand; but they must also take care to apply their words as near as may be to such ideas as common use has annexed them to. For words, especially of languages already framed, being no man's private possession, but the common measure of commerce and communication, it is not for any one at pleasure to change the stamp they are current in, nor alter the ideas they are affixed to; or at least, when there is a necessity to do so, he is bound to give notice of it. Men's intentions in speaking are, or at least should be, to be

understood; which cannot be without frequent explanations, demands, and other the like incommodious interruptions, where men do not follow common use.

19. Fourthly, though definitions will serve to explain the names of substances as they stand for our ideas, yet they leave them not without great imperfection as they stand for things. For our names of substances being not put barely for our ideas, but being made use of ultimately to represent things, and so are put in their place, their signification must agree with the truth of things as well as with men's ideas. And therefore, in substances, we must inquire into the nature and properties of the things themselves, and thereby perfect, as much as we can, our ideas of their distinct species. For since it is intended their names should stand for such collections of simple ideas as do really exist in things themselves, as well as for the complex idea in other men's minds, which in their ordinary acceptation they stand for, their properties are, with care and examination to be found out. For it is not enough, for the avoiding inconveniences in discourse and arguings about natural bodies and substantial things, to have learned the common, but confused, or very imperfect idea to which each word is applied, and to keep them to that idea in our use of them; but we must rectify and settle our complex idea belonging to each specific name.

20. I have copiously enough spoken of the abuse of words in another place,[1] and therefore shall upon this reflection, that the sciences are full of them, warn those that would conduct their understandings right not to take any term, howsoever authorized by the language of the schools, to stand for anything till they have an idea of it. A word may be of frequent use and great credit with several authors, and be by them made use of as if it stood for some real being; but yet, if he that reads cannot frame any distinct idea of that being, it is certainly to him a mere empty sound without a meaning, and he learns no more by all that is said of it or attributed to it than if it were affirmed only of that bare empty sound. They who would advance in knowledge, and not deceive and swell themselves with a little articulated air, should lay down this as a fundamental rule, not to take words for things, nor suppose that names in books signify real entities in nature, till they can frame clear and distinct ideas of those entities. It is not without all reason supposed that there are many empty terms to be found in some learned writers, to which they had recourse to etch out their systems, where their understandings could not furnish them with conceptions from

[1] In the previous paragraphs of this selection.

things. But yet I believe the supposing of some realities in nature answering those and the like words, have much perplexed some and quite misled others in the study of nature. Where men have any conceptions, they can, if they are never so abstruse or abstracted, explain them and the terms they use for them. For our conceptions being nothing but ideas, which are all made up of simple ones, if they cannot give us the ideas their words stand for it is plain they have none. To what purpose can it be to hunt after his conceptions who has none, or none distinct? He that knew not what he himself meant by a learned term, cannot make us know anything by his use of it, let us beat our heads about it never so long. Whether we are able to comprehend all the operations of nature and the manners of them, it matters not to inquire, but this is certain, that we can comprehend no more of them than we can distinctly conceive, and therefore to obtrude terms where we have no distinct conceptions, as if they did contain, or rather conceal something, is but an artifice of learned vanity to cover a defect in an hypothesis or our understandings. Words are not made to conceal, but to declare and show something; where they are, by those who pretend to instruct, otherwise used, they conceal indeed something; but that that they conceal is nothing but the ignorance, error, or sophistry of the talker, for there is in truth nothing else under them.[2]

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. In line 38 which of the meanings of "tacit" does Locke intend?
2. What is the meaning, as used in paragraph 6, of "affecting"? of "singular"? of "vulgar"? Look up the language sources of these words.
3. In line 141 in what sense—not now the commonest one—is the word "interest" used? When the words "disinterested" and "uninterested" are properly used, what is the difference in meaning? Is the word "amusing" in line 143 used in its modern sense? Look up "bemuse," "amuse," "muse" (v.).
4. List several words in frequent use today that are subject to the criticism attached to the words mentioned in the last sentence of paragraph 7.
5. Remembering that Locke wrote more than two hundred years

[2] Upon this philosophical observation was erected the witty contradiction of Goldsmith, commonly attributed to Talleyrand, that language was given to man to conceal his thoughts. [Note by J. A. St. John.]

ago, look for the subjects of the verb "are" used three times in the second sentence of paragraph 1 and the first sentence of paragraph 2. What changes in form would present usage require?

6. Once in paragraph 1 and twice in paragraph 2 find a semicolon where today a comma would be more appropriate. In the second sentence of paragraph 2 what mark would now be expected instead of the colon?
7. In the first sentence of paragraph 1 do you see a sufficient reason for the use of a comma after the second "is" and not after the first? Which usage would be preferred today? Look if necessary for punctuation with similar sentences in some recently written article.
8. Does Locke use more or fewer marks of punctuation than do recent writers?
9. What was Locke's purpose in the very short paragraph numbered 4? What three words suggest its relation to the paragraphs that follow?
10. Note carefully the function of the single sentence in paragraph 15. What relationship does it indicate between the series of ideas discussed in paragraphs 5-8, 9, 10-13, and 14 and the series discussed each in one of the four paragraphs following. Exactly which words in the sentence refer to the series preceding and which to the series following? Which refer to both series?
11. Using any suggestions from the two preceding items and from the opening and closing sentences of other paragraphs, make a one-page outline of the article.
12. Reduce the main idea of paragraph 12 to one clear sentence in modern idiom.
13. The sentences of paragraph 8, though longer and more intricate than the sentences common in twentieth-century prose, express a perfectly clear, orderly, and even rather simple line of thought. Write a précis of the paragraph, showing that you have mastered the idea.
14. Have you ever known anyone who uses words as in paragraph 2 Locke says "not only children but men" do? In your own language how do you avoid such use of words? Be specific in your answer.
15. In paragraph 3 occurs the statement, ". . . every man has . . . [an] inviolable . . . liberty to make words stand for what ideas he pleases. . . ." Is this assertion consistent with the statement in paragraph 2 that words are "nothing but so much insignificant noise" unless used in their accepted meanings? Explain the consistency or inconsistency of the two.

16. Do your own "reading and conversation sufficiently furnish you" with examples of the kind of misuse of words discussed in paragraph 6? Name some instances.
17. At a hasty reading paragraph 7 might seem to add nothing to paragraph 6. State briefly and clearly the difference between the two abuses of language discussed in the two paragraphs. Get what assistance you can from the two sentences of paragraph 5.
18. Near the end of paragraph 9 Locke speaks of "the two names men are commonly disgusted with." What do you believe these names to be? Compare your answer with the hint given at the end of the second sentence. What is your opinion about applying these names to people who use words carelessly?
19. A freshman explaining why he came to college wrote, "I expect to prepare myself for a high school teacher." What two ideas was he confusing here in a way similar to the confusion of "matter" and "body" which Locke discusses in paragraph 14? Which of these two ideas represents a thing or object actually existing in nature and which a series of activities performed by the "thing"?
20. College professors often complain that students echo the words of their textbooks or lectures without showing any comprehension of ideas. Insofar as this is the fault of the student, do you find in paragraph 2 any expressions that suggest what is wrong? Insofar as it is the fault of the professor, to what do you attribute it? In the conversation of your friends listen for examples of the parrot attitude and of the more intelligent attitude toward study.
21. In a telegraphic code the word "drift" might mean, "Please give me further instructions"; in the slang of drug addicts it might refer to "snow," a narcotic powder. Would these examples serve to refute the next to the last sentence of paragraph 3?
22. Choose one of the following groups of words. Consider first how each affects you emotionally; then attempt to distinguish clearly their differences in meaning; finally consult your dictionary. Be prepared to report in class whether you have discovered any of Locke's abuses of language in your own use of these terms, and also whether you have observed such abuses in the speech of other persons.
    (a) altruist, philanthropist, reformer, crank
    (b) liberal, socialist, radical, communist, agitator, red
    (c) conservative, capitalist, reactionary
    (d) priest, minister, pastor, preacher, evangelist, missionary
    (e) leader, executive, strong man, dictator

23. Write a clear and orderly paragraph, expressing your own ideas in connection with some brief assertion of Locke's which you find striking. Somewhere in your paragraph quote the statement, acknowledging the source as smoothly as you can manage. Possibilities are the following: "When a man speaks to another, it is that he may be understood . . ." (paragraph 1); "For untruth being unacceptable to the mind of man, there is no other defence left for absurdity, but obscurity" (paragraph 11).
24. Write a well-organized paper (a single paragraph or a longer composition as directed by your instructor) developing an idea suggested in your own reading, or in class discussion, of Locke's remarks. Suggestions may come from items 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, or 22, above. Quote freely from Locke if it serves your purpose to do so; acknowledge properly whatever you borrow.

The Label and the Referent

STUART CHASE

Stuart Chase (1888–), Harvard graduate *cum laude*, after some years as certified public accountant and meat industry investigator with the Federal Trade Commission, became associated with Labor Bureau Incorporated in 1922. Author of many books and magazine articles, he here emphasizes the havoc which words may create, both for the writer or speaker and for the reader or listener, if "the label" and "the referent" are maladjusted. [From Chapters I, II, and XIX of *The Tyranny of Words*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938. By permission of the publisher.]

1. I HAVE WRITTEN several books and many articles, but only lately have I begun to inquire into the nature of the tools I use. This is a curious oversight when one stops to consider it. Carpenters, masons, and engineers who give no thought to their tools and instruments are not likely to erect very durable structures. Yet I follow a procedure common to most writers, for few of us look to our tools. We sometimes study synonyms, derivations, rhythm, style, but we rarely explore the nature of words themselves. We do not inquire if they are adequate instruments for building a durable structure of human communication. Language, whether English, French, or Chinese, is taken for granted, a basic datum. Writers search their memories for a better word to use in a given context but are no more in the habit of questioning language than of questioning the weather. There it is. We assume that we know exactly what we mean, and that readers who do not understand us should polish their wits.

[There is here omitted an eight-paragraph summary of the author's reading in the field of semantics.]

2. These three investigators—Korzybski, Ogden, and Richards—agree broadly on the two besetting sins of language. One is identification of *words* with *things*. The other is misuse of abstract words. "This *is* a dog." Is it? The thing that is called "dog" is a nonverbal object. It can be observed by the senses, it can be described, and then, for convenience, the label "dog" can be attached to it, or the label "hund" or "chien" or "perro." ***But the label is not the animal.***

3. We are aware of this when we stop to think about it. The trouble is that we do not stop to think about it. We are continually confusing the label with the nonverbal object, and so giving a spurious validity to the word, as something alive and barking in its own right. When this tendency to identify expands from dogs to higher abstractions such as "liberty," "justice," "the eternal," and imputes living, breathing entity to them, almost nobody knows what anybody else means. If we are *conscious* of abstracting, well and good, we can handle these high terms as an expert tamer handles a lion. If we are not conscious of doing so, we are extremely likely to get into difficulties. Identification of word with thing is well illustrated in the child's remark "Pigs are rightly named, since they are such dirty animals."

4. Ogden and Richards contribute a technical term, the "referent," by which they mean the object or situation in the real world to which the word or label refers. A beam of light comes from a moving animal to my optic nerve. The animal, which I recognize through prior experience with similar animals, is the referent. Presently I add the label and say, "That's a nice dog." Like the term "semantics," I shall use the term "referent." When people can agree on the thing to which their words refer, minds meet. The communication line is cleared.

5. Labels as names for things may be roughly divided into three classes on an ascending scale:

1. Labels for common objects, such as "dog," "chair," "pencil." Here difficulty is at a minimum.
2. Labels for clusters and collections of things, such as "mankind," "consumers' goods," "Germany," "the white race," "the courts." These are abstractions of a higher order, and confusion in their use is widespread. There is no entity "white race" in the world outside our heads, but only some millions of individuals with skins of an obvious or dubious whiteness.
3. Labels for essences and qualities, such as "the sublime," "freedom," "individualism," "truth." For such terms, there are no discoverable referents in the outside world, and by mistaking them for substantial entities somewhere at large in the environment, we create a fantastic wonderland. This zone is the especial domain of philosophy, politics, and economics.

6. We normally beg the hard question of finding referents and proceed learnedly to define the term by giving another dictionary abstraction, for example, defining "liberty" by "freedom"—"thus peopling

the universe with spurious entities, mistaking symbolic machinery for referents." We seldom come down to earth, but allow our language forms or symbolic machinery to fashion a demonology of absolutes and high-order abstractions, in which we come to believe as firmly as Calvin believed in the Devil.

7. You doubt this? Let me ask you a question: Does communism threaten the world? Unless you are conscious of the dangers lying in the use of abstract terms, you may take this question seriously. You may personify "communism" as a real thing, advancing physically over the several continents, as a kind of beast or angel, depending on your politics. You give a careful, weighted answer or else an excited, passionate answer, to my question. But you have identified the word with the thing, and furthermore you would be very hard put to it to find lower-order referents for the term. I have been searching for them for years. *The question as it stands is without meaning.* I might about as well ask you: Does omniscience threaten the world? or Does Buzzism threaten the world? If we can agree—if sane men generally can agree—on a series of things in the real world that may properly be summarized by the label "communism," then the question has meaning, and we can proceed intelligently to its discussion. Otherwise not. Can you and I and Jones and Finkelstein come to an agreement about what is meant by "communism"? Try it sometimes with Jones and Finkelstein. Yet until agreement is reached, the question can liberate plenty of emotion but little real meaning. Jones will follow his meaning and Finkelstein his, and be damned to you.

