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THE MAKING OF THE FUTURE

EDITED BY

PATRICK GEDDES and VICTOR BRANFORD.

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The Making of the Future

THE COMING POLITY

BY

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NEW AND ENLARGED EDITION

LONDON

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE

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1919

TO THE STUDENT-CITIZEN WHO,
IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CHAIR OF
A GREAT AND GENEROUS NATION,
EMBODIES THE PLATONIC IDEAL
OF THE PHILOSOPHER-STATESMAN

INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

SINCE the Industrial Revolution, there has gone on an organized sacrifice of men to things, a large-scale subordination of life to machinery. During a still longer period, there has been a growing tendency to value personal worth in terms of wealth. To the millionaire has, in effect, passed the royal inheritance of "right divine."

Things have been in the saddle and ridden mankind. The cult of force in statecraft has been brought to logical perfection in Prussian "frightfulness." The cult of "profiteering" in business has had a similar goal in the striving for monopoly by ruthless elimination of rivals. Prussianism and profiteering are thus twin evils. Historically they have risen together. Is it not possible they are destined to fall together before the rising tide of a new vitalism?

The reversal of all these tendencies, mechanistic and venal, would be the preoccupation of a more vital era than that from which we are escaping. Its educational aim would be to think out and prepare the needed transition from a machine and a money economy,

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towards one of Life, Personality and Citizenship. The war has been a gigantic Dance of Death, for which modern business, with its associated politics, has been the prolonged rehearsal. Is it not now the turn of Life to take the floor and call the tune; and if so, on a scale of corresponding magnificence? For the war was not merely the poisonous fruit of pitiless competition and machiavellian diplomacy. It was also a spiritual protest and rebound against the mammon of materialism. In its nobler aspects and finer issues, its heroisms and self-sacrifices, did not the war hold proof and promise of renewing Life liberated from a long repression? And may not the pursuit of personal wealth grow less exigent, as we gain a sense of social well-being expressed in betterment of environment and enrichment of life? May not the struggle for existence within the nations, and even across their frontiers, be increasingly replaced by the orderly culture of life, in its full cycle from infancy to age, and at all its expanding levels from home and neighbourhood outwards?

Those who foresee, in sequel to the war, a social rebirth, with accompanying moral purgation, will furnish to all these questions, answers coloured by their hopes. The fears of the pessimists will dictate a contrary set of replies. To substantiate those hopes, to arrest these fears is needed a doctrine that

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not only goes beyond the Germanic Philosophies, which before the war dominated our universities, but also is corrective of their defects. The "idealisms" of these recently fashionable philosophies were bastard offspring of archaic thought detached from the living world. Such abstract idealisms must be replaced by definite ideals, concrete and human, if all men of goodwill are to be brought together for the making of a new and better civilization. So may men inherit the ancient promise of "peace on earth to men of goodwill."

It is the aim of this Series to gather together existing elements of reconstructive doctrine, and present them as a body of truth growing towards unity and already fruitful in outlook and application. There are three schools of thought from which the Series will mainly draw. One of them lays stress upon family life, contacts with nature, the significance of labour, the interests of locality. Elaborated into a doctrine this becomes the "regionalism" of France. Its scientific foundations were laid two generations ago by Le Play. The influence of its many and diverse groups is steadily growing in France, and unobtrusively spreading to other countries; as, for example, in England, through the economic and social surveys of Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree; through the activities of the Regional Association and of the Oxford School of Geography.

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Another guiding outlook, which is rather a tradition than a school, sees the progress of mankind as an unfolding of ideas and ideals. Two thinkers of post-Revolutionary France discerned this vision with compelling clearness. Auguste Comte saw it as a procession of great personalities, linked in apostolic succession. Joseph de Maistre saw it as a movement and manifestation of religious life. There have resulted two re-interpretations of life, mind, morals and society. They are divergent in appearance, but alike in essence. Both present a view of life and the world, inimical to the Prussian cult of force. The twofold influence of this humanist tradition is world-wide. Witness the writings of William James, Madame Montessori, Prince Kropotkin and F. W. Foerster of Munich—to name but four among the many recent and contemporary humanists whose roots penetrate this fertile soil. The vitalistic philosophy of Bergson is manifestly racy of the same soil.

In the third place, there is the incipient Civism, of independent origin and rapid recent growth in Britain, in America and in Germany. This incipient Civism has been the parent of constructive Betterment and to no small extent of Child Welfare also. It is inspiring the repair and renewal of historic cities, the tidying up of confused industrial towns, the guidance and gardening of their suburban growths.

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The Hebraic ideal of adjusting city life to the care and culture of child life was thus in active renewal before the war. So also was the Hellenic ideal of seeking the Good, the True, the Beautiful through a citizenship, active and contemplative. With the downfall, now achieved, of autocratic and over-centralized states, this civic renaissance will certainly continue; and not least splendidly in the ancient cities of Burgher Germany, released from their Prussic enchantment. From this source maybe will come even in the present generation, a formative contribution towards the sphinx-riddle of politics: How to federate Free Cities and their Regions? Reflecting in the tranquillity of peace, on the penalties of imperial attachment to Berlin, will not these once free cities seek determinately for some form of union without metropolitan subjection? But that is the federal problem, whose solution—save indeed in Switzerland—has so long evaded the grasp of the western world.

Behind the rise and fall of states, nations and empires, may be discerned the struggle of cities for freedom to develop their own regional life. And again, around and within the civic drama is the play of the rustic elements from which the city's life is perennially renewed. Civic life is thus the crown and fulfilment of regional life. Their joint development makes a partnership of Man and Nature in a ceaseless game of skill with

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Interfering Circumstance. The stakes are cities with their accumulated heritage of art, learning and wealth. When the twin partnership is winning, civic life flourishes, as in Athens and Jerusalem of old, in Florence of the middle time, or in Louvain but yesterday. When Interfering Circumstance is dominant, then is the occasion for predatory empires to expand like Assyria, Macedonia, or Prussia.

As correctives of predatory imperialism, regional and humanist ideas naturally arise. But regionalism and humanism are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they are, for the awakened and educated citizen, the two necessary and complementary poles of his civilization. The needle of the mariner's compass gains stability by oscillating between the two poles of the world of nature. So, regionalism and humanism indicate the two poles of man's world; and the art of civics is his mariner's compass. Through the making and the maintenance of cities, man is ever seeking a bi-polar stability. On the one hand he obeys the call of family, of neighbourhood and of region. On the other, he reaches out to the widening appeal of nation and federation, of civilization and humanity. In the measure that cities work efficiently on each and all of these levels, the progress of the world continues harmoniously.