8. "The true meaning of a term is to be found by observing what a man does with it, not what he says about it." Scientists, through observing, measuring, and performing a physical *operation* which another scientist can repeat, reach the solid ground of agreement and of meaning. They find the referents. "If a question has meaning, it must be possible to find an operation by which an answer may be given to it. It will be noted in many cases that the operation cannot exist and the question has no meaning." One can talk until the cows come home—such talk has already filled many volumes—about these questions, but without operations they are meaningless, and our talk is no more rewarding than a discussion in a lunatic asylum. "Many of the questions asked about social and philosophical subjects will be found to be meaningless when examined from the point of view of operations."

9. I read everything I could get my hands on that dealt with semantics and meaning. At last I began to know a little about the tools of my

craft. Not much, for semantics is still the tenderest of sciences, but something. It proved to be knowledge of the most appalling character. I had hit upon a trail high, steep, and terrible, a trail which profoundly affects and to a degree explains the often tragic failure of men to come to terms with their environment. Most creatures take the world outside as they find it and instinctively become partners with the environment. Man is the one creature who can alter himself and his surroundings, as the geologist John Hodgdon Bradley has wisely observed, yet he is perhaps the most seriously maladjusted of all living creatures. He is the one creature who is able to accumulate verifiable knowledge about himself and his environment, and yet he is the one who is habitually deluded. No other animal produces verbal monsters in his head and projects them on the world outside his head. Language is apparently a sword which cuts both ways. With its help man can conquer the unknown; with it he can grievously wound himself.

10. On the level of simple directions, commands, descriptions, the difficulty is not great. When the words mean "Look out!" "There is your food," "Go to the next white house and turn left," communication is clear. But when we hear words on the level of ideas and generalizations, we cheer loudly, we grow angry, we storm the barricades—and often we do not know what the other man is saying. When a Russian speaks to an Englishman unacquainted with Slavic, nothing comes through. The Britisher shrugs his shoulders and both comprehend that communication is nil. When an Englishman speaks to an Englishman about ideas—political, economic, social—the communication is often equally blank, but the hearer thinks he understands, and sometimes proceeds to riotous action.

11. The trail to which my reading and observation led me was unexpected. I was trying to learn how to write, and found myself, for the first time in my life, learning how to read, how to listen, how to interpret language. I was looking for means to communicate ideas about correcting what seemed to me certain economic disorders, and I found that greater disorders were constantly arising from defective communication. At least this is the conclusion to which the evidence points.

12. Nobody in his senses wants airplanes dropping bombs and poison gases upon his head; nobody in his senses wants slums, *Tobacco Roads*, and undernourished, ragged schoolchildren in a land of potential economic plenty. But bombs are killing babies in China and Spain today, and more than one-third of the people in America are underfed, badly housed, shoddily clothed. Nobody wants men and women to be unemployed, but in Western civilization from twenty to thirty millions are,

or have recently been, without work, and many of those who have recovered their jobs are making munitions of war. In brief, with a dreadful irony, we are acting to produce precisely the kinds of things and situations which we do not want. It is as though a hungry farmer, with rich soil, and good wheat seed in his barn, could raise nothing but thistles. The tendency of organisms is strongly toward survival, not against it. Something has perverted human-survival behavior. I assume that it is a temporary perversion. I assume that it is bound up to some extent with an unconscious misuse of man's most human attributes—thinking and its tool, language.

13. Failure of mental communication is painfully in evidence nearly everywhere we choose to look. Pick up any magazine or newspaper and you will find many of the articles devoted to sound and fury from politicians, editors, leaders of industry, and diplomats. You will find the text of the advertising sections devoted almost solidly to a skillful attempt to make words mean something different to the reader from what the facts warrant. Most of us are aware of the chronic inability of schoolchildren to understand what is taught them; their examination papers are familiar exhibits in communication failure. Let me put a question to my fellow authors in the fields of economics, politics, and sociology; How many book-reviewers show by their reviews that they know what you are talking about? One in ten? That is about my ratio. Yet most of them assert that I am relatively lucid, if ignorant. How many arguments arrive anywhere? "A controversy," says Richards, "is normally an exploitation of a set of misunderstandings for warlike purposes." Have you ever listened to a debate in the Senate? A case being argued before the Supreme Court? . . . This is not frail humanity strapped upon an eternal rack. This is a reparable defect in the mechanism. When the physicists began to clear up their language, especially after Einstein, one mighty citadel after another was taken in the quest for knowledge. Is slum clearance a more difficult study than counting electrons? Strictly speaking, this may be a meaningless question, but I think you get my point.

14. It is too late to eliminate the factor of sheer verbalism in the already blazing war between "facism" and "communism." That war may end Europe as a viable continent for decades. To say that it is a battle of words alone is contrary to the facts, for there are important differences between the so-called fascist and communist states. But the words themselves, and the dialectic which accompanies them, have kindled emotional fires which far transcend the differences in fact. Abstract terms are personified to become burning, fighting realities.

Yet if the knowledge of semantics were general, and men were on guard for communication failure, the conflagration could hardly start. There would be honest differences of opinion, there might be a sharp political struggle, but not this windy clash of rival metaphysical notions.

15. Endless political and economic difficulties in America have arisen and thriven on bad language. The Supreme Court crisis of 1937 was due chiefly to the creation by judges and lawyers of verbal monsters in the interpretation of the Constitution. They gave objective, rigid values to vague phrases like "due process" and "interstate commerce." Once these monsters get into the zoo, no one knows how to get them out again, and they proceed to eat us out of house and home.

16. Handicraft communities could handle language without too seriously endangering their survival. They tortured and sometimes killed poor old ladies as "witches." They reduced their own efficiency in acquiring the necessities of life by elaborate rituals and superstitions. But while language was a handicap, it was not a major menace. There was not much reading or writing. Plenty of firsthand experience acted as a check on unprovable statements.

17. Power Age communities have grown far beyond the check of individual experience. They rely increasingly on printed matter, radio, communication at a distance. This has operated to enlarge the field for words, absolutely and relatively, and has created a paradise for fakirs. A community of semantic illiterates, of persons unable to perceive the meaning of what they read and hear, is one of perilous equilibrium. Advertisers, as well as demagogues, thrive on this illiteracy. The case against the advertising of commercial products has hitherto rested on mendacity. In modern times outright mendacity—such as a cure for cancer—is tempered with spurious identification. The advertiser often creates verbal goods, turning the reader's attention away from the actual product. He sells the package, and especially the doctrinal matter around the package. The plain woman, by using a given cosmetic, is invited to become Cleopatra, vested with all the allure of the East. In brief, consumers often pay their money for the word rather than for the thing. Without ability to translate words into verifiable meanings, most people are the inevitable victims of both commercial and literary fraud.

18. Fortunately there is nothing seriously the matter with our natural mental equipment. People are not "dumb" because they lack mental equipment; they are dumb because they lack an adequate method for the use of that equipment. The student of semantics is embarrassed with the sheer richness of the evidence that people do not

know what they are talking about. A business conference, the *Congressional Record*, a meeting of a Board of Education, the proceedings of almost any annual convention, a get-together of pacifists, of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of communists, of delegates to the A. F. of L., a banquet of the bar association. Words, words, words, making blab, sense, blab, blab, sense, blab; a thin white flicker of meaning on a broad black band.

19. The lesson of this study is, Look to the context. Find the referent. What is true about this? What is useful about that? What possibilities of survival and happiness may be found here? Not up in the Beyond—here! With this open-mindedness, flexibility, skepticism, perhaps men can find many more things which are true, which bring a measure of peace and happiness, than were ever assumed in an abstract Heaven.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. If your dictionary does not give the word "nonverbal" in line 21, how can you still find its meaning? From what two Latin words is it derived? What other English words come from the same root? Is "verbosity" one of them? Is "verbena"? Is "verbiage"?
2. In line 27, what is the meaning of "validity"? What common English words have the same root? Is "valence" one of them? Is "valedictory"? Is "valiant"? Is "value"?
3. For "imputes" in line 30, refer to item 1 following "College Athletics" elsewhere in this volume.
4. Also in line 31, what meaning has "entity"? From what root does it come?
5. In line 24 and in line 37 occur the two basic words of this essay. From the title to the final paragraph the essay exists to explain their meaning and their significance for effective communication. What is the meaning of "label"? Of "referent"? First get what information you can from your dictionary. If you do not find "referent," how near it do you come? After consulting the dictionary reread paragraphs 2–4 carefully. Do not go beyond paragraph 4 until you have fixed in your mind the vital distinction between the "label" and the "referent."
6. In line 42 and later in the essay occurs the word "semantics," which Mr. Chase says elsewhere in *The Tyranny of Words*

you are likely to hear again. If you do not find it in your dictionary, try the related word "semasiology." The referent for these two words is not as difficult as you might think.

7. Get a clear notion of the three different classes of labels explained in paragraph 5. The referent is simpler for the first class than for the other two.
8. Why, as suggested in paragraph 6, is the definition of "liberty" as "freedom" not satisfactory? Can you find in your dictionary a definition more satisfactory than "freedom"?
9. From the comments in paragraph 1 and paragraph 6 would you think Mr. Chase opposed to the use of the dictionary?
10. Are you and your acquaintances as uncertain about the referent for "communism" as paragraph 7 suggests? What recent world events have helped to confuse the referent for "communism" as distinguished from that for "fascism"?
11. Since Russia is said to be communistic and Spain fascist, why can we not arrive at referents for these terms as in paragraph 8 the scientists are said to do?
12. Does paragraph 9 recall any experience of your own where failure of communication has been serious for yourself or your friends? How far was a failure to agree on the referent responsible?
13. Which of the two language situations presented in paragraph 10 is the more serious? Why?
14. Which of the two language uses referred to in paragraph 11 is the more important—for you; for Mr. Chase? Do not answer too easily. And do not confuse the referent for "uses" in this item with that for "situations" in the previous item.
15. Mr. Chase believes that the tragic situation outlined in paragraph 12 is brought about "to some extent" by "unconscious misuse of man's most human attributes—thinking and its tool, language." How far do you agree? How far would you blame poor thinking? How far, poor use of language?
16. To what extent does the "failure of mental communication" charged in paragraph 13 result from poor reading ability? To what extent from poor thinking? To what extent from an intention on the part of politicians and commercial advertisers to mislead their readers or listeners? What does the author mean when he says the defect is reparable?
17. Does your experience support the suggestion in paragraph 13 that most arguments are futile? Have you ever heard a discussion among your acquaintances come to a sudden end when one of the disputants said, "Oh, is that what you mean"? Was the real difficulty here a difference of opinion?
18. What indication as to the date of the essay does the first

sentence of paragraph 14 give? If Mr. Chase were writing today, how would he probably phrase this sentence?

19. Do you believe the situation presented in paragraph 14 as much a language problem as it is represented to be? What "important differences" does the author have in mind?
20. What different language problems in "handicraft communities" and "power age communities" do paragraphs 16 and 17 suggest? Can you test the soundness of paragraph 17 by any experience of your own or of your acquaintances?
21. Do you find paragraph 18 on the whole optimistic? What specific suggestion for improvement brings the attention of the reader in paragraph 19 back to the title and the basic purpose of the essay?
22. How different do you consider the point of view of Mr. Chase in this essay from that of the selection from John Locke in this section? For specific comparison see the questions following that selection.
23. For recognition of the importance of a clear referent to prevent misunderstanding see especially Matthew Arnold's definition of "literature" in paragraphs 5–7 of "Literature and Science," President Conant's definition of "democracy" and "aristocracy" in paragraphs 11 and 12 and his definition of "scholarships" in paragraph 29 of "The Future of Our Higher Education"—both reprinted elsewhere in this volume.
24. In your reading are you learning to watch for the referent intended by the author; are you learning not to be misled by the label? In your writing and speaking are you learning to make your own referents unmistakable?
25. What have you learned for effective communication from reading "The Label and the Referent"? Choose some idea from the essay and in a single paragraph or a longer paper, as your instructor may direct, show its relation to your own experience with language. In your discussion take particular pains with your own referents.

The Word and the Fact

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

For biographical data see the headnote to "The Unimagined America" in Section V. In a footnote to the following article, *The Atlantic Monthly* makes this statement: "Speaking before the annual meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, Archibald MacLeish, poet and Librarian of of Congress, called into the clear that urgency which every American worth his salt feels today: 'Give us,' he said, 'the words, the true words for which we are fighting this war.'" [*The Atlantic Monthly*, 174:52-55, July, 1944. By permission of the author and the publisher.]

1 THE AMERICAN PEOPLE seem to be upon the point of accepting, without challenge and almost without debate, a proposition which may profoundly affect the future of the world they are to live in. It is a proposition more often implied than declared, but its essential elements are these: that Mr. Wilson started out to make a peace with his eye on a set of principles, expecting the facts to conform; that Mr Wilson failed to make a peace; that we, therefore, should start out with our eyes on a set of facts, letting the principles do the conforming.

2. That the practical men of both parties approve the proposal is not astonishing The practical men have never cared very much for a policy of principle. In Wilson's time they attacked the expressions of principle as schoolteacher's talk. In our time they attack them as "ideologies." They prefer facts. The facts are amenable; the principles are not.

3. The practical men, however, do not comprise the entire population of the United States. There are men and women in this country who believe, and believe passionately, in a policy of principle. What is astonishing is the failure of these believers to challenge a trend which, whether declared or undeclared, they must have seen. Why have they not insisted that the approach of the Allied Nations to the peace should be an uncompromising approach, the first purpose

of which is the establishment of the principles for which the war has been fought?

4. One explanation may be the difficulty which even the believers in principle now experience in putting the essential principles into words. The war and the uses of the war have affected the great words of the democratic tradition even in the mouths of those who need them most. The great abstractions of the democratic cause, the summarizing and identifying words which undertake to name, and so reduce to moral perception, the nation's experience as a nation—the generalizations by which men raise their thoughts above themselves —have lost a part at least of their usefulness and currency

5. A hundred and fifty years ago, in the war of the American Revolution, the word liberty was a natural word, a word which came easily and without self-conscious effort to men's mouths. When noble lords questioned Governor Richard Penn of Pennsylvania in the House of Lords in November of 1775 as to the reasons why members of the American Congress levied and carried on the war, Governor Penn replied. "In defense of their liberties." When General Washington had occasion in the fall of 1774 to take a friend to task for his contemptuous reference to the rebelliousness of the people of Massachusetts, the General wrote: "But this you may at the same time rely on, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges, which are essential to the happiness of every free state and without which life, liberty and property are rendered totally insecure." When Mr. Jefferson was charged with the task of putting into words the reasons for the adoption of the Richard Henry Lee Resolution, he found it precise and accurate to speak of a God-given right of liberty. And when Patrick Henry spoke with a purpose to move as hardheaded and sophisticated a representative House as was ever seated on this continent, he did not hesitate to make liberty his cause.

6. In this war also, and of necessity, we have identified our cause with these abstractions. But no one who has gone beneath the official rhetoric to the general usage will believe that we have used them easily On the contrary, we have escaped from them where we could, talking instead of the "American way of life," which, if an abstraction, is at least an abstraction which can be identified by homely and recognizable things—by cars, food, forms of address, habits on porches, manners in meeting. Or awkward even with the "American way of life," we have taken refuge in "America the way it was before," as the refrigerator manufacturers and the home furnishing industry and

the producers of automobiles are talking of it now in the handsome advertisements which beseech us to leave America the way it was for the boys to come back to. America the way it was is not an abstraction at all. It can be seen in four-color reproductions of paintings of charming village streets. It can also be seen, if one wishes to see it, in the mile after mile of unpalatable and unreproved squalor which spreads from the Chicago airport, say to the towers of Chicago's Loop.

2

7. No one in his senses would suggest that our generation seeks to escape from the great words into these paraphrases, these equivocations, because of any lack of belief in the things for which the great words stand. The refusal of the American people in 1940 and 1941 to follow the treacherous propaganda which urged them to trust their liberty and freedom and democracy to the width of the Atlantic Ocean is proof enough that the American people continue to value democracy and liberty and freedom. What many in our generation doubt is not the thing itself but precisely the words in which the thing is said—precisely the Word. As inheritances from our forefathers, carrying the emotions of an entire history, a great people, a noble past, we accept the words for liberty and freedom as we accept the battle flags in the armories. But as words for ourselves, words for our present, words for our own time, we find it difficult to use them. It is not because Wilson's oracular declarations were untrue that we have neglected them so strangely in this war. History has proved them truer than even Wilson knew. It is because the phrase, "a world safe for democracy," is, in its words, in its rhetoric, a phrase we cannot easily or naturally make our own. We believe in the intentions of the words, but the words themselves embarrass us, leaving us conscious of the silence into which they fall.

8. For the most part our embarrassment is felt rather than reasoned. The revolt against the Word—and "revolt" is too explicit and dramatic and precise a term—is a revolt not so much of the head as of the heart. There were a few attacks, during the generation of the literary belittlement, on the abstract words of the democratic tradition, and at least one professor of psychology has been able to attribute the perpetuation of modern warfare to the prevalence of such "fictional" and "unreal" "catch-words" as freedom, liberty, equality, humanity, and tolerance—a proposition which would have interested Thomas Jefferson. But the uneasiness of the people themselves in the presence of these particular abstractions is not based upon any such intellectualism. It is

not indeed based at all. It exists. And it exists for reasons which are not too difficult to state.

9. Any word becomes unwieldly and overconscious of itself when its meaning in action is inferior to its meaning in emotion—when its spread of emotional sail overbalances the lead and oak that ought to carry cargo. And any word which is used repeatedly to evoke emotion without the evocation of an action to which emotion can attach loses the balance upon which its seaworthiness depends. Even the great abstractions which attempt to translate experience into idea cannot altogether break their continuing derivation from experience without reducing their ideas to tags and slogans.

10 Freedom from the present interference of an arrogant, ill-advised, and ill-bred British king, named George the Third, is a good word, hard as an axehead, and as useful. Liberty to live as General Washington and Mr. Jefferson meant to live, in spite of Lord North and the Tory gang, is a word to put in a speech in a Chamber of Burgesses, or on the parchment of a Declaration, or in the words of a song, or on the walls of a tavern—as good and as natural and as precise in one place as another. But freedom and liberty as abstractions with no present application in this time are banners without staffs to fly from

11. I do not suggest that the whole reason for our present uneasiness in the use of words we desperately need is our failure to state in positive and revolutionary language the purpose of this war. The revolt against the Word, and particularly against the abstract terms that bear the burden of an impotent emotion, had grown of itself in this country, and long before the war, under the pounding of a press and radio which, year after year, used greater and greater quantities of less and less precise and relevant words to persuade the American people to buy, or to eat, or to vote, or to wear, or to love a book, or to live in a suburb, or to hate a particular public official, or to accept a special theory of economics, or to purchase a lot in one cemetery rather than another. But though the communications industry must carry its heavy share of responsibility for the degeneration of the Word, the immediate responsibility for the loss of meaning of the words we now need most lies elsewhere.

12. The immediate responsibility rests with the governments which have declared or not declared the democratic purpose in this war.

3

13. To use freedom as the definition of the cause opposed to fascism, but to be unwilling to define the terrible and immediate danger fascism presents in every country—to be unwilling even to use the word for fascism over months of time—is to make drafts upon the credit of historical emotion which the word freedom had gathered from the lives of earlier men, without giving it a present point and meaning which can make its passion ours. To talk of liberty without declaring, with the precise and revolutionary ardor of those to whom the talk of liberty comes naturally, what liberty we mean to have, and for what purpose, is to trade upon the nobility of men long dead, and, worse, to spill and waste the virtue of the word they left us. Freedom, liberty, democracy, equality, are revolutionary words. They are revolutionary words always, and whenever used. They cannot be employed to arouse men's minds to fight defensive wars for the protection of the status quo or the preservation of a society "the way it was" without destroying their vitality and meaning

14. Words are not lists in books. They are shapes in men's minds, sounds on their lips, parts of their lives. Men will reject, and should reject, the words that do not relate to the things they do, the words they cannot truthfully use of themselves, of their own actions. But the danger is that when the vitality and meaning of the words of principle are destroyed, the way will be opened to those who wish, as they put it, to "go behind the words to the facts." The danger is that men will say, as the hardheaded men are saying of peace in this country today and in England and elsewhere: "This time we will get down to facts. This time we will make a peace on the facts, not on the rhetoric. This time we will deal with the factual situations, not with the moral precepts or the high purposes—a world safe for democracy, and all that. We will deal with the actual facts, not with the words—and the facts will speak for themselves."

15. The facts *will* speak for themselves. And what they will speak will be facts. The facts about civil aviation will speak in terms of civil aviation. The facts about oil and gold and shipping and markets will speak in terms of oil and gold and shipping and markets. They are already speaking, indeed, in just those terms. And the peace we shall make, the peace we seem to be making, will be a peace of oil, a peace of gold, a peace of shipping—a peace, in brief, of factual situations, a peace without moral purpose or human intent, a peace of dicker and trade about the facts of commerce, the facts of banking,

the facts of transportation, which will lead us where the treaties made by dicker and by trade have always led.

16. Those realists who believe that facts will produce of themselves their human significance, those who believe that if you take care of the facts the principles will take care of themselves, are realists of a poor reality. A human society abandoned to the logic of facts is a human society which only an old-style Marxist philosopher could contemplate with satisfaction. The whole history of civilization is the history of the effort, successful sometimes, sometimes unsuccessful, to compel the so-called logic of fact to conform to a human—which is to say, a moral—purpose; to compel the consuming logic of fire to conform to the purpose of light; to compel the murderous logic of force to conform to the purpose of order. To renounce the expression of purpose, to renounce the abstractions of speech in which the history of moral purpose is summed up and to trust instead to the "facts" to secrete a purpose of their own, is to be guilty of something worse than folly It is to be guilty of the crime against humanity, the crime our generation knows so well, the crime of abdication of moral and intellectual responsibility. The sickness of our day is the sickness of increasing intellectual chaos—the sickness of disordered and multifarious phenomena, undisciplined, unorganized, and uncomposed. Our need, our desperate and terrible need, is to impose upon the world of chaotic phenomena an order of understanding, a moral order, a humane and human conception. Our need, that is to say, is to extend, and not to narrow, the hold of word on fact—to extend over the chaos of inarticulate experience the order and the government of the Word.

17. It is not, surely, an impossible labor. It is not impossible—it cannot be impossible—to hold against the encroaching ocean of disorders the great democratic conceptions which our fathers brought to words. Words, however those who write of words may treat them, are not objects of fashion. They are living things, real things. They go in and out of meaning, not of taste. They alter as men alter, and for similar reasons. Treated with honesty and courage, they will live forever. Deprived of meaning, they will starve and die. Freedom waved as a banner in a war which does not breathe of freedom droops because its meaning has been taken from it. Democracy used as a distinction without a meaning has no meaning left. But democracy and freedom, in the mouths of those who dare to speak them and to mean the things they speak, are living words again: new, clean, fresh in the sun, natural and simple.

4

18. This year is the year of an anniversary of the Word which has been strangely overlooked. It was three centuries ago this year that John Milton addressed to the Parliament of England a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, which he called his *Areopagitica*. That famous book has been cited many times—and by some who had no right to call John Milton to their witness—as authority for the negative and narrow proposition that a publisher may publish what he pleases. Those who have read the book as it deserves know very well that Milton had no such narrow purpose.

19. It was not the right of the publisher to publish for his pleasure or his profit that Milton had in mind, but the right of the nation to read. And the right of the nation to read was important, not for amusement or news, but for the truth. And the truth was in books because they were living things. "Who kills a man," wrote Milton, "kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were in the eye. . . 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse." "For books," he said, "are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them."

20. What is true of a good book is true of a good word. For what are the good words, the great abstractions of a nation's speech, but the nation's inward understanding of the thing it needs to be—the coinage into purpose of the lives that made it? And how, if the meaning of these words is taken from them by the meaningless condition of their later use—how shall the nation know what it can be?

21. Praise alone cannot protect the power of the Word or, lost, restore it. Only the people can give life to language; and only they when language draws its life from theirs If the great words of the American purpose are to recover the vitality and power they once had, they must take their part in this war and in the peace that follows —their actual part, not their formal part. The war must be a war truly and visibly for the freedom of mankind, and the peace must be a peace for liberty in fact, not liberty in speeches. It is possible perhaps to compromise with men It is never possible to compromise the meaning of the words, for the words become their meanings.

22. If this war for freedom, this war against fascism, ends without the destruction of fascism, the triumph of freedom, more will have been lost than victory in a war. If the peace that ends this war of freedom against fascism is a peace of arrangements, a peace of adjustments, a peace of facts, of trades, of balances, more will be gone than the chance to make a peace. If even now, even at this late last moment, the great abstractions of democracy can take their honest meanings and have their truthful way, more than a war will have been fought and won.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. What two approaches to the problems of the peace are discussed in paragraphs 1-2? To what extent have you found these approaches represented in Section VII of this volume? To what extent do you find them functioning in present actions of our own or other governments?
2. Which of these approaches is preferred by the "practical men"? Why? In what sense is Mr. MacLeish using the word *practical*? Compare his use of it with Matthew Arnold's in "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time" (Section IV)
3. What, according to paragraphs 3-11, has happened to "the great abstractions, . . . the summarizing and identifying words"? Compare the thought of these paragraphs with that of paragraphs 5-14 of "The Label and the Referent" elsewhere in this Section. To what extent are Mr. Chase and Mr. MacLeish (in these paragraphs) in agreement? To what extent do they differ?
4. Were the patriots mentioned in paragraph 5 really speaking with precision or were they simply speaking to audiences who had not studied semantics?
5. Why is "American way of life" an inadequate substitute for "liberty"? What confusion and dishonesty have often appeared in the uses of "America the way it was"?
6. What distinction is drawn in paragraphs 7-8? Why do "the words themselves embarrass us"? Explain the meanings of "the generation of the literary belittlement" (l. 95) and "not indeed based at all" (l. 103).
7. Explain the metaphor in the first sentence of paragraph 9. How well does it meet the criteria of a good figure of speech?

What thought in paragraph 9 is expressed in different terms by William James in "Habit: Ally or Enemy" (Section III)?

8. What indictment presented in paragraph 11 is also to be found in "The Barons of Opinion" (Section IV) and in paragraph 17 of "The Label and the Referent"?
9. Paragraph 13 mentions "the terrible and immediate danger fascism presents in every country." What terrible and immediate danger do you think it presents in this country? With what specific facts can you support your answer?
10. What expressions in paragraph 13 refer to ideas and examples set forth in paragraph 5?
11. In what ways does paragraph 14 carry the reader back to the thought of paragraphs 1-2?
12. What two kinds of world order are contrasted in paragraphs 15-16? Where in Section VII do you find these two kinds of world order mentioned, either favorably or unfavorably?
13. Why is "Word" capitalized in the last sentence of paragraph 16 and elsewhere in this essay?
14. Whom do you think Mr. MacLeish means by "those who write of words" in the third sentence of paragraph 17?
15. What misuse of Milton's *Areopagitica* is censured in paragraphs 18-19? What application does Mr. MacLeish make of the principles enunciated by Milton?
16. Paragraph 21 contains the statement that "the peace must be a peace for liberty in fact, not liberty in speeches." Do you see any indications of a danger that the peace is developing into a mere peace for liberty in speeches? If so, who is to blame?
17. What is the "more" referred to in the first and second sentences of paragraph 22? In the last sentence?
18. In paragraph 14, line 168, of "The Label and the Referent," Mr. Chase mentions with disapproval the fact that "abstract terms are personified to become burning, fighting realities." Is Mr. MacLeish contending that *liberty* is an abstract term that ought to become such a reality? Are he and Mr. Chase in complete disagreement, partial disagreement, or fundamental agreement? Is MacLeish's "Word" the same as Chase's "Label" and is his "Fact" the same as Chase's "Referent"? After a careful rereading, write a thoughtful discussion of the relation between the two essays.
19. If the thoughts suggested by any of the preceding questions (for example, 5, 8, 9, 12, or 16) seem especially interesting to you, develop those thoughts in a short paper.