The supreme triumphs of Art have been won in these manifold services of the city. Pyramid

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and Temple, Acropolis and Forum, Cathedral and Town Hall, are peaks in the chequered evolution of civic life. What of this evolution to-day and to-morrow? It is significant that in the development and decline of cities, Beauty and Efficiency have come and gone together. The cogent lesson for our own times is that Art and Industry, Education and Health, Morals and Business, so generally severed in the passing age, must henceforth advance in unison. But how in practice effect the mutuality of understanding and the unity of purpose, requisite for concerted activity? Surely by experimental but deliberate and continuous working together of all for the efficiency of city and ennoblement of citizen on each plane, domestic and regional, national and federal, international and humanist.

Behind the war of armies is a war of ideas. In the latter warfare the fortresses are Universities. They have in all countries in the passing generation been strongholds of Germanic Thought. Hence the boast of professors, that Teutonic *Kultur* was destined to rule the world, seemed not unreasonable. But the countering ideas, regional, civic and humanist, have also been fermenting in the universities. Therefrom is emerging a doctrine deeper, truer, and more creative than the mechanical and venal philosophy which has had its fulfilment in Prussian Militarism and Competitive Business.

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The re-awakening movement of the universities has been slow, timid, blindfold, because lacking in civic vision. Now, therefore, is urgent an arousal of the universities to their spiritual responsibilities for the fullness of life, in all its phases, individual and social. In every region is needed a comprehensive working together of city and university on each plane of the ascending spiral from home to humanity.

In spite of a political system democratic in form, the People have played but a passive rôle in the departing age of money and machine economy. In the coming age of life economy, the activity of the People will be creative in proportion as two conditions are satisfied. The inner life must be purified and enriched, and opportunities without distinction of class, rank, or sex, must be accorded for the development of personality through citizenship. In the needed intellectual and moral transformation, the university is called upon to play a part, simultaneously redemptive for itself, for the people, and for its city and region. It must not only aid the birth of the new doctrine, but also boldly suggest and even plan the practical applications thereof. Thus may unity of thought, and concert of purpose develop together in a common citizenship.

A sound psychology, for instance, teaches that the aggressive spirit which characterizes Militarism may be transmuted, not eliminated. Attempts at repression do but drive its mani-

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festations into underground channels. Constructive outlets have, therefore, to be found for the adventurous dispositions of Youth, the affirmative energies of Maturity, the political ambitions of Age. Towards this ennoblement of masculine passion, William James bequeathed to mankind the idea of inventing "moral equivalents of war." For example, consider how the Boy Scouts are helping to tackle that growth of juvenile crime which is one of the evil results of the war already visible. They transform the young delinquent into a Temporary Scout, and harness him to some simple constructive endeavour. Here, then, is a mode of Reconstruction, which also, and at the same time, exemplifies what the French call Re-education, and what moral teachers call Renewal. Out of the general principles here seen at work, may be built up a social policy. Thus starting from Regionalism, with its complement of humanist teaching, and proceeding through civic applications of both, we reach a policy of "the three R's," new style.

Through the redemptive quality of war, the nation shed not a little of its competitive individualism, and achieved a closer working together of all for the common good. How now to renew, maintain and advance the sense of community, the energy of collective effort, the self-abnegation of individuals and families? Clearly, in the coming polity, there must

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be arousal among all classes of a personal sense of definite responsibilities, including and transcending one's own life and work. There must be some vision, clear yet moving, of a better future. And knowledge and goodwill towards its gradual realization must not be lacking. All these aims, the Series will endeavour to elucidate and advance, and not only through application of regionalist, civic and humanist teaching, but also by culling what is vital and essential from other schools of social thought.

The design on the cover of the books is adapted from a stained glass window in the Outlook Tower, Edinburgh. The window is a student's commemoration of teaching and research devoted to an interpretation of the Past and the Present for the foresight and guidance of the Future. The symbolism of this *Arbor Sæculorum* is explained in the companion volume: "Ideas at War," by Professor Geddes and Dr. Gilbert Slater.

It may be mentioned, for the sake of inquiring students, that each of the two Editors of the Series has elsewhere made an endeavour towards the popular presentment of Civism as a doctrine combining the regional and humanist approaches. The two resulting volumes are *Cities in Evolution*, by Professor Geddes, and *Interpretations and Forecasts*, by Mr. Branford.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

FOR the present new edition, this, the introductory volume of our series, has been revised, recast, and to a considerable extent rewritten. Wholly new is Part III, with its chapters on "The Renewing of Christendom," "The Post-Germanic University," and "From the Old State to the New," running in all to 125 pages. To prevent the volume expanding to undue size, a somewhat drastic cutting down of the previous text has been effected. Amongst omissions is the biographical note on LePlay. But it is hoped to include in the series a volume on LePlay's life and work; for too little known in England and America is the originator of the economic method practised in both countries as a study of "family budgets," though its source is seldom acknowledged.

Again we have to thank Professor J. Arthur Thomson for much friendly aid. A first draft of the new additions to the volume was read by him, and evoked criticisms and suggestions which proved invaluable in the preparation of the final version.

In now dividing the volume into three parts, the logical order has been followed of putting scientific considerations first and their practical applications last. But most people, other than professed students, prefer the reverse order. Well, there is nothing to prevent readers from beginning with Part III, which treats of political reconstruction and its educational basis. They would next naturally turn back to Part I, which discusses that change in the content and outlook of the social and political sciences, which already, before the war, was purging them of (*a*) metaphysical *debris* surviving from outworn systems of thought; (*b*) a materialist bias inherited from the physical sciences and the cruder biology; a long-delayed cleansing doubtless to be hastened by repercussion from the war. Proceeding in this way, from the concrete to the abstract, the reader would finish the volume (if his patience lasts so far) with Part II, which sketches, in briefest outline, changes in the method of the social and political sciences resulting from their re-orientation towards a more spiritual (and therefore truly vital) outlook. Some of the deeper reactions of this change, increasingly operative in scientific method, on philosophy and general thought, on education and policy, are also indicated in Part II.

If it be objected that the superstructure in Part III is slight for the foundations laid in

Parts I and II, two pleas might be entered. The first is, that this volume is introductory to a series in which there will be indeed both a strengthening and an extension of scientific foundations, but still more will there be (we hope and intend) additions to the superstructure of suggestions for Practice. We might also plead that though long engaged in practical works of civic betterment and educational reconstruction, we have also wrought unremittingly for the advancement of thought. Increasingly it has become a main interest so to adjust the day's labour that practical and speculative interests balance and reinforce each other. In that spirit our Series has been conceived and planned.

While some readers of the present volume will doubtless think we lean habitually to the theoretical side, others, not less positively, will accuse us of prejudice in overweighting the practical scale. The latter critics we would refer to our more speculative writings; and the former to work done in various places; and especially to the itinerant Town-Planning and Cities Exhibition, as well as to a long series of published Reports on Indian Cities which one of us has been privileged to make for Provincial and Municipal Governments and for native Princes, during the past four years and a half. In these Reports practical considerations have of necessity predominated,

but their recommendations have been accompanied by a reasoned statement of the principles concerned. It is hoped later on in this series to devote a volume to making available, for readers at home, so much of these Indian plans and recommendations as are of general interest and have a bearing on civic and educational readjustments in Great Britain and America.

One of the chapters in the first edition of this volume, which has had to be sacrificed in the revised text, was called "The University Militant," a phrase borrowed from an American writer, Mr. Charles Ferguson. But the ideas and suggestions therein set forth reappear, most of them, here, though in a different setting. We are encouraged to see Mr. H. G. Wells lending his powerful advocacy to the conception and to the phrase. The interpretative movement in his recent novel (*Joan and Peter*) ascends to the University Militant as to a climax.

A work which sets out to interpret current events and to discern the tendencies of contemporary life runs many risks. Not the least of these is the risk of miscalculation in the rate at which social, economic and political changes come about. Almost always the *dé-nouement* comes sooner or later than anticipated. The apparatus available to the sociologist for exploring the future is not inconsiderable. But it hardly includes anything

at all for estimating the rate of change. Hence any estimate as to the time when a given tendency will come to fruition can be nothing more than a guess. Thus, writing in the spring of 1917 one could merely say (in the General Introduction to the series) that in Germany "Kaiserism was in process of reduction," without foreseeing its collapse and sweeping reaction to be so imminent. In this same General Introduction we also diagnosed (in 1917) an impending movement of other German cities away from the domination of Berlin. That also has come sooner than anticipated. In adjustment to these and other changes in what might be called the dramatic intensity of the situation, two or three verbal alterations in the General Introduction to the series have been made, otherwise it is reprinted in this new edition as written in the spring of 1917.

London.

March 1919.

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PART I
THE SCIENCE OF THE FUTURE

INTRODUCTION

SURVEYS FOR SERVICE

A GENERATION ago, there was one figure amongst living savants, who with incomparable fidelity reflected the spirit of science, alike in respect of its qualities and defects, as these were manifested in the nineteenth century. That figure was unquestionably Huxley. From his long list of books and memoirs three might be selected to stand to future ages as a Trilogy of Science in that era of exuberant growth. Each of them dealt authoritatively with one of the three great orders of phenomena: the physical, the vital, the social. The first of the trilogy, in logic if not in time, was the *Physiography: an Introduction to the Study of Nature*, a work that ran through about a score of editions in as many years, and penetrated to every school and college of scientific

curriculum. In this book we were told all that the physical sciences have to tell about a representative region of the visible universe—in the given instance, the Thames Basin. The second of the trilogy was the *Elements of Biology*, and it achieved a similar triumph of popularity and authority. In this book were described the types of plant and animal life to be found in a region similar to that of the Thames Basin. The third was his famous essay, *Evolution and Ethics*, which set forth the relation, or rather absence of relation, between morals and science.

Here in these three books was presented a view of nature, clear, definite, systematic and comprehensive; genuinely scientific accordingly. Representative facts were selected and described. The mode of their working was analysed with lucidity and precision. The facts can scarcely be further summarized. But as to the mode of working, that can be condensed into a couple of sentences. The system of nature was presented as a mechanism and this as culminating in a struggle for survival among all living creatures, man included. It was a struggle

predetermined by the very constitution of the universe, and ordained to give the hindmost to the devil; while to the foremost was permitted a certain latitude in postponement of the evil day.

A convenient designation for this gladiatorial and mechanistic conception of nature is lacking. Many epithets have been offered but none chosen. If it were to be christened after its original parents, something might be said for calling it British. But there can be no question it has been to wide and deep acceptance by German science, that the hypothesis has owed its academic prestige and much of its vogue in the popular mind. Still the test of belief is action. And it is the Prussian State which has fashioned it into a comprehensive article of faith and a complete rule of life. Not to confuse the German nation with the Prussian State, let the epithet Prussic, in justice and mercifulness, be chosen as the fitting designation to carry down to posterity the gladiatorial and mechanistic interpretation of nature. Berlin University gradually moulded into a spiritual organ for the Prussian Monarchy, has

been to the world the Mecca of this faith. Thither have flocked students from all quarters of the globe to be grounded in the characteristic culture. It is a culture of unending analyses, isolated specialisms and unconscious reading of nature in terms of the prevailing social milieu and the dominant political habit of mind. The social milieu thus read into the order of nature was characterized by a mingling of militaristic, mechanical and venal elements. The corresponding political habit of mind was that of unquestioning faith in the State, and this not only hypostatized, but practically deified.

Concurrently with this main trend of science and obscured by it, there was growing up a different reading of man and nature. This unfashionable interpretation had its roots in a historic régime of less warlike politics and less competitive industry. Its home was of course outside Germany. Yet some of the severest criticisms of Darwinism have, it is true, been German, as, for example those of Driesch. And it must be noted that there are many vitalists in Germany. But for practical effect in their own country have

they not all as yet been but voices crying in the wilderness?

Resurveying the same region as Huxley in his *Physiography*, but now from the standpoint of this other tradition (mainly a French one) the student would construct a picture of man and nature, which it is true would be congruent, even identical, with Huxley's up to a point; yet widely different in conclusion and resultant. He would take over and use whatever is in Huxley, except the all-sufficiency of the two master concepts of mechanism and struggle-for-life. Given Huxley's observed data of natural conditions, the student, in the French tradition, would begin his own special survey of the Thames Valley, or other region, just where Huxley left off. He would begin, from the platform already provided, a new set of observations, and interpret them by other principles of life and nature. With Huxley he would, in preparation for his own regional survey, work out the conditions of climate and soil, of contours and streams, of vegetation and animal life. So, too, he would accept Huxley's frog, pigeon and rabbit as types of the more

evolved forms of life inhabiting the region. But he would not at that point abandon, as did Huxley (in the essay above cited), the naturalist method of survey, and fall back on the logic of abstract argument. When confronted by the human problem, he would bring within the scope of his survey the Shepherd of the Downs, the Peasant of the Cotswolds, the Oyster-fisher and the Seaman of the Thames estuary. Formulæ and models are available for the study of these human types by a method hardly inferior in scientific rigour to that of the biologists, thanks to the researches of Le-Play and his school. Again, beyond these simple human types are forms of associated life vastly more complex. And, thanks to the labours of those who have continued and developed the work not only of LePlay but also of Comte, we can push on our regional survey to include also these highest forms. Formulæ and models are available for the scientific study of such products of regional life and world tradition as the culture cities of Oxford and Westminster, of Edinburgh or Dublin.