XI

The Realms of Gold

"All that mankind has done, thought, gained, or been," say Carlyle, "is lying as in magic preservation in the pages of books." A good book, according to Milton, "is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit." On the other hand, it is true that all the vulgarity, all the stupidity, all the folly and waste of modern civilization find their expression somewhere amidst the vast tonnage of printed matter continually offering itself for our perusal Reading can be a most potent instrument for the expansion and enrichment of experience, or it can be a mere maceration and debauchery of the mind. It can be a means of killing time, lessening life; or it can be a means of making life yield the "fruit of a quickened, multiplied consciousness." In this section you will find some interesting accounts of what reading has meant to others; they are here for you to compare with your own experiences and to use as suggestions toward making literature a more and more rewarding part of your life.

On First Looking into Chapman's Homer

JOHN KEATS

It was Charles Cowden Clarke who was with Keats when the friends made the acquaintance of this translation of Homer by the Elizabethan poet [Chapman]. The two young men had sat up nearly all one night in the summer of 1815 in Clarke's lodgings, reading from a folio volume of the book which they had borrowed. Keats left for his own lodgings at dawn, and when Clarke came down to breakfast the next morning, he found this sonnet which Keats had sent him.

—Poetry Broadside of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland. By permission.

Much have I travell'd in the realms of gold,
And many goodly states and kingdoms seen;
Round many western islands have I been
Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold.
Oft of one wide expanse had I been told
That deep-brow'd Homer ruled as his demesne:
Yet did I never breathe its pure serene
Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold:
Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken;
Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
He star'd at the Pacific—and all his men
Look'd at each other with a wild surmise—
Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

Young Man in a Library

THOMAS WOLFE

The prodigal intensity and vast undisciplined richness of Thomas Wolfe (1900–1938) are best known in the novels *Look Homeward, Angel; Of Time and the River;* and *You Can't Go Home Again.* In the following passage the principal character of the novel, a poverty-stricken but exuberant young college instructor, such as Wolfe was for a time, is visiting in the home of a wealthy friend. The family have all retired for the night, leaving him alone in the library. [From Chapter LXVI in *Of Time and the River,* Scribner's, 1935. By permission of the publishers.]

1. He stayed there long into the night in that rich room, while the great house sank to sleep and silence all around him And at first he moved there quietly like a man living in an enchanted dream, almost afraid to draw a breath lest he dispel the glory and the magic of enchantment, and all the time the voices of the living books around him seemed to speak to him, to say to him: "Now it is night and silence and the sleep-time of the earth, the all-exultant time of youth and loneliness, and of your spirit's proud accession. Now take us, plunder us and take us, for you are alone and living in the world to-night while all the sleepers sleep, immortal knowledge will be yours to-night, the secrets of an everlasting and triumphal wisdom; the huge compacted treasure of the earth speaks to you from these storied shelves, and it is yours, you are the richest man in all the earth if you will take us, only take us, we have waited for you long, dear friend, tonight the world is yours, and will be yours forever, if you will only take us, take us, take us."

2. And like a man drunk with joy, half through the night he plundered the living treasure of those shelves. They were all there —the great chroniclers and recorders, the marvellous and enchanted lies of old Herodotus, and Sir Thomas Malory, and the voyages of Hakluyt and of Purchas, the histories of Mandeville and Hume. There was Burton's marvellous *Anatomy,* his staggering erudition never

smelling of the dust or of the lamp, his lusty, pungent ever-rushing-onward style, and the annihilating irony of Gibbon's latinized sonority, and the savage, burning, somehow magic plainness of Swift's style. There was the dark tremendous music of Sir Thomas Browne, and Hooker's sounding and tremendous passion made great by genius and made true by faith, and there was the giant dance, the vast storm-rounding cadence, now demented and now strong as light, of great Carlyle; and beside the haunting cadences of this tremendous piece, there was the pungent worldliness of life-loving men; the keen diaries of John Evelyn, the lusty tang and calculation and sensual rumination of old Pepys, the writings bright as noon, natural as morning, and the plain and middle-magic of the eighteenth century, the flawless grace and faultless clearness of Addison and Steele, and then all the pageantry of living character, the pages crowded with the immortal flesh of Sterne, Defoe, and Smollett, the huge comic universe of Fielding, the little one of Austen, and the immortal and extravagant one of Charles Dickens, the magnificent proliferation of Sir Walter Scott's tremendous gallery—and Thackeray's sentimental gallantry and magic, and all the single magics of Nathaniel Hawthorne, of Meredith, and Melville, of Landor, Peacock, Lamb, and of De Quincey, of Hazlitt, and of Poe.

3. There were as well, the works of all the poets, the Kelmscott Chaucers, the Dove editions, the doe-skin bindings, white and soft and velvet to the touch, the splendid bodies in all their royal pageantry of blue and gold and dense rich green—the Greek anthologies, and all the poets of antiquity, and the singing voices of the great Elizabethans—of Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney, and of Spenser, Webster, Ford and Massinger, of Kyd and Greene and Marlowe, of Beaumont, Lyly, Nash and Dekker, of Jonson, Shakespeare, Herrick, Herbert, Donne.

4. They were all there, from thundering Aeschylus to the sweet small voice of perfect singing Herrick, from grand plain Homer to poignant Catullus, from acid and tart-humored Horace, from the lusty, vulgar and sweet-singing voice of Geoffrey Chaucer, the great bronze ring and clangorous sonority of John Dryden, to the massy gold, the choked-in richness, the haunting fall and faery, of John Keats.

5. They were all there—each stored there in his little niche upon the living shelves, and at first he looted them, he plundered through their golden leaves as a man who first discovers a buried and inestimable treasure, and at first is dumb with joy at his discovery, and can only plunge his hands in it with drunken joy, scoop handfuls up and pour it over him and let the massy gold leak out again in golden ruin

through his spread hands; or as a man who discovers some enchanted spring of ageless youth, of ever-living immortality, and drinks of it, 65
and can never drink enough, and drinks and feels with every drink the huge summation of earth's glory in his own enrichment, the ageless fires of its magic youth.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Describe in your own words the state of mind which the library produced in the young man. Has anything ever produced in you a similar state of mind? If so, describe the experience.
2. With how many of the authors mentioned in paragraphs 2-4 are you acquainted? How appropriate do you consider the adjectives applied to them?
3. Try the experiment of reading passages, several pages in length, selected at random from at least four authors mentioned in paragraphs 2-4 but not familiar to you. Try to determine what there is in them that could fire the imagination of the young man. Compare their effect upon you. Organize your impressions into a short paper.
4. Which of the authors mentioned in paragraph 2 is represented in Section I of this volume? Turn to the selection and decide whether Wolfe's characterization applies to it.
5. How would you characterize Wolfe's own style? In what respects would it be desirable for you to imitate in your writing? In what respects might it be a dangerous model for a college student?

The Secret Life of Walter Mitty

JAMES THURBER

James Thurber (1894–) is about equally well known for his crude line drawings with their mixture of the childlike and the cynical and his prose sketches in which he mingles devastating satire with sympathetic insight into human strivings and frustrations. Among the most delightful but not necessarily most accurate of autobiographies is Mr. Thurber's *My Life and Hard Times*. Among his other books are *Is Sex Necessary?* (with E. B. White), *Let Your Mind Alone*, *The Middle-Aged Man on the Flying Trapeze*, *The Male Animal* (a play, with Elliott Nugent), *My World and Welcome to It*. The best introduction to Thurber's world is the recently published *Thurber Carnival*. "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty" originally appeared in *The New Yorker*, to which Mr. Thurber has long been an important contributor. [By permission of the author.]

1. "WE'RE GOING THROUGH!" The Commander's voice was like thin ice breaking. He wore his full-dress uniform, with the heavily braided white cap pulled down rakishly over one cold gray eye. "We can't make it, sir. It's spoiling for a hurricane, if you ask me." "I'm not asking you, Lieutenant Berg," said the Commander. "Throw on the power lights! Rev her up to 8,500! We're going through!" The pounding of the cylinders increased: ta-pocketa-pocketa-pocketa-*pocketa-pocketa*. The Commander stared at the ice forming on the pilot window. He walked over and twisted a row of complicated dials. "Switch on No. 8 auxiliary!" he shouted. "Switch on No. 8 auxiliary!" repeated Lieutenant Berg. "Full strength in No. 3 turret!" shouted the Commander. "Full strength in No. 3 turret!" The crew, bending to their various tasks in the huge, hurtling eight-engined Navy hydroplane, looked at each other and grinned. "The Old Man'll get us through," they said to one another. "The Old Man ain't afraid of Hell!"

2. "Not so fast! You're driving too fast!" said Mrs. Mitty. "What are you driving so fast for?"

3. "Hmm?" said Walter Mitty. He looked at his wife, in the seat beside him, with shocked astonishment. She seemed grossly unfamiliar, like a strange woman who had yelled at him in a crowd. "You were up to fifty-five," she said. "You know I don't like to go more than forty. You were up to fifty-five." Walter Mitty drove on toward Waterbury in silence, the roaring of the SN202 through the worst storm in twenty years of Navy flying fading in the remote, intimate airways of his mind. "You're tensed up again," said Mrs. Mitty. "It's one of your days. I wish you'd let Dr. Renshaw look you over."

4. Walter Mitty stopped the car in front of the building where his wife went to have her hair done. "Remember to get those overshoes while I'm having my hair done," she said. "I don't need overshoes," said Mitty. She put her mirror back into her bag. "We've been all through that," she said, getting out of the car. "You're not a young man any longer." He raced the engine a little. "Why don't you wear your gloves? Have you lost your gloves?" Walter Mitty reached in a pocket and brought out the gloves. He put them on, but after she had turned and gone into the building and he had driven on to a red light, he took them off again. "Pick it up, brother!" snapped a cop as the light changed, and Mitty hastily pulled on his gloves and lurched ahead. He drove around the streets aimlessly for a time, and then he drove past the hospital on his way to the parking lot.

5. . . "It's the millionaire banker, Wellington McMillan," said the pretty nurse. "Yes?" said Walter Mitty, removing his gloves slowly. "Who has the case?" "Dr. Renshaw and Dr. Benbow, but there are two specialists here, Dr. Remington from New York and Mr. Pritchard-Mitford from London. He flew over." A door opened down a long, cool corridor and Dr. Renshaw came out. He looked distraught and haggard. "Hello, Mitty," he said. "We're having the devil's own time with McMillan, the millionaire banker and close personal friend of Roosevelt. Obstreosis of the ductal tract. Tertiary. Wish you'd take a look at him." "Glad to," said Mitty.

6. In the operating room there were whispered introductions: "Dr. Remington, Dr. Mitty. Mr. Pritchard-Mitford, Dr. Mitty." "I've read your book on streptothricosis," said Pritchard-Mitford, shaking hands. "A brilliant performance, sir." "Thank you," said Walter Mitty. "Didn't know you were in the States, Mitty," grumbled Remington. "Coals to Newcastle, bringing Mitford and me up here for a tertiary." "You are very kind," said Mitty. A huge, complicated machine, connected to the operating table, with many tubes

and wires, began at this moment to go pocketa-pocketa-pocketa. "The new anesthetizer is giving way!" shouted an interne. "There is no one in the East who knows how to fix it!" "Quiet, man!" said Mitty, in a low, cool voice. He sprang to the machine, which was now going pocketa-pocketa-queep-pocketa-queep. He began fingering delicately a row of glistening dials. "Give me a fountain pen!" he snapped. Someone handed him a fountain pen. He pulled a faulty piston out of the machine and inserted the pen in its place. "That will hold for ten minutes," he said. "Get on with the operation." A nurse hurried over and whispered to Renshaw, and Mitty saw the man turn pale. "Coreopsis has set in," said Renshaw nervously. "If you would take over, Mitty?" Mitty looked at him and at the craven figure of Benbow, who drank, and at the grave uncertain faces of the two great specialists. "If you wish," he said. They slipped a white gown on him; he adjusted a mask and drew on thin gloves; nurses handed him shining .

7. "Back it up, Mac! Look out for that Buick!" Walter Mitty jammed on the brakes. "Wrong lane, Mac," said the parking-lot attendant, looking at Mitty closely. "Gee. Yeh," muttered Mitty. He began cautiously to back out of the lane marked "Exit Only." "Leave her sit there," said the attendant. "I'll put her away." Mitty got out of the car. "Hey, better leave the key." "Oh," said Mitty, handing the man the ignition key. The attendant vaulted into the car, backed it up with insolent skill, and put it where it belonged.

8. They're so damn cocky, thought Walter Mitty, walking along Main Street; they think they know everything. Once he had tried to take his chains off, outside New Milford, and he had got them wound around the axles. A man had had to come out in a wrecking car and unwind them, a young, grinning garageman. Since then Mrs. Mitty always made him drive to a garage to have the chains taken off. The next time, he thought, I'll wear my right arm in a sling; they won't grin at me then. I'll have my right arm in a sling and they'll see I couldn't possible take the chains off myself. He kicked at the slush on the sidewalk. "Overshoes," he said to himself, and he began looking for a shoe store.

9. When he came out into the street again, with the overshoes in a box under his arm, Walter Mitty began to wonder what the other thing was his wife had told him to get. She had told him twice, before they set out from their house for Waterbury. In a way he hated these weekly trips to town—he was always getting something wrong. Kleenex, he thought, Squibb's, razor blades? No. Tooth-

paste, toothbrush, bicarbonate, carborundum, initiative and referendum? He gave it up But she would remember it. "Where's the what's-its-name?" she would ask. "Don't tell me you forgot the what's-its-name." A newsboy went by shouting something about the Waterbury trial

10. "Perhaps this will refresh your memory." The District Attorney suddenly thrust a heavy automatic at the quiet figure on the witness stand. "Have you ever seen this before?" Walter Mitty took the gun and examined it expertly. "This is my Webley-Vickers 50.80," he said calmly An excited buzz ran around the courtroom. The judge rapped for order. "You are a crack shot with any sort of firearms, I believe?" said the District Attorney, insinuatingly. "Objection!" shouted Mitty's attorney. "We have shown that the defendant could not have fired the shot. We have shown that he wore his right arm in a sling on the night of the fourteenth of July." Walter Mitty raised his hand briefly and the bickering attorneys were stilled. "With any known make of gun," he said evenly, "I could have killed Gregory Fitzhurst at three hundred feet *with my left hand.*" Pandemonium broke loose in the courtroom A woman's scream rose above the bedlam and suddenly a lovely, dark-haired girl was in Walter Mitty's arms. The District Attorney struck at her savagely. Without rising from his chair, Mitty let the man have it on the point of the chin. "You miserable cur!" . . .

11. "Puppy biscuit," said Walter Mitty. He stopped walking and the buildings of Waterbury rose up out of the misty courtroom and surrounded him again. A woman who was passing laughed. "He said 'Puppy biscuit,'" she said to her companion. "That man said 'Puppy biscuit' to himself." Walter Mitty hurried on. He went into an A. & P., not the first one he came to but a smaller one farther up the street. "I want some biscuit for small, young dogs," he said to the clerk. "Any special brand, sir?" The greatest pistol shot in the world thought a moment. "It says 'Puppies Bark for It' on the box," said Walter Mitty.

12. His wife would be through at the hairdresser's in fifteen minutes, Mitty saw in looking at his watch, unless they had trouble drying it; sometimes they had trouble drying it. She didn't like to get to the hotel first; she would want him to be there waiting for her as usual. He found a big leather chair in the lobby, facing a window, and he put the overshoes and the puppy biscuit on the floor beside it. He picked up an old copy of *Liberty* and sank down into the chair.

"Can Germany Conquer the World Through the Air?" Walter Mitty looked at the pictures of bombing planes and of ruined streets.

13. . . . "The cannonading has got the wind up in young Raleigh, sir," said the sergeant. Captain Mitty looked up at him through tousled hair. "Get him to bed," he said wearily. "With the others. I'll fly alone." "But you can't, sir," said the sergeant anxiously. "It takes two men to handle that bomber and the Archies are pounding hell out of the air. Von Richtman's circus is between here and Saulier." "Somebody's got to get that ammunition dump," said Mitty. "I'm going over. Spot of brandy?" He poured a drink for the sergeant and one for himself. War thundered and whined around the dugout and battered at the door. There was a rending of wood and splinters flew through the room. "A bit of a near thing," said Captain Mitty carelessly. "The box barrage is closing in," said the sergeant. "We only live once, Sergeant," said Mitty, with his faint, fleeting smile. "Or do we?" He poured another brandy and tossed it off. "I never see a man could hold his brandy like you, sir," said the sergeant. "Begging your pardon, sir." Captain Mitty stood up and strapped on his huge Webley-Vickers automatic. "It's forty kilometers through hell, sir," said the sergeant. Mitty finished one last brandy. "After all," he said softly, "what isn't?" The pounding of the cannon increased; there was the rat-tat-tatting of machine guns, and from somewhere came the menacing pocketa-pocketa-pocketa of the new flamethrowers. Walter Mitty walked to the door of the dugout humming "Aupres de Ma Blonde." He turned and waved to the sergeant. "Cheerio!" he said. . . .

14. Something struck his shoulder. "I've been looking all over this hotel for you," said Mrs. Mitty. "Why do you have to hide in this old chair? How did you expect me to find you?" "Things close in," said Walter Mitty vaguely. "What?" Mrs. Mitty said. "Did you get the what's-its-name? The puppy biscuit? What's in that box?" "Overshoes," said Mitty. "Couldn't you have put them on in the store?" "I was thinking," said Walter Mitty. "Does it ever occur to you that I am sometimes thinking?" She looked at him. "I'm going to take your temperature when I get you home," she said.

15. They went out through the revolving doors that made a faintly derisive whistling sound when you pushed them. It was two blocks to the parking lot. At the drugstore on the corner she said, "Wait here for me. I forgot something. I won't be a minute." She was more than a minute. Walter Mitty lighted a cigarette. It began to rain, rain with sleet in it. He stood up against the wall of the drugstore,

smoking. . . He put his shoulders back and his heels together. "To hell with the handkerchief," said Walter Mitty scornfully. He took one last drag on his cigarette and snapped it away. Then, with that faint, fleeting smile playing about his lips, he faced the firing squad; 185
erect and motionless, proud and disdainful, Walter Mitty the Undefeated, inscrutable to the last.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. What generalizations stated by Mr. Canby and Mr. Fadiman elsewhere in this section are illustrated by the case of Walter Mitty?
2. What life does Walter Mitty live side by side with his secret life? What is this other life like? What details, in what paragraphs, are most significant in revealing it?
3. How many times, in the course of this story, does Walter Mitty make a transition from one life to the other? Point out specifically the details which Mr. Thurber employs in motivating each transition
4. Upon what sort of mental food does Walter Mitty nourish his secret life? If such food were not available, what would be the effect upon his other life?
5. What is satirized in this story? Is the story all satire? If not, what else is in it?
6. Do you have a good idea of the appearance of Walter Mitty? Of Mrs Mitty? Is there any description of either of them in the story?
7. What is your final attitude toward Walter Mitty? Toward Mrs. Mitty? What are the reasons for each attitude?
8. What details in the story do you find especially humorous? What adjectives would you use in describing the quality of the humor?
9. What is the effect of the pseudo-technical terms in paragraphs 5-6? Which of them, if any, do you find especially ludicrous?
10. Have you ever felt yourself in danger of becoming an escapist after the manner of Walter Mitty? If so, what were the principal sources of escapist reverie?
11. If you have perceived, in yourself or any of your associates, a tendency to lead a secret life like that of Walter Mitty, perhaps you would like to attempt the interesting exercise of writing a sketch of that life. Try to write in such a way that a reader is likely to recognize some of the stories, moving pictures, comic strips, or radio programs upon which the secret life is based.

The Drug of Reading

HENRY SEIDEL CANBY

For one who has spent much of his adult life as a reviewer, Mr. Canby has here an interesting, if not strange, point of view on the effect of reading habits. One wonders how much of Mr. Canby's reading while he was editor of *The Saturday Review of Literature* had to be below his own intellectual level, itself undoubtedly higher than that of the bulk of "authors" reviewed. [From *Definitions* (Second Series), Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1924. By permission of the publisher.]

1. When the Prohibitionists have settled alcohol finally and disposed of tobacco, they should pounce upon the reading habit, for reading can be a drug. Observe men and women and even children upon any train or car. See how heads nod in a dull intoxication over magazines and newspapers. The man across the aisle lifts his eyes. They roll for a moment in a stupid vacancy, as some thought stirs feebly in his fuddled brain; then he drops his sight again into his intoxicant and drowns reflection in meaningless reading which he forgets as fast as he reads. Human beings, seemingly educated and apparently intelligent, will commit absurdities rather than sit still without something to read. They will pick old papers out of the dust and look at the comic strips, they will stretch across a neighbor's shoulder, they will carry a battered roll of newsprint bulged in an outside pocket, they will read the "Lost and Found" ads or Aunt Molly's Hints on Canning, or the end of a story in the last torn half of *The Saturday Evening Post*. In the old melodrama the hero used to cry: "Oh, God, let me not think!" That is what we all cry now when there is any opportunity for thinking; and instead of "Give me liquor!" raise one universal prayer for a page with print on it. The profoundest scholar, he whose picture appears in medieval manuscripts surrounded by rumpled tomes and barred away from the noises of day, read no more words in twenty-four hours than many traveling men who could not tell you by evening what it was they had read.

2. Perhaps if Prohibitionists had more carefully considered the how and the why and the who of taking alcohol the Eighteenth Amendment

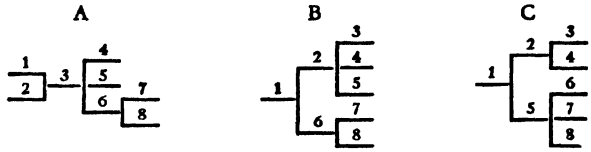
would have been deferred or modified; and we are far from proposing a Twentieth against reading—even the three-quarters of all available reading which is worthless in substance, cheap and vulgar in form. For the real question is, What would the mind be doing if it were not drugged by reading? The stolid vacancy of the peasant brain is not to be commended as a virtue, except by comparison with ignoble thinking. The gross unintelligence of primitive man, soil-bound and work-bound, is not even picturesque, and the romancers that praise the happy, happy medieval whose brain was uncorrupted by machine-made ideas, forget the iron tyranny of superstition and convention which bound an intellect shut off from news and free discussion. Vulgarity may be worse than bigotry, but neither is a blessing.

3. And the answer seems to be that the value of reading depends upon the quality of man's imagination and the nature of his thinking. If his mind vibrates with so slow a rhythm that it scarcely pulsates unless aided, then any reading is better for him than none. The fiction addict cheaply living in the cheap stories of other lives would be scarcely alive at all without his story. The adenoidic errand boy besotted by a page of comics is better off than crouched in a corner staring at nothing. But men and women who possess an interior world of thinking, feeling, living as vivid as the exterior world of circumstance are merely drugging themselves when out of laziness or vicious relaxation they read on and on into the endless padded columns of modern print where the level of what is said lies below the plane of their own intelligences. You can stop mental growth by reading just as you can further it. You can vulgarize taste as readily as improve it. You can get out of the habit of knowing yourself by too much lazy interest in knowing at third or fifth hand what other people are doing and thinking.

4. It would appear, then, that a new kind of intelligence test might be made from habits in reading. You may test the minimum level of your own intelligence by noting the point at which what you are reading becomes too inane even for your most relaxed mood. That shows how far you can sink. Your saturation point is the moment when your brain ceases to function in the presence of acknowledged excellence. These limits are arbitrary; but every reader should be able to apply the few simple principles laid down here with sufficient accuracy to determine whether he is drugging his mind with reading or stimulating it, whether books and papers for him at any given moment are food or slow poison.

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. "Substance" in line 28 and "superstition" in line 35 have the same root. What is it? Of the following words all but one have the same root: "constancy," "instant," "obstacle," "stable," and "obstinate." Which is the one word?
2. In line 26 "deferred" has what root in common with "differ," "fertile," "transfer," and "conference"?
3. Does the repetition of pattern in sentence seven of paragraph 1 make for monotony or emphasis? Desirable or undesirable?
4. In paragraph 3 what method is the author using to improve the quality of your reading? Persuasion, ridicule, example, flattery? How does it affect you?
5. Consult Appendix B-I and then indicate why you prefer graph A, B, or C to represent the structure of paragraph 3.



6. Remembering that induction leads from evidence to conclusion and that deduction leads from a general statement to particular applications, find examples of both methods. Which is paragraph 1? Which is the whole essay?
7. Is the essay as a whole "food or slow poison"? Be specific. If you disagree violently with what Mr. Canby has to say, has the reading been a total loss?
8. What other "drugs" are giving cheap reading strong competition? What kind of radio programs do you listen to? What kind have you watched others wasting time on? What kind of music, movies?
9. There is a theory that any impulse which we get (through hearing music or seeing a play, or through exercise of any other of the senses) must be used creatively, positively, and promptly if our will is not to be weakened by refusing the impulse or misdirecting it. (See William James' "Habit" in Section III.) First decide whether or not you would accept the theory as valid. Then apply it to the kind of reading Mr. Canby is discussing here. Do you still hold the same opinion?
10. Defend or criticise your own program for filling relaxed moments. Think it out carefully before writing. What do you get from it? What can you *use* from it? Is it necessary that you have anything to use?

Biblio-Autobiography

CLIFTON FADIMAN

For some years Clifton Fadiman (1904–) has been known to an extensive radio audience as the genial and resourceful conductor of the program called "Information, Please." Throughout his professional life—as teacher, reviewer, lecturer, editor—he has been concerned in one way and another with books and reading. Compilations which he has edited include *Reading I've Liked, I Believe,* and *The Short Stories of Henry James.* The liveliness, versatility, and penetration so frequently apparent in his work are partially accounted for in the following report of his travels in the realms of gold. [From the Introduction to *Reading I've Liked,* Simon and Schuster, 1941. By permission of the publisher.]

1. THOSE TO WHOM READING is fated to become important generally shake hands with books early. But this is not always true. Many distinguished writers were blockheads at their letters until a comparatively advanced age. I think, however, of an undistinguished one who was a busy reader at four: me. My first book was entitled *The Overall Boys. The Overall Boys* was and doubtless still is a rousing tale of two devoted brothers, aged five and seven, and their monosyllabic adventures on a farm. The style was of transparent lucidity. I found *The Overall Boys* a perfect job then, and, looking back, I haven't yet been able to detect any flaws in it. I remember it in greater detail and certainly with greater pleasure than I do the 576-page novel I finished yesterday At four I was convinced that *The Overall Boys* represented the peak of the art of narrative and sternly rejected all attempts to make me continue my reading adventures This resistance endured for a lengthy period—about a week, I should say. Then I broke down, tried another book, and have been doing the same sort of thing ever since. But all devout readers will agree that my first literary judgment was correct. Everything after *The Overall Boys* has been anticlimax. The same new world can never be discovered twice. One's first book, kiss, home run, is always the best.