Without making the smallest pretension to include a regional survey of the Thames Valley, the present volume deliberately draws its illustrations as far as may be from that region. The aim is to select certain exemplary facts, interpret them as natural elements of regional life and labour, and thereby disclose them as necessary factors in that reconstruction of political thought which is long overdue. In a future volume of this series, a systematic endeavour will be made towards a civic survey of Westminster. That, together with Part I of the present volume (which deals more with rural than civic life), may be regarded as a sketch towards a work which some future Huxley will undertake. Meantime, we propose to picture by illustration and outlook the type of research which we believe must precede and accompany any political reconstruction, if that, like so many of its predecessors, is not to end in disillusionment.

The merit of the Huxley type of survey was that it fearlessly applied the verified truths and the tested methods of physical

science to the realm of life; and it thereby disclosed many hidden secrets of nature's mode of working. The defect of that type of survey was its failure to see that, in so proceeding, it was moving not upwards and forwards as it thought, but—so to speak—downwards and backwards. Now, the regional and civic survey completes the circuit. It proceeds from physical facts, through vital processes, and to human and social phenomena; but it also works round the other way, and so illuminates the lower orders of life and nature by the higher. We are thus in a position to revise the estimates of the English and Prussic traditions. Our regional surveys may show us nature red in tooth and claw, and with no less clearness and precision than did the Huxleyan survey. But the former also reveal, as no less part of the order of nature, the golden treasury of fellowship and purpose, of co-operation and self-sacrifice. And when we look back down the organic series with the help of these finer clues, we see some of the great uplifts of nature (supremely that of reptiles to birds and mammals) as crucial instances of evolution by factors which

are based in other-regarding as well as self-regarding activities. Nature we discover to exhibit more moods and manifestations than the Prussic type of naturalist supposed. These moods of nature range, in human definition, from the gladiatorial arena to the mother's arms. And it would seem in deepest analysis, that the latter holds more, it may be far more, of the secrets of evolution than the former. Thus alongside Darwin's *Origin of Species*, we cannot but allocate rank also to Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*, as likewise a classic rendering of nature's order, method and purpose. In each book we recognize a true interpretation, yet as sociologists we note that our author, in each case, applies to the reading of nature the clues he has observed in his own social milieu, his dominant historic tradition.

It must not, however, be overlooked, that to the identification of Darwinism with the gladiatorial and mechanistic view of nature there are signal reservations. Darwin as observer and experimentalist, as breeder and gardener, was a thorough-going vitalist. But Darwin as interpreter of nature was

deeply affected by the competitive and mechanistic bias of his times. Hence the *Origin of Species* became a very mint of Prussic coinage in the hands of the Huxleys and the Buchners, who expounded, applied and popularized it.

Consider the application of regional and civic surveys towards regional and civic service. The hard-crusted societies of the belligerent nations have, under the hammer-strokes of war, become pliable. Old bonds have been loosened, old restraints removed. New impulses have been liberated, new outlooks opened. In this ferment of war-time and after-war preparation, the way out of traditional deadlocks will be discerned. It is even now being pointed to, and this at once by reflection and by experiment. May it not next be boldly yet carefully planned, by application of long-known or appearing laws of natural and social evolution? So may be discovered or devised better ways of life. Not fancifully Utopian, but rooted in evolutionary tendencies; and therefore realizable,

if we plan for them with foresight for our own and the coming generations, and as the forester plants for growth beyond his own lifetime. Utopian proposals, however promising, are without definite place and therefore are futile and fanciful; but those that find place, (*i. e.* are regional,) are also realizable; and these plannings and plantings, each in their right place for survival and growth, we shall call Eutopian. Indeed, this deep and thorough distinction was not absent from the mind of Sir Thomas More, habitual word-maker, wit, and even punster as he was, like so many of the intellectuals of that age of transition in life, and of corresponding elaboration in language.

Of such Eutopian ideals, therefore, let us take stock. The first manifestly is this—that the destruction of regional life and beauty which, since the Industrial Revolution, has characterized peace hardly less than war should cease, and should everywhere give place to spaciouly planned development; and this in countryside and village, in town and city. But the other, and complementary, ideal for Eutopia looks to the

development of personality within each individual. For Eutopia is an environment ensuring the survival not merely of the fittest but of the best. It aims to evoke the best that is latent in spirit, mind and body; to restrain lower impulses and transmute them to higher ones, and to give these expression and fulfilment in life again, effective, beautiful and noble, as among the Greeks, at their best, of old. It emphasizes the collective responsibility of opening to all, without distinction of sex or class, not only opportunities of livelihood, but careers of service and of honour. But beyond this due and full recognition of the claims of individualism, the Eutopian ideal is concerned with the well-being of communities in their regions, cities and nations; with the friendly coming together of national groups, and so on increasingly, up to the growing establishment of the Human Commonwealth.

But these are not so many separate and distinct ideal systems, as their respective projectors, cultivators and adherents have been too apt to assume. That way mere Utopias lie. Of every scientific Eutopia

there are three aspects—Personal, Regional, Human; but these are simultaneous and co-ordinate: in fact, the three dimensions of Eutopia; while Utopia is nowhere, without them all. They are the orientation planes of the substantial tower which science, despite all lapses and failures, is slowly building for the outlooks of the eutopian vision. It is, therefore, no chimera, but a necessary and legitimate task of science, to search out and define these outlooks as they open from the real into the ideal, and from the ideal back to the real. From these magic casements the view is, indeed, over perilous seas, yet not forlorn; since they reveal the voyages of the Past, with all its Odysseys, and open to the prospect of new and higher quests, of richer argosies to come. In plainer phrase, science is not only retrospective, but prospective; its hypotheses are ever seeking verification in experience, and these their applications towards foresight. Its discoveries thus materialize into social inventions, and each pressing towards future use and increase. In short, it seeks not only to disclose the Past, but to expose the Future, and in

increasing measure direct its course. Long ago the astronomer learned to predict the eclipse; and more and more since Darwin does the agriculturist, the gardener, the breeder, first define the type of wheat or fruit, of domestic bird or beast he requires, and then in a few years produces it. To-day the man who unites scientific habit and constructive impulse is beginning to plan cities, and to plant their gardens; so to-morrow shall he not renew an enriched citizenship? And mirroring therein the image of a nobler self, he and his offspring will approach its realization. For since the human species is the most modifiable of all, its ever-renewing idealisms, its Eutopian hopes, are seen to be grounded in the very constitution of human nature.

This quest of outlooks towards the kingdom of ideals, realizable in this our life on earth, arose anew in the travail and ecstasy of the Great Revolution, and with these, the beginnings of modern social science. But after an early response to this French impulse and tradition, there soon came a turning away from it, by our English and American schools

of social science. If these had simultaneously been fertile in originality of native thought, the aversion from France would have been less conspicuous, and would in its own way have been fruitful. But so far from that being the case, the English and American schools, in every instance where official and academic, have looked to Germany. Thence they derived, for the recent and present, but now passing generation, a too easy and too plenary inspiration in philosophy, in history, in race-theory and much else; and therewith they have imported the wherewithal to modernize outworn classical and renaissance speculations on "the nature of the individual," and the "functions of the State" into that spurious, because non-sociological "Political Philosophy" which is now falling into deserved discredit, along with its material domination over a long-docile Europe. Here, assuredly, is the "hidden hand" which a sound but uncritical instinct of the popular mind discerned. It is the hand of outworn English thought gauntleted in German philosophy.

In France itself the two main streams of

social thought have run strangely separate courses. The more speculative and abstract school of Condorcet and Comte, and the geographical and observational school of LePlay and his continuators, seem, even in the land of their birth, to have exercised as little influence on each other as two rivers on opposite sides of a water-parting. And yet, if the unity of science be real, its application to life inevitable, never have two scientific systems been more clamant for blending; and this not only that each may supplement the other's deficiencies, but also that it may reconcile its own apparent inconsistencies. For the first of these systems of interpretation, though born of the Revolution, yet did not put history out of court, but used it as its foundation stone; and it came to build thereon a temple of the twofold patriates, temporal and spiritual, though not without many and beautiful shrines for the people. The other system, that of LePlay, was born within the Catholic Reaction; yet in its spirit of interpretation it was more "scientific" (in the concrete and material sense) than the system of Comte; and more deeply demo-

cratic also, since tracing back all patriciates to their simplest origins, and correspondingly looking forward to their perpetual renewal from the same sources.

Thus has come about an unfortunate conjuncture in the history of science. Misled by German "social philosophy" and deceived by the prestige of English "political thought," the sociologists of the later nineteenth century made their Great Refusal. If, instead, they had rejoiced in a fuller intellectual receptivity, and accepted this twofold inheritance that France offered, though she herself had failed to unite it, what might not this have meant and done for the modern world, compassless, rudderless as it has proved to be? Some wisdom of interpretation and forecast might even thus have been made available in time to save the flower of European youth from rushing to their doom in the red anarchy of war.

The sociologists have thus as yet been of but little account in the world. For, during two generations, they have strayed from the

central issue of their science. A few, however, have remained faithful to this central tradition, continuing it as at once a matter of observation, a problem of synthesis, a task for experimental solution. Their labours have made possible this volume and the series to which it is introductory.

Put in the most ambitious way, the practical objective of this Series is nothing less than to draft and plan some of the main approaches towards Eutopia. And if in presenting such plans the regional access seem over-emphasized, that is because it is fundamental and concrete, intelligible and practical, and above all conveniently initial; and also because in the passing order of ideas it has been most neglected, and in action too much deteriorated or perverted. We are passing out of an age for which culture was defined, in the long-famous phrase of Matthew Arnold, as "knowing the best that has been said and done in the world." Such knowing is obviously, in large part, but a meditation among the tombs; and such culture is but a tending of their cemetery lawns, when not a whitening of sepulchres. The active and

living culture we are learning to desire must no longer thus die away from its literal meaning, its regional and rustic origins, in productive tillage of field and garden; in care of fold and forest. Like its simple rustic prototype, a full and genuine regional culture, at once rural and civic, aims, indeed, at knowing the best; but this for fresh sowings; and at doing the best towards coming harvest. Thus active, thus constructive, is the culture needed for home and city, for province and country, for empire and world. In this transformation from mere knowing, to knowing and doing, lies the regional outlook towards Eutopia. *Vivendo discimus*; in measure as we live and learn by turns, and again both together, this Eutopia becomes increasingly realizable, in place and time, region by region. So, in spite of all failures and setbacks, may each generation approach nearer to attainment of the City of God.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND POLITICS

ONE of the many reasons which have kept the social coinage of Comte from passing into currency is that his critics have mostly fixed on the more metaphysical aspects of his system. Critics without number purport to have demolished his *Law of the Three States*, and thereupon have assumed there was nothing left of his sociology but negligible fragments. It was as though one explained the working of a locomotive without reference to boiler or driving wheel. The central and motive idea of Comte's sociology was his generalization of Temporal and Spiritual Powers; and the driving wheels were his four Social Types. The latter classification has been verified time and again by independent rediscovery, always, strange to say, outside the ranks of professed sociologists. The latest verification is from the keen observation

of Mr. Arnold Bennett, who, in a recent visit to the Clyde, found men in that complex and intense situation, sorting themselves out into Organizers, Workers, Energizers and Initiators. These, manifestly, are the four orders of Comte - Chiefs, People, Emotionals, Intellectuals.

Every one is familiar with the Barons and Serfs of the Middle Ages, and how, at that period of history, great power was in the hands of the Secular Clergy, *i.e.* the priests, and of the Regular Clergy, *i.e.* the monks. Recall the life of mediæval society after the Dark Age had gone, and before the age of universities and free cities, of guilds and friaries, had come in its fullness. To think of that intermediate period is to think of a drama in which the leading parts were those of Barons, Serfs, Seculars and Regulars. It was these whom Comte generalized as perennial social types—for whom, it must be confessed, he might have invented names more happily chosen than Chiefs, People, Emotionals and Intellectuals. Mr. Arnold Bennett's terms go more to the root of the matter, and we shall use them freely.

Modern societies are vastly more complex than that of the early Middle Ages. But the war has brought great simplifications; and do not these tend to show how older forms survive not far below the surface, ready ever to emerge when stress comes? A neutral observer, if asked to enumerate the leading national types in time of war, would have no great difficulty in answering. He would point first to the people making munitions at home and to the people firing them off at the Front. He would point to the capitalists whose subscriptions to war-loans pay the bills, and the military and political leaders who direct the corresponding energies. He would indicate the journalists, whose daily histories make us thrill with hope or shudder with fear, leaving us now optimists, now pessimists. And finally, after a little investigation, he would discover the thinking few whose science and ingenuity devise the marvellous mechanical contrivances, the higher and higher explosives, the increasingly deadly fumigations, the mysterious monsters called "tanks," and other wonders of modern warfare.

Thus the observations of our intelligent foreigner restore the People, Chiefs, Emotionals, Intellectuals of an earlier society. It is easy to see these types in the Middle Ages, because they were then relatively fixed; less easy now when they are more interchangeable, and complicated by subdivisions and cross-divisions. Comte was thus a kind of naturalist who went about peering into societies past and present, discovering beneath all disguises and mutations these four perennial types.