2. Between the ages of fo and ten I read but moderately and with

absolute catholicity. We had in our household the usual meaningless miscellany that accumulates if the parents are not specifically literary. Thus I read whatever lay behind the glassed-in shelves of two dreary-looking black-walnut bookcases. I devoured the standard "boys' books" scornfully discarded by my elder brother. I bored my way through at least ten volumes of an unreadable set of historical novels by some worthy named Muhlbach, I think, and got absolutely nothing from them; the same result would be achieved were I to read them now. I read an adventure story about the Belgian Congo that made an anti-imperialist out of me when I was eight; I have seen no reason to change my views since then. Something called *Buck Jones at Annapolis* similarly made me permanently skeptical of the warrior virtues.

3. I read an odd collection of "daring" books that many families of the period kept around the house, often hidden under lock and key: Reginald Wright Kaufman's *The House of Bondage,* something called *The Yoke,* which was on the same order; Maupassant complete, though this may not have been until I had reached the mature estate of twelve or thirteen; and similar luridness. These had no effect of any sort on me, as far as I can recollect, though I suppose a psychoanalyst could, at a price, make me tell a different story.

4. The child reader is an automatic selecting mechanism. What he is not emotionally ready to absorb, his mental system quietly rejects. When in later years I became a teacher of literature I could never see the point in censoring my young charges' extracurricular reading. Very often the mothers (never the fathers) of my high-school students would ask me to explain my refusal to forbid Mary or John to read James Joyce's *Ulysses.* I never offered any satisfactory explanation except to say that if John or Mary were ready to understand *Ulysses* then they were ready to understand *Ulysses,* which was a Good Thing. If they were not ready to understand it, which was apt to be the case, then *Ulysses* would at most waste their time, on which I was not prepared to set any exaggerated value. Often an anxious mother would inquire whether I didn't agree that the last chapter (Mrs. Leopold Bloom's uncorseted memories of an exuberant life) was shocking. My reply may have been frivolous, but it seems to me it contained the germ of the truth: that she found it shocking mainly because she had not had the chance to read *Ulysses* when she was seventeen, wherein Mary or John had an advantage over her. This generally closed, without settling, the controversy.

5. As you can see, part of my four-to-ten reading was unorthodox

for a small child (I forgot to tell you that I also toddled through a volume of Ibsen, and found him impenetrable) but the unorthodoxies had no effect whatsoever. What I really liked was what any small boy or girl would like—what I was ready for. This included, of course, a moderate amount of what is called trash—the Rover Boys, Horatio Alger, Wild West yarns, Jack Harkaway, the whole conventional canon of those days.

6. I say trash Actually such books are "trash" only by standards which should not be applied to children's reading They have the incalculable value that listening to perfectly inane adult conversation holds for children. they increase the child's awareness. They provide admittedly rough paradigms of character, motivation, life experiences. That is why it seems to me that the trash of my generation was superior to the trash of today I submit that *The Rover Boys in the Everglades* and *Frank on a Gunboat* are preferable to Superman and his kind on two counts· they were cleanly and clearly written, and their characters were credible and not entirely unrelated to the child's experience. When I was nine I could learn something interesting about life from even such highly colored affairs as the Frank Merriwell series, but I know that my son can learn nothing whatsoever of genuine interest (that is, which he can check against the expanding universe within himself) from the comics I believe firmly that the current juvenile literature of the impossible is meretricious compared with the honest hackwork my own generation enjoyed I also think that the kids are about ready to kick over this thriller fare in favor of something saner and more natural

7. During my younger years, mainly between the ages of eight and ten, I, like my contemporaries, read a few "good" books, though they were not recommended to me as good. Such recommendations are hardly necessary The child, if reasonably intelligent, has almost infallible good taste Probably his good taste reaches its peak at that time We all felt. when we encountered *Tom Sawyer* or, to hit a lower level, Thomas Bailey Aldrich's *Story of a Bad Boy,* or, on a still lower level, that fine New England classic *Lem* (is it still read?) that these books had something not possessed by *The Pony Rider Boys in the Ozarks.* It wasn't that they were more exciting, for sometimes they weren't, but they were more "real." The other books were read eagerly and with joy, and then forgotten indeed, they were read to be forgotten, to be "finished." But *Tom Sawyer* was something you caught yourself remembering a week later, and a year later. I know now, of course, the reason the child feels these books is that the authors

felt them. It is as simple as that. That is why the so-called "better" juveniles that flood the bookdealers' shelves every year—the skillfully constructed, highly educational, carefully suited-to-age, morally sanitary, psychologically impeccable children's books—don't really make much of a dent on the child's consciousness. They are constructed for "the market" I don't mean the commercial market, but the market that is supposed to be the child's brain, as if that brain were a kind of transaction center in which each transaction was expressible in definite educational quanta

8. The trouble with these juveniles is that their authors are greatly interested in children and not at all interested in themselves. Now, when Mark Twain wrote *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* he never stopped to figure out whether his "boy psychology" was correct, or whether his story was properly adapted to a given age level. He wrote because he was passionately interested in himself, and the Mississippi River in himself, and the boy still alive in himself. Children ever since have unconsciously felt this intense reality, and that's what they've loved

9. They've loved *Huckleberry Finn* even though it is over their heads, or written in old-fashioned English or dialect, or concerned with events that happened a long time ago. The machine-turned juveniles of our own day are "carefully adapted to the child's understanding," and that isn't what the child really wants. The child wants to be puzzled—not too much, but just enough. He doesn't want the characters' motivations to be automatically clear to him. He wants the satisfaction of figuring them out. As a matter of fact, the child delights as much in ambiguity as he does in clarity. *Alice in Wonderland* is still an overwhelming favorite, not because it's so funny but because it's so strange; it's a wonderful, gorgeous puzzle.

10. Between ten and seventeen I did the major bulk of my reading. I have never read as many books (I don't mean manuscripts) per year since, nor do I expect to in the future. Those were the splendid years, and it is my notion that they are the splendid years of most devoted readers. After seventeen (in some cases a year or two later) the books choose you, not you the books. You read within limits. Reading becomes a program. You read as part of your college curriculum, or to gain knowledge in a special field, or to be able to bore your neighbor at dinner-table conversation. Adult reading is usually purposive. In my own case—I shall speak of this later on—it is more than purposive. I make a living by it.

11. Even the reading done during one's college years lacks the

spontaneity, the high waywardness of one's pre-adolescent and adolescent reading. It circles around the classroom. It consists of authors recommended by authority or who you feel should be "covered." Or it has to do with books you know a good deal about in advance, one of the most effective ways to spoil one's reading pleasure. Such reading may be mentally stimulating or socially useful. It may benefit you in a dozen ways. But it is not an adventure in quite the same sense that reading in your second decade so often is.

12. I am not, in this random biblio-autobiography, proposing to list the books I have read. Nothing could be duller or less useful, except when he who does the listing owns a mind whose operations are really of interest to mankind, as was the case, for example, with John Stuart Mill. All I am here endeavoring to do is to outline some of the processes whereby an average person became an above-the-average reader, which is what I immodestly claim to be. To understand these processes a mere catalogue of titles is of no avail.

13. Yet I would like to list a few names, mainly to indicate the kind of writer that, as I recall, influenced the more bookish boys and girls of my generation Shaw, Galsworthy, Bennett, Conrad, Merrick, Barrie, Moore, Dunsany, Yeats, Synge, Swinnerton, Chesterton, Meredith, Wilde, Hewlett, Gissing, Zangwill, and above all H. G. Wells— these, to confine the list to Englishmen only, are a few of the authors I remember devouring from my tenth to my eighteenth year, miscomprehending many, overprizing some, but getting from all an exultant sense of discovery, a peak-in-Darien thrill rarely enjoyed since

14. The secret of second-decade reading, of course, is that you are not really finding out what Shaw thinks or Conrad feels, but what you think and you feel. Shaw and Conrad and the rest are but handy compasses to guide you through the fascinating jungle of your young self. When I read Wells' *Tono-Bungay* at fourteen or fifteen, I found myself saying in delight, "but that's just the way I feel!" When I now read Thomas Mann's *Joseph* story I find myself thinking how true it is to the experience of men in general. There is a difference in the quality of the emotion. The grown-up emotion may be larger and wiser (and probably more pompous), but the boyish one is unique just because it is so utterly, innocently self-centered.

15. During this adolescent period of my reading life I had a lucky break. My brother, five years my senior and a student at Columbia College, was at the time taking a conventional survey course that used a sound standard anthology known, I think, as *Century Readings in English Literature*, edited by Cunliffe, Pyre and Young. For some

reason, possibly a mild fraternal sadism, he made me take the course along with him—he at college, I at home. The whole thing was over my head—I was fourteen—but when I had finished my *Century Readings,* which took a year, I had at least a hazy notion of the course and development, from Beowulf to Stevenson, of the most magnificent, after the Greek, of all literatures. I remember writing essays, perhaps no more interminable than my subjects, on Hakluyt and Spenser. I am still unable to dislodge from my memory—which is not a good one—odd lines of verse from subminor poets like Drayton That is all of no account The important thing is that I got through my head at an early age a few simple truths: that the proper reading of a good writer requires energy and application; that reading is not mere "diversion"; that it is impossible to admire writing you do not understand; that understanding it does not destroy but rather enhances its beauty; that unless a writer's mind is superior to, more complicated than, your own, it is a bore to read him. (That is why I never recommend a book to a person if it is on his own mental level.)

16. Well, the course my brother gave me, via that blessed trinity Cunliffe, Pyre, and Young, was calculated to make me understand that literature, beyond helping one to discover oneself, has a higher, more impersonal function. It is a challenge issued by a higher mind, the author's, to a lower mind, the reader's. Even if the challenge is not met, much pleasure may still result. But if it is met, or if a sincere attempt to meet it is made, a finer, rarer pleasure is experienced. If you read for pure diversion, well and good, but if you read for any other purpose, always read above yourself. One of the reasons for the general mental fuzziness of most "cultivated" people we know is that publishers have become too shrewd. They have learned, the cunning little fellows, just how to temper their books to the lamb-like mental innocence of their readers. The result is that every week we are deluged with books which, the publishers assure us, we can understand. It is quite true. We can understand them, all too easily. It would be much better for us if now and then we read a book just a few rungs beyond our mental capacities in their most relaxed state.

17 My second-decade reading—and I think this is sadly true of most of us—was in this sense educationally more valuable than any I have done since, with certain notable (and I shall note them later) exceptions. During adolescence our feeling of bewilderment and insecurity tends to be greater than at any other time. Hence the need to know, to learn, is greater. Therefore whatever reading is done is intense. It is utterly assimilated. We pay absorbed attention to it, as

we would to the instructions of an expert before venturing into a trackless forest.

18. It seems to me that in my late teens I did more "heavy" reading and digested it more thoroughly than at any succeeding period. In this connection I recall two antithetical experiments I made extending over an interval of six months. The first was an experiment in difficult reading. The other was an experiment in nonreading

19. One summer I decided to spend my evenings reading only "hard" books. I went at it with the humorless obstinacy of a sixteen-year-old—and I was more humorless and more obstinate than most. I staggered wildly through stuff like Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy,* Winwood Reade's *Martyrdom of Man,* Saintsbury's *History of English Prosody,* Taine's *History of English Literature,* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* It was enough for a book to seem important and forbidding—I read it at once. No novels, no light literature of any sort, no magazines for three solid months—hot months, too. Now, as I look back on this extravagant experiment, it seems like the disagreeable behavior of a young prig. Yet I was not really priggish; I didn't read for show-off purposes. I read my Ueberweg as a challenge to myself, as a test, as a deliberate gesture, if you will, of self-punishment The boy of sixteen by overexercise will punish his body deliberately just to see how much it can take. That same boy may punish his mind in the same way. It is a kind of initiation ceremony that he performs upon himself, a queer, grotesque test of approaching manhood. Sometimes he will decide to go right through *The Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

20. The notable part of the experience is that just because that summer's reading came out of a powerful emotional impulse it has stuck with me, as more formal reading, particularly that done as part of my school work, has not. Also, it left me with a taste for a certain kind of "difficult" reading, a taste which, because I am a book reviewer, I rarely have an opportunity to indulge. This does not mean that I read heavy books with ease. On the contrary, I have to go through painful mental struggles to understand them, but the struggle still gives me an odd satisfaction, which I know has something to do with that lunatic summer I spent perusing nothing but huge volumes several miles above my head.

21. Today, for example, the books I look forward with most pleasure to reading and reviewing are books of popular science, of the Hogben-Julian Huxley-Eddington type. I am not really competent to

judge them, but I like to read them, perhaps primarily because for me—I am a scientific illiterate—they present challenging difficulties. It may be an illusion, but I always feel, when I have finished a book of this sort, that I have "got" something out of it. I hardly ever get this feeling from a novel or a conventional biography.

22. Well, that was Experiment Number One. The second was its polar opposite. I decided to spend three months reading nothing at all, not even a daily newspaper. (The three months coincided with a long absence from school, so the conditions for the experiment were at their optimum.) Now, why did I want to do this? It was again a matter of self-testing. I felt I had grown too dependent upon other people's ideas. The only way I could perceive to cure myself of this dependence was to abjure other people's ideas completely. The mental life of the adolescent is frequently characterized by this oscillatory quality. He can find out what his real nature is only by leaping from one extreme to the other.