Another formative contribution to social science was his generalization of "State" and "Church" as correlative Temporal and Spiritual Powers. In this he reached what is perhaps his master thought. The conception of all history as an interplay of temporal and spiritual powers is certainly not one that the passing generation has found useful, still less illuminating. But that, perhaps, may be explained by future generations as owing to the loss of the very notion of an independent spiritual power, during the dominance of an all-controlling State. As we pass out of the régime of States Germanic and sub-Germanic,

students of social science will doubtless recover the idea of Spiritual Powers and their nomenclature as well.

It was a tragic misfortune for social science when Herbert Spencer, in so many ways the immediate successor of Comte, threw out this conception of spiritual powers from the sociological exploring ship, as if it had been a worn-out or useless article. Let us examine this derelict article, this idea of a spiritual power as one of the two essentials of a community. It is rather a double than a single article--an idea and an ideal. There *ought* to be a spiritual power independent of the temporal power, educating and counselling it. In point of fact most societies have been and are more or less remote from that ideal. The temporal power has ever tried, throughout history, to make the spiritual power its obedient tool. *Vice versa* no doubt sometimes also. But to see such extremes is but a partial reading of history. Below the struggles of temporal and spiritual groups for mastery, there may be discerned a tendency also to a certain adjustment and co-operation, a true balance of powers. The ideal society

towards which this tendency points is one wherein the temporal and the spiritual power each enjoys complete independence within its own proper sphere. The Emotionals and Intellectuals—the Energizers and the Initiators of Mr. Arnold Bennett—organized as a Spiritual Power would, in the ideal instance, intervene in politics, business and industry only indirectly. Their influence would be brought to bear through education and the giving of counsel. The Chiefs and People—the Organizers and the Workers of Mr. Arnold Bennett—constituted as Temporal Power would leave the hands of the Emotionals and Intellectuals free and untrammelled in the maintenance of religion, the conduct of education and the prosecution of research. Such is Comte's forecast of the trend of history. Human evolution is for him a drama of temporal and spiritual powers moving through crisis of effort and trial towards a certain goal. That goal he discerned through all failures and reversions as a balance, say rather a Complement, of Powers. Powers not measured in weight of armament abroad or of police at home, but by the scales of values

material and moral, freely accepted everywhere by all men of goodwill, all classes, both sexes. A similar goal is foreseen, from a different angle, in the Pauline vision of spiritual achievement: "The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance."

The above conception of history as an interplay of temporal and spiritual powers must be distinguished from Comte's conceptions of science and philosophy. It is true he crowded all three into his sociological portmanteau. And he has paid the penalty of the overburdened traveller. His system has been undervalued and his reputation obscured for two generations by the criticism of philosophers with little history and less science; of scientists ignorant of history and indifferent to philosophy, and of historians innocent of science and philosophy alike. We may grant to these formidable hosts of assailants both limitations and defects in the work of their victim; yet few in principle as compared with their own.

Comte inherited, from the Revolution, the notion that society could be remade within

a generation, if men really set their mind to the task and with adequate knowledge. This too simple view of society was further emphasized by the bias of his professional occupation. For the teacher of mathematics can hardly resist treating all things as if they were fixed quantities with sharp edges and clear outline. And the teacher moreover is apt to be didactic, and even pontifical, out of the class-room as in it. But let us allow for such defects of time and place and personality, and ask: What service can be rendered us to-day by Comte's theory of history? Let us utilize it at least for the moment, and test its value in interpreting the current European situation. Maybe we shall find that the two generations which have neglected it have done so at their cost.

Is it not for want of a theory of spiritual powers that politicians and historians have half unconsciously come to believe in a supreme and unmoral State? And, alas! they have been successful in securing for this broken-backed view of history and its practical application in politics, popular acceptance throughout western Europe and America,

and complete triumph in Germany. Note the stages of this "Rake's Progress." First, the State assumes control of elementary education. There the process happily so far halted in Great Britain. But in Germany it went on uninterruptedly towards its natural climax. The State control of the secondary schools and its intervention in the universities gave into the hands of the temporal power half the kingdom of the spiritual power. Next, by subsidizing a newspaper here, coercing one there and cajoling the third, the German State long ago organized its systematic interference with the freedom of the Press. Thus did the temporal power already controlling, through school and university, the main instruments of the "Intellectuals," extend its domain over those of the "Emotionals." The spiritual power in Germany increasingly, therefore, fell into the orbit of the temporal. There necessarily resulted the corresponding practice, that essentially of an organized Cult of the State. Coarser devotees adopted this with *abandon* under the title of *Realpolitik*. Finer spirits still retaining some sense of higher values, called it *Kultur-*

politik. The resulting division of the community into two camps, the respective adherents of *Realpolitik* and *Kulturpolitik*—the Tirpitzites and Hollwegites of yesterday—may be taken as proof that the State cult has received such general acceptance as to leave room only for sectarian variations.

So far up to 1914. One thing was still wanting to complete the cycle of Temporal Dominion, and confirm the theory that spiritual powers do not count in this world. That one culminating triumph was a War which would impose this régime upon the world, and this so overpowering and dramatic as to be accepted for a manifestation of Destiny. This notion of THE War, with its dissemination of *Kultur*, has, indeed, for a whole generation or more, been fermenting in the mind of the German people. Given such pseudo-spiritual preparation, such corresponding material organization, it follows that the German communities were remorselessly driven, they and their rulers, People and Chiefs together, as a Temporal Power no longer restrained, towards the issue of Ordeal by Battle, with the impulsion of a torrent in flood.

The normal practice of war, as the right hand of politics, had, to be sure, been perpetuated by civilized States in Europe as by barbarian tribes elsewhere. The relevant ideas had been discussed and even preached, by isolated thinkers from Machiavelli onwards. But it is not till we come to the modern German university, that we find the doctrine of exclusive temporality developed into a theory of history, an interpretation of human evolution. The scholarly labours and the speculative ingenuity of three generations of German professors gave to their theory of **THE ABSOLUTE STATE**, the necessary coherence, learning and prestige to afford apparently firm intellectual support to a temporal power steadily rising to domination of the spiritual.

In the development of Machiavellianism into an accredited theory of history, the German universities did not, of course, stand alone. They were followed loyally—if at a respectful distance—by the other universities of Europe and America. Clearly it was not any original sin of the Germans, but their very qualities of thoroughness and persistence,

along with the conditions of political geography and history, that gave to their universities the primacy in this amiable quest. So ardent an adventure, pursued so successfully by successive generations of philosophers and jurists, economists and historians, philologists and savants, can be explained only by the momentum of deep underlying tendencies.

Since the decay of mediæval philosophy, there has been in western schools a continuous tendency towards temporal interpretations of history, supported by philosophies which, because of an excessive subjectivity, had their inevitable rebound in materialism.¹ Suppose, however, that this long-protracted subordination of the spiritual view be but the subjective equivalent of that externalism and individualism which, since the Renaissance, have been characteristic of art and industry. Make this assumption, and, in the light of Comte's great generalization, we see how the facts of recent history express but a passing

¹ Santayana, in his recent book, *Egotism in German Philosophy* (Dent & Co.), develops this theme with his customary clearness and charm.

phase in the abiding drama of temporal and spiritual powers. And this phase of temporal dominance having now reached its logical climax in a general war, its subsidence is now presumably due, with corresponding rise of a renewing spiritual power. It becomes, therefore, of the first importance to inquire into the possible development of this incipient spiritual power.

The Absolute State with its "will to power" has worked its way through every institution, agency and instrument, of the Spiritual Power. We live in an age of State-established or State-paid Churches, State-licensed and censored Theatres, State-regulated Schools, State-inspected Public Halls; and the war gave us, what had been customary in State-ridden Germany at peace—a State-censored Press and Platform. But what of the universities which, like those of Great Britain, have, in contrast to French and German ones, been claimed to be free of the State incubus? The universities are the natural trustees and custodians of the whole culture heritage. It is, therefore, to them, if to any institution, that we should

look for the germs of the renascent spiritual power and its due nurture towards maturity.

Suppose an undergraduate to return from the war, deepened in thought by his experiences, and aflame with these large issues. What course would he now pursue if untrammelled in the resumption of his studies? Would not his first concern be to look over and sample that medley of spiritual remnants which stand for the culture heritage? It is from these survivals or from renewals and recombinations of them that the new spiritual power must come. There are no other studies, since the university includes, or professes to include, the whole encyclopædia of knowledge. The university, as it becomes catholic in outlook and constructive in policy, must canalize these deep old springs of culture for social irrigation: it lets them become choked while it is somnolent; it even poisons them when it is partisan.

Our warrior student, with independence becoming his veteran's facing of stern realities, has, let us assume, resolved to explore for himself the historic resources of the universities and to make his own selection of his

culture seeds, instead of accepting the previous academic rationing of them. He will first turn to the courses of history proper. There he will soon find himself following two lines of study. First, he may read and visualize historic annals, and follow the rise and fall, the maintenance and subversion of dynasties, along with the record of the statesmen and ecclesiastics, warriors and adventurers, who have been the servants or the masters, the supporters or the supplanters, of the dynasties. But the development of government has its general and customary aspects, as well as its personal and family details. For these, there are correlative courses, as in the teaching of Public Law and Constitutional Government. Thus far our hypothetical student, in Comte's nomenclature will have been pursuing the history of the "Chiefs." If a Scottish student he will have divided his time between the Faculties of Arts and Law.

From these histories of the Chiefs, in the concrete and the abstract, our student may rebound to that of the People. What of the lives of the workers and their families, amid all this interplay of kings and ministers,

statesmen and politicians, ecclesiastics and warriors, with their war and peace games, their policies and programmes? Our inquirer will find some of his questions about the lives and doings of the people answered in the courses on Economics and Economic History, some others in the courses on Anthropology. But for the most part he will have to seek outside the walls of the universities his history of the people as workers. For until lately, with the success of the London School of Economics, historical investigations of such "socialist writers" seldom penetrated academic circles (at least in Great Britain), save as objects of rebuttal or contemptuous criticism.

Having gone so far in his historical explorations, our student might next ask: What have the thinkers and observers, the investigators and discoverers, the travellers and historians, the philosophers and men of science, been seeing and saying, doing and thinking, through the ages, while the chiefs have been playing their war and peace games, with the people footing the bill? For this problem—that of the historic rôle of the

"Intellectuals"—the student may be attracted, in the first instance, to the courses (if any) on the History of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts. For a course in the History of Science, he might, some years ago, have crossed the Channel and gone to the Collège de France. But that course, instituted through Positivist influence after Comte's death, has somehow disappeared. Further afield there is the chair of the late Ernst Mach in Vienna and a recent foundation at Harvard, and that exhausts the list. The History of Geography he might, somewhat solitarily, pursue at Oxford, but not probably elsewhere in Great Britain. While, as for the History of Invention, it is doubtful if a subject so remote from academic interests is systematically pursued in any university outside Germany.

If the eager determination of our student has surmounted all the foregoing obstacles, he is fortunate, for the reward of his quest is in sight. He comes now, by easy transition, from the routine to the reality of historic culture—the history of art and literature, poetry and religion. While the Chiefs have

been governing and directing, playing and fighting, while the People have been working for them, the Intellectuals unveiling the secrets of man and nature, what of the Emotionals? Have they, too, throughout the ages, been singing and writing, praying and preaching, making music and beauty, creating homes and building cities mainly for the Chiefs? Or have they also served and guided, enlivened and ennobled the People, and if so with what results? These are the questions which the student who has travelled this road will have in his mind, as he enters upon the history of art and literature, poetry and religion. In this phase of his quest he will, if he means to make a thorough exploration, find himself mapping a devious course through the Faculties of Arts and Theology in many different universities which, added to his previous wanderings in the Faculties of Law, Science and Arts, would make his record as varied as the *Odyssey*. It is clear that the universities are not planned to facilitate access to the culture heritage. On the contrary they have barred its full inheritance, by their disarray of studies;

and so they help to enforce the Temporal Power against the Spiritual Order whose organ they are supposed to be. It is a practical impossibility under existing curricula for a student, within a measurable time, to achieve any adequate reading of the human record in its vital and essential aspects. How remote, then, seems that unification of the culture-heritage, that harmonious presentation of it, essential to its incorporation by our student !

For the universities, history is still too much the history of the Chiefs. If Ancient, it belongs to the humanities, and includes some modicum of the history of religion and art. If Modern, it is not very sure of itself, but often leans towards the rival camp of science. If Mediæval, it is anybody's; and so has been mainly taken possession of by the constitutional lawyers who share it with the theologians. Yet the vast labours of a century of specialist investigations into the various fields of history have not been ignored in the academic world. The detailed products of these specialist researches have been ingested by the universities, but not digested.

Hence one of the main causes of their distended curricula and their dyspeptic alumni. The accumulation of historic facts has grown to immeasurable dimensions, but the requisite synthetic conceptions for interpreting these facts have been absent, or of spurious coinage.