23. And so for three months I read, as nearly as I can recall, virtually nothing. It was by no means a fruitless experiment, and to those held too tightly in the grip of the reading habit I heartily recommend it. The effect is purgative. The mind disgorges a good deal of waste and clutter, it slows down, for a time it seems vacant. Then gradually it fills again, this time not with the myriad, secondhand impressions induced by nonstop reading, but with the few clear ideas and desires that reflect more accurately your true self. The experience, in addition to being cleansing, is humbling; you realize how sparse is the net content of your mind.

24. I have known men and women who read so voraciously and continuously that they never have the time or opportunity to discover who they really are. Indeed, I suspect it is precisely because they prefer not to make that discovery that they cling so limpetlike to books. I suppose this is better for them than alcohol or hasheesh, but it is not very different. All of us, I am sure, have noticed people who suffer from reader's fidgets. If there is a book, a magazine, any piece of print within easy reach, they will at once take it up, idly, without real intent to peruse it, but out of a kind of mechanical compulsion. They will do this while they are talking to you, while you are talking to them, while engaged in some other activity. They are victims of print. Perhaps some dim premonition that unless I watched out I too would become afflicted with reader's fidgets made me carry through with entire success my three months' literary fast.

25. Some years ago I helped to manage a bookstore featuring a cir-

culating library. The main body of customers consisted of commuters. Every evening, a few minutes after five, the commuters would dash in.

26. "Give me a novel!"

27. "Any special title?"

28. "No, any novel will do: it's for my wife"—as if that somehow made everything clear.

29. These commuters' wives—there are tens of thousands of them—were not really in any active sense doing any reading at all. They were taking their daily novel in a numbed or somnambulistic state. They were using books not for purposes of entertainment, but as an anodyne, a time-killer, a life-killer. Many "great readers" are of this class Truth to tell, they have never read a book in their lives

Questions and Suggestions for Writing

1. Look up each of the following words in your dictionary From the various meanings given for each, select and put in your notebook the meaning which is appropriate for the place where the word is used in this essay. Also note the root from which each word is derived and any affixes that may be involved in its formation.

lucidity (l. 8)
anticlimax (l. 18)
catholicity (l. 22)
worthy (l. 28)
anti-imperialist (l. 31)
skeptical (l. 33)
luridness (l. 40)
psychoanalyst (l. 41)
exuberant (l. 56)
frivolous (l. 57)
unorthodox (l 62)
conventional (l 68)
canon (l. 69)
inane (l. 72)
paradigms (l 74)
credible (l. 79)
meretricious (l. 85)
hackwork (l. 86)
infallible (l. 92)
impeccable (l 107)
quanta (l. 112)
dialect (l. 123)
spontaneity (l. 145)
biblio-autobiography (l. 153)
exultant (l. 168)
unique (l. 179)
anthology (l 184)
fraternal (l. 186)
sadism (l. 186)
interminable (l. 192)
enhances (l. 199)
shrewd (l. 213)
assimilated (l. 226)
antithetical (l. 231)
obstinacy (l. 235)
priggish (l. 244)
initiation (l. 249)
grotesque (l. 250)
perusing (l. 262)
illusion (l. 269)
coincided (l. 274)
optimum (l. 276)
abjure (l. 279)
oscillatory (l. 280)
virtually (l. 283)
purgative (l. 286)
disgorges (l. 286)
myriad (l. 288)
limpetlike (l. 296)
hasheesh (l. 297)
premonition (l. 304)
commuters (l. 308)
somnambulistic (l. 316)
anodyne (l. 318)

2. Do you agree with the last sentence of paragraph 1?
3. Explain the punctuation of the first sentence in paragraph 3.
4. To what extent do you agree with the attitude toward censorship expressed in paragraph 4?
5. What are the essential differences between the two kinds of trash discussed in paragraphs 5-6? Do you agree with Mr. Fadiman's conclusions about them? Can you think of any arguments for considering Superman less harmful than the Rover boys?

6 Does your own early experience support the assertion (paragraph 9) that a child prefers books that are not too easily understood? Would a similar statement be true of the preferences of college students?

7. What, according to paragraph 12, is the central purpose of this essay? To what extent and for what reasons do you consider Mr. Fadiman justified in calling himself "an above-the-average reader"? Into what kind of reader do you feel that you are developing?

8. What is the literary allusion in line 169?

9. What two kinds of satisfaction are compared in paragraph 14? Which kind have you most frequently derived from your reading? From what books and authors?

10. What idea already advanced in paragraph 9 is further discussed and clarified in paragraphs 15-16? How is it related to the principal thought of Mr. Canby's "The Drug of Reading," elsewhere in this section?

11 Why are publishers called, in paragraph 16, "cunning little fellows"? In what respects are they cunning? In what respects are they little?

12 Compare your own experiences of "heavy" reading with Mr. Fadiman's as described in paragraphs 18-21

13 Can you recommend the experiment described in paragraphs 22-23 as a means of arriving at "the few clear ideas and desires that reflect . . your true self"? Try summarizing the few clear ideas and desires that are central in your life. How are they related to your reading?

14 What mental disease is described in paragraphs 24-29? What other facilities besides books are sometimes used as "an anodyne, a time-killer, a life-killer"? Do you know, for example, any persons who do not willingly think, work, converse, or even study except against a background of radio noise? Try to devise a vivid and accurate name for the special form of mental disease from which they are suffering.

15 With which of the books and authors mentioned by Mr. Fadiman are you familiar? Compare your experiences of them with his

16 Write your own biblio-autobiography.

APPENDIX A

Organization and Signboards

All the raw material for the building of good roads existed long before America had an efficient highway system. Gravel beds, deposits of stone for the making of cement and of iron for the making of road-building machinery were close at hand from prehistoric times. But they had first to be discovered and then assembled in proper relation to one another before the present excellent system for physical communication became more than a dream.

In like manner, for the effective communication of ideas discovery and planning are essential. Your mind is the manufacturing plant which takes the raw material from your experience and your reading and converts it into useful expression. Whenever you have occasion to speak or to write, give your ideas their best chance by presenting them in a well-ordered arrangement which shows the relative importance of major and minor parts. Get a clear notion of organization by analyzing and outlining such articles as your instructor may direct and by studying the outlines in this appendix.

PART I

THE OUTLINE

(a)

Logical Organization

If the outlines you make, either for articles written by others or for papers of your own, are not well ordered, your instructor may refer you to this section (A-I). In that event you should first make a careful study of the outlines A, B, and (1), (2), (3). Then you should rewrite your own outline to give its ideas the most effective organization and form. And finally you should return to your instructor both the original and the revised form of your outline.

(b)

Types of Outlines

This section gives three forms of a simple but useful outline of the student paper in Part II. Study the outlines and pattern your own after them, as your instructor may direct.

(1)

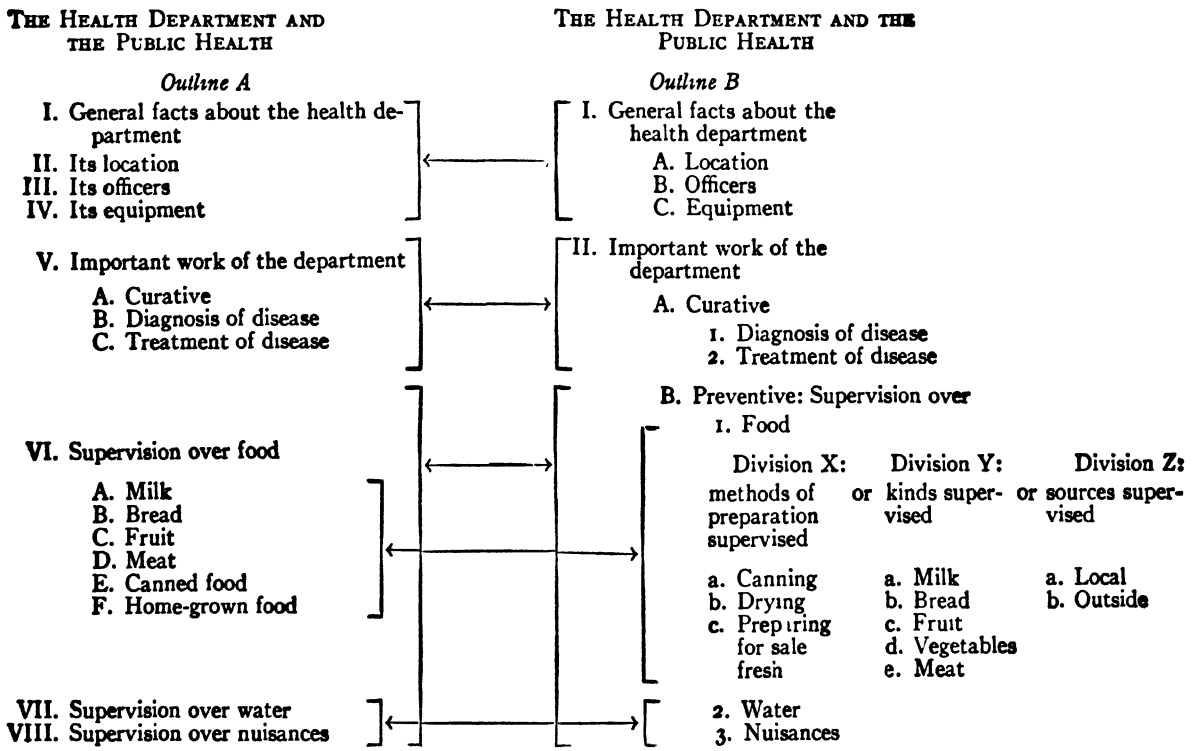
A Well-rounded College Course
(Topic Outline)

Controlling Idea: To secure a well-rounded college course I shall emphasize both my curriculum and outside activities.

I. My Curriculum
   - A. Technical courses
     1. Dairy husbandry
     2. Other phases of agriculture
   - B. General courses

II. Outside Activities
   - A. Music
   - B. Athletics
   - C. Social life

LOGICAL ORGANIZATION IN THE OUTLINE[1]



[1] From *Inductive English Composition*, A. Starbuck and W. R. Raymond, The Macmillan Company, 1937, page 51. By permission of the publisher.

(2)

A WELL-ROUNDED COLLEGE COURSE
(Sentence Outline)

Controlling Idea: To secure a well-rounded college course I shall emphasize both my curriculum and outside activities.

I. I shall first emphasize my curriculum.
   A. I shall try to get a strong technical background.
      1. I shall take all required and elective courses in dairy husbandry.
      2. I shall add courses in other agricultural fields.
   B. I shall get as much knowledge as I can from such subjects as English, chemistry, and other sciences.

II. I shall also give consideration to campus activities.
   A. Music means much to me.
   B. I shall not include athletics.
   C. I shall emphasize social life.

(3)

A WELL-ROUNDED COLLEGE COURSE
(Continuous Sentence Outline)

Controlling Idea: To secure a well-rounded college course I shall emphasize both my curriculum and outside activities.
My college course will stress

I. Classroom studies designed to give me
   A. A strong technical background
      1. In dairy husbandry
      2. In other agricultural fields
   B. Such broader general knowledge as I can get from subjects like English, chemistry, and other sciences

II. Campus activities
   A. Including music
   B. Excluding athletics
   C. Putting much emphasis on social life

PART II

SIGNBOARDS

It is not enough for a state to build good highways. Unless these highways are well provided with signboards, strangers will not easily find their way along them. Most persons who read what you write or listen to what you say will in the beginning be strangers to the highway of your thought. If you will provide them with neat signboards at points where your thought changes, you will aid them very materially. If you have not learned how to post these signboards your instructor may refer you to this section (A-II). In that event he wishes you to compare the first draft of the student paper on the left below with the revision on the right, giving especial attention in the revision to the added expressions in italics. If at a later time when you have written a paper, he refers you again to this section, he wishes you to examine your paper carefully at points where the thought changes, and before returning the paper to see what improvement in the signboards you can make.

My Notion of a Well-Rounded College Course

Ole C. Wibholm, Jr.

A well-rounded college course is one that furnishes the student with the best possible education. This type of a course is of top notch importance as it forms the final foundation for future occupations of the younger generation. I have attempted to set up such a course which, I think, will fulfill these requirements for me. With reference to Burges Johnson's article, *Campus against Classroom*, I have divided this curriculum into these two divisions; however, I intend to treat them in a slightly different manner than did Mr. Johnson. Nevertheless I have used campus and classroom as parts to describe this fitting curriculum.

A Well-Rounded College Course

Ole C. Wibholm, Jr.

A well-rounded college course furnishes the student with the best possible education. This type of course is of top notch importance as it provides a foundation for the future occupations of the younger generation. I have attempted to set up a course which I think will provide such a foundation in my own case. Taking a suggestion from Burges Johnson's article "Campus Against Classroom," [1] I will discuss my college work under the headings classroom and campus.

Starting with classroom I will give my notion of what this bi-cameral course should consist of. As I am

[1] *Harper's Magazine*, 167:217–227, July, 1933.

I am majoring in Dairy Husbandry, so naturally I want to take all the required and elective subjects offered in this group. "If we would know, we must hold the attention long on a given subject." I think this bit of philosophy from George Herbert Palmer's *Specialization*, will explain clearly why I choose to specialize somewhat in this procedure. I intend to study very conscientiously the other phases of agriculture offered as I feel they are very necessary in my field.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic certainly have their place. I would insist on having my curriculum filled as full as possible with such subjects as English, Chemistry, Science and others of the general group. The fact that these are offered in all precourses proves their value. I might add that the general subjects are considered by many as more important than the technical subjects and also that students with sufficient general knowledge are more in demand.