The traditional philosophies of history which were of genuine synthetic lineage, culminated in that of Comte. His immediate forerunners also made first-rate contributions; yet what academic student of history ever hears of Vico, except as a philosophical jurist? Of Montesquieu, except as a constitutional theorist? Of Condorcet, except as a revolutionary leader? Or even of Comte, except as a misguided philosopher standing apart from the transcendental German tradition? But these four, with Herder, are the founders of a synthetic science of history. Their work, without exception, has been done outside the walls of the universities; and there, beyond undergraduate reach, the guardians of academic learning have successfully kept that work and its influence. The statue of Comte stands well outside the Sorbonne. His spirit has scarcely entered

even the university of his own city, whose most historic voice he was. How much less can we expect to find the tradition he represents alive within the walls of other universities? In the space thus swept, if not garnished, there have entered the seven devils of that pseudo-philosophy of history, *Kulturgeschichte*.

What is this "history of civilization," masquerading as a philosophy of human evolution? Can we discern its place on the tree of knowledge, which it is the business of the universities to tend? In recent times this tree has put forth a luxuriance of rank and disorderly growths. The buds, which the universities should select, and graft upon the tree of life that shoots afresh in each youthful mind, have been for the most part left to wither upon the tree of knowledge. The overgrown tangle of branches upon which Professors and Lecturers lavish their fondest care are called specialisms. A custom, imported from Germany, ordains that every academic gardener shall select some one branch and, on pain of ostracism, give his exclusive attention to increase of its growth.

Any one who ventures to place his interests on the tree in its entirety is soon made to realize that a modern university is no place for such an antique survival as himself.

How explain this academic perversion? How account for the taboo of those who are not specialists in the limited Teutonic sense? We submit the following explanation. If the State seeks to upset in its own favour the balance of temporal and spiritual powers, what more subtle procedure than to create and multiply divisions among the workers in the latter field? *Divide et impera* holds here as elsewhere. By an exclusive absorption in specialisms, the universities have unwittingly become the tools of an all-dominating State.

But the weakening of the university's spiritual influence by sub-division goes even further. The craving of the human mind for unity is not to be altogether baulked. In spite, therefore, of the specializing custom and the analytic vogue, there is a return movement of synthesis. But even this is emasculated by division into two water-tight compartments. The professed philosophers pursue

their dialectical quest, of an abstract unity. In isolation from the philosophers, stand the representatives of concrete historical unity—the composers of *Kulturgeschichte*. A mechanical putting together of oddments from innumerable unrelated specialisms, such History of Civilization reflects at once the spirit of its parent, which is the German university, and its grandparent, which is the centralized State. The futilities of abstract philosophy are thus matched by the confusions of this concrete Kultur; and the “Servile State” has its spiritual counterpart in the Abject University. Such is the natural progress of decay in the tissue of the body politic, once the balance of temporal and spiritual power is upset, by the former’s predominant influence.

To resume: The world has before it to-day many rival theories of history and politics. But of all these theories there are two so opposed in spirit and outlook as to make a clear-cut antithetical pair. One is the Temporal theory, predominantly Prussic, though abundantly manifested nearer home. It

affirms the domination of spiritual by temporal powers in the centralized State to be a normal equilibrium and one moreover of progressive evolution. The deduction follows that the Absolute State ought to be advanced by all the resources of art, science and industry, and stronger methods too, if need be. This theory, up to 1914, was held to be the normal expression of historic scholarship. It was taken for granted probably in every academic school throughout Christendom not organized on specifically religious lines. Implicitly or explicitly it has directed the main current of such thought as academic historians have put into the writing of their books, since the German school came into vogue with Mommsen and his compeers.

It is but fair to record that at the very time Freeman was infecting Oxford with the Prussic virus, the recoil in German historic scholarship had begun. Otto Gierke was already working out a more spiritual interpretation of juristic history. The seeds he sowed will doubtless find congenial soil in the German universities in the inevitable repercussion after the war; for the greater the

lapse from rectitude, the more scope for repentance, with its sequel of a fresh start in life.

The rival conception to the dominant German one we have called Gallic. It is really Galilean. Its political application can never be better put than in that aphoristic summary of ancient wisdom which directs the distribution of the things that are Cæsar's and the things that are God's. Comte's theory of history was but a vastly learned secular development of this principle. His *odium - anti - theologicum* notwithstanding, Comte was at heart a Catholic, though not Roman and orthodox, but Parisian and mystical. His devotion to the memory of an idealized woman kept him in sympathy with the cult of the Ideal Mother. His spiritual Utopia was an idealization of the Catholic Church at its moments of highest inspiration. Even his much-abused Law of the Three States was but an extreme modernist restatement of that noble heresy of Abbot Joachim, which came within sight of being incorporated into the doctrine of the mediæval church. But above and beyond all other evidence is the

fact that the Positivist system of social Philosophy has for its corner-stone the anti-thesis yet correlation of the claims of God and of Cæsar. The conception of citizenship corresponding to this Christian principle was developed in the Middle Ages and ejected from the universities at the Renaissance. The moral void was filled in the nineteenth century by an interpretation of history, which suggested as at once the more profitable and the more submissive course, the offering of both portions to Cæsar.

The re-interpretation of history by the universities in a way more appropriate to their intellectual life is thus long overdue, if they are again to become an organ of the spiritual power. The generous mind of youth at its formative moments must no longer be shut off by academic blinkers from the spiritual outlook.

CHAPTER II

INTERPRETERS AND PROPHETS

IN France every man tends to be a peasant or a Parisian, albeit something of both. These are the dominant types of a people rich in range of local character and variety of national tradition. What gives to LePlay and Comte a special interest for the student of social science is that he discerns the French peasant superlatively incarnated in the one, and the spirit of Paris in the other. As in the pages of Huxley we see the world rigorously interpreted in terms of Anglo-Germanic natural science; so, the writings of LePlay and of Comte taken together offer a reading of human life and civilization in terms of a social science rooted at once in the soil and in the culture-tradition of France.

LePlay was the Normandy peasant who carried into foreign travel the intuition and experience of his native region. He observed,

compared and explained the life and effort of rustic labourers, diverse in kind and in many different lands. He thus acquired an acquaintance with the elemental phenomena of the human world comparable in its variety and grasp, to that view of the natural world which Darwin's wide-roaming *Naturalist's Voyage* gained for its author. Like Darwin, too, he reached in later life large and bold generalizations, based on observational evidence, collected with the same unwearying persistence, arranged and re-arranged, sifted and re-sifted, with the same patience of research, for illuminating clues. Finally, he came to his interpretation of civilization, and this, in a sense, carried its own verification; for it was in terms of its author's personal experience, and the regional life into which he was born and bred. Land, Labour and Family Tradition—these are the vital triad of the French peasantry. They are the underlying elements which LePlay discovered beneath all mutations of regional life everywhere; and at length traced into the great city itself.

As LePlay is the French peasant abroad, so Comte is the Parisian at home. His early

years were spent in Montpellier, the southern Paris. From there he went to the northern metropolis as a student; and the rest of his days he passed