Activities lead the way to success for many students. There are no better means of deriving good educational experiences than by participating in good clubs, organizations, competitive teams, honorary societies, and so forth, as are offered on the campus. These not only afford fellowship and leadership but they make college life more interesting and enjoyable. Again I refer to Burges Johnson's, *Campus against Classroom*, in which he states, "Campus life as we know it is an American product, an outgrowth of our own higher education." This speaks for itself in stressing the im-

majoring in dairy husbandry, naturally I want to take all the required and elective subjects offered in this group. "If we would know, we must hold the attention long on a given subject." I think this bit of philosophy from George Herbert Palmer's "Specialization" [1] will explain clearly why I choose to specialize somewhat in this procedure. *Along with this* I intend to study very conscientiously the other phases of agriculture offered, as I think they are very necessary in my field.

Now that I have covered the technical side of the situation I realize that this will be of little value without a sufficient amount of general knowledge to go with it. Reading, writing, and arithmetic certainly have their place. I would *therefore* insist on having my curriculum filled as full as possible with such subjects as English, chemistry, science, and others of the general group. The fact that these are offered in all precourses proves their value. I might add that the general subjects are considered by many as more important than the technical subjects, and also that students with sufficient general knowledge are more in demand.

Now that I have my demands for the classroom well in hand I will complete my courses with the all-important campus group. Activities lead the way to success for many students. There are no better means of deriving good educational experiences than by participating in good clubs, organizations, competitive

[1] Chapter VI of *The Teacher*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908.

portance of campus life. One thing which I must not forget to mention in this particular paragraph is music. This is offered in most colleges and it seems that wherever you go, you will find that music is playing a big part in making life more pleasant for someone.

I do not choose to include athletics in my curriculum because of one statement made by H. W. Whicker in his article, *Growing Up To Play*. This statement reads, "I am now inclined to the belief that this is the physical history of most athletes, and that it accounts for the preponderance of their number who are broken-down, obese old war-horses soon after thirty."

Social life will certainly not be left out of my set up. I think that the society association of students is of great education value, and one of the important things that life is really made of. I consider it highly, and try to make it a big part of my educational program.

From *Growing Up To Play*, by H. W. Whicker, I find a sentence which rather closely described what I have proceeded to write as my notion of a well-rounded college course. "The justification of educational processes rests upon the assumption that they afford a training which enables the individual to adjust himself intelligently and honorably to the circumstances of existence." This sentence brings out the purpose which I have tried to accumulate on this paper.

teams, honorary societies, and so forth, such as are offered on the campus. These not only afford fellowship and leadership but they make college life more interesting and enjoyable. Again I refer to Burges Johnson's article, "Campus Against Classroom," in which he states, "Campus life as we know it is an American product, an outgrowth of our own higher education." This speaks for itself in stressing the importance of campus life. One thing which has meant a great deal to me in my short time at college, and which I must not forget to mention in this connection is music. This is offered in most colleges and it seems that wherever you go, you will find that music is playing a big part in making life more pleasant for someone.

Athletics is another factor of campus life, but I do not choose to include it in my curriculum because of one statement made by H. W. Whicker in his article, "Growing Up To Play."[1] This statement reads, "I am now inclined to the belief that this is the physical history of most athletes, and that it accounts for the preponderance of their number who are brokendown, obese old war-horses soon after thirty."

Social life, *however*, will certainly not be left out of my set up. I think that the association of students is of great educational value, and is one of the important things that life is really made of. *Therefore*, I consider it highly, and will try to make

[1] *North American Review*, 235: 465–471, May, 1933.

it a big part of my educational program.

From "Growing Up To Play" I quote a sentence which suggests my notion of a well-rounded college course. "The justification of educational processes rests upon the assumption that they afford a training which enables the individual to adjust himself intelligently and honorably to the circumstances of existence." *Although this sentence does not mention a well-rounded course*, it does bear on the purpose which I have tried to emphasize in this paper.

APPENDIX B

Paragraph Structure

PART I

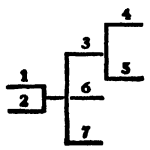
GRAPHIC AND VERBAL ANALYSIS

Read the following paragraph and note how the topic idea branches and rebranches as the paragraph is developed.

> 1. I cannot too often insist that I have no desire whatsoever to cut off American students from the fullest possible knowledge of the thought and culture of other lands. 2. But I am continually impressed by the fact that among the humanities we seem to stress the importance of an acquaintance with every great culture except our own. 3. In the single field of literature in English, for example, note the casual treatment of our own literary history. 4. It is a subject which is almost invariably at the bottom of that heap of miscellaneous courses which constitute the curriculum of the English department. 5. Thousands of college students are annually graduated who have no knowledge of their own literary tradition whatsoever. 6. Thousands more are graduated with no knowledge of the history of their own country. 7. Those who know anything about American philosophy or American religion or the American theatre or the history of painting or architecture or music in their own country are negligible.

Now see how the structure of the paragraph is represented by graphic analysis and by verbal analysis.

Graphic Analysis



Verbal Analysis

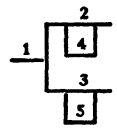
1–2 Topic: Lack of emphasis on American culture for American students
3–5 American literature subordinated
6 American history subordinated
7 Other aspects of American culture subordinated

PART II

PARAGRAPH IMPROVEMENT THROUGH ANALYSIS

The paragraph which follows was written by a freshman. Read it carefully and study the graph submitted with it.

> 1. In some ways the place was well suited for a picnic, but in others it was less satisfactory. 2. It provided a very good place to eat. 3. But on the other hand it was not a good place for the children to play. 4. There were several tables and benches for eating purposes. 5. If there were children in the group, entertainment should be carefully planned.

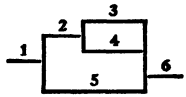


Does the paragraph give a satisfactory development of the topic idea of sentence 1? Is the plural "some ways" justified by the remainder of the paragraph? Is the plural "others"? Does the idea of sentence 4 come more naturally after sentence 3 or after sentence 2? Is the idea of sentence 5 sufficiently developed? Should this sentence follow sentence 4 or sentence 3? Why does the graph show the sentences out of numerical order?

Now examine the rewritten paragraph with the verbal and graphic analyses.

> 1. [Topic: indication that park had good and bad points] As a family picnic place Roswell Park was only fair. 2–4. [Discussion of advantages] 2. It certainly had two important advantages. 3. The tables and benches under the shade of the large oaks and the stone fireplace well supplied with wood gave excellent facilities for a picnic dinner. 4. In addition, the grown-ups were pleased with the opportunities for bathing, boating, and fishing. 5. [Discussion of disadvantages] On the other hand, the steep banks near the water's edge and some poison ivy in a few spots made the place less satisfactory for children to play in. 6. [Concluding comment] In spite, therefore, of

my sister's disgust and of my manly willingness to face these dangers, our entire family seldom went there.



Do the verbal and graphic analyses of the rewritten paragraph agree with each other? Do they accurately represent the structure of the paragraph? Look carefully at every sentence. Does the rewritten paragraph or the original one give a clearer picture of Roswell Park as a place for a family picnic?

Good paragraph structure marks you as a clear thinker. If your instructor refers you to this section (B-II), you will know that you have not well organized your paragraph. In that event you should do five things: First study the section in detail; next examine the structure of your paragraph to see where it is weak; after that, rewrite the paragraph for better organization and, if necessary more adequate development; then make both a graphic and a verbal analysis of the rewritten paragraph; and finally submit to your instructor both the original paragraph and the revision.

APPENDIX C

Précis Writing

Précis writing is one of the best means of improving both your vocabulary and your ability to construct good sentences. In addition occasional passages in your writing will consist of précis of brief passages from your reading. But in order to make the practice of précis writing useful you must do a good job. After you have studied Appendix C, or without having studied it, when you have written a précis, if your instructor refers you to some part of this appendix he wishes to suggest a specific improvement. If, for example, you find your précis marked C-II-(b) you should rewrite it with special effort to avoid such groups of words as the précis in Part II has copied from the paragraph in Part I. You should then return both the rewritten précis and the original one.

PART I

Read the following paragraph carefully:

> At the Williamstown Conference a New England college president expressed the opinion that too many students are attending college. This statement is supported by statistics from many countries showing that the attendance at higher institutions of learning has in many countries doubled and trebled and in some has increased five- or six-fold. In our own country the increase has been 200 per cent. An extensive study of the situation has been made and the conclusion has been reached that the sorry plight of the unemployed graduates of these institutions is a prime cause of the social unrest in Europe and in some other parts of the world like British India. Youth who have found that their efforts to secure a higher education have availed them little or nothing have turned to revolution to secure the realization of their blasted hopes. **(140 words)**

PART II

(a) Accuracy and
(b) Independence of Phrasing

Having fixed in your mind the essential facts given in the paragraph of Part I now read this précis of it:

> At the Williamstown Conference a college president expressed the opinion that attendance at higher institutions has increased five- or six-fold. An extensive study of the sorry plight of these institutions is a prime cause of social unrest. Youths have found that their efforts to secure a higher education have secured the realization of their blasted hopes. (56)

(a)

Does this précis accurately represent the ideas of the original paragraph? Exactly what was the opinion expressed by the college president? Are statistics of enrollment a matter of opinion or a matter of fact? Did the "extensive study" cause "social unrest"? Compare the statements of the précis throughout carefully with the corresponding statements of the original paragraph. Note particularly the last sentence of the précis.

(b)

Now compare the wording and the sentence structure of the précis with those features of the original paragraph. How many words in the précis are not in the original paragraph? How many expressions like "At the Williamstown Conference," or "An extensive study," or "of their blasted hopes" in the précis are found exactly in the original paragraph? How much independent use of words does the précis show? How much skill in constructing independent phrases and moulding them into smooth sentences?

PART III

Emphasizing Important Ideas

Compare the following précis with its original in Part I.

> A college official recently gave figures at the Williamstown Conference in New England showing that college enrollments in some countries are two or three hundred or even six hundred per cent more than formerly. Enrollments have doubled in America. College graduates in some countries are dissatisfied. (46)

Does this précis emphasize the most important ideas of the paragraph? Which is more important, the actual percentages of increases in enrollment or the failure of college graduates in many countries to secure work? Does the last sentence of the précis fairly represent the last sentence of the original paragraph? Does the précis anywhere else include ideas that are less important than what is omitted?

PART IV

Intelligent Rephrasing

Compare this précis with the original in Part I:

> College attendance in many countries has increased greatly, and much social unrest has been caused by unemployed graduates especially in Europe, British India, and elsewhere. With hopes blasted, youths whose higher education has left them jobless have turned to revolution. (40)

How accurately does this précis reproduce the essential ideas of the original in Part I? How many of the words are found exactly or in modified form in the original? Is it easy to find satisfactory substitutes for words like "Europe" and "British India"? Why? How many expressions like "college attendance," "With hopes blasted," or "whose higher education" are found exactly in the original paragraph? Do single words and expressions seem to be copied carelessly from the original or are the words of the original combined intelligently and independently into the sentences of the précis? For vocabulary building and sentence construction is this précis better or poorer than the précis in Part II and Part III?

PART V

Intelligent Rewording

Finally, compare this précis with the original in Part I:

> Tremendous increases in college classes here and abroad have occasioned the charge of excessive enrollments. College graduates of Europe, British India, and some other foreign nations, disappointed in finding work, have encouraged discontent and even revolt. (36)

How accurately does the précis reproduce the essential ideas of the original in Part I? How many important words of the original are carried over into the précis? How many exact expressions like "tremendous increases," "here and abroad," and "have encouraged discontent"? For intelligent choice of words, and independent construction of sentences, how does this précis compare with those in Parts II, III, and IV?

APPENDIX D

Maturity of Sentence Structure

If your sentences are childishly short or if they are inclined to ramble, see what improvement you can make by a study of the following paragraphs. The first was the final paragraph of a paper written by a freshman after he had read the story of Moses in the old testament; the second is the same paragraph revised. Read the two paragraphs.

The final episode of the Egyptian-Jewish feud *was the death* of the first-born. *This was a disaster* to the Egyptians. *Moses led the Israelites* through the wilderness toward the land of Canaan. *He died* just before reaching the borders of that Land, and *he was not permitted to enter it,* but *he had fulfilled his mission,* and *his people were freed* from bondage and *they were soon in their new home. Strange measures were taken* to make Moses' mission complete. *The plagues were very serious. They injured the Egyptians,* but *they served their purpose.*

The final episode of the Egyptian-Jewish feud, *the death* of the first-born, ended *in disaster* for the Egyptians. Moses fulfilled his mission *by leading* his *freed* people through the wilderness to the border of Canaan. *Although he was not permitted* to enter the Promised Land *before his death, the Israelites were soon in their new home.* The strange measures *taken* to make Moses' mission complete were *injurious* to the Egyptians, but they served their purpose.

Now compare the similarly numbered expressions in the two paragraphs to see how the second paragraph is improved by the reduction of main clauses, both in childish short sentences and in rambling sentences, to various subordinate constructions.

In 1a what appositive takes the place of what verb and its comple-

ment in 1? In 2a what prepositional phrase takes the place of what verb and its complement in 2? In 3a what verbal phrase takes the place of what main verb in 3? In 7a and in 9a what verbal adjectives take the place of what main verbs in 7 and in 9? In 5a what subordinate clause is substituted for what main clause in 5? In 4a what prepositional phrase is substituted for what main clause in 4? In 11a what adjective is substituted for what main verb in 11?

Note also what improvements have resulted from other changes. What, for example, has become of expression 10 in the first paragraph? Has any important idea been lost?

If your instructor refers you to this section (D), compare your sentence carefully with those of the two paragraphs on Moses. Then see what improvement you can make by reducing one or more main clauses to dependent clauses, verbals, appositives, or other subordinate constructions. Finally return both the original sentence and the revision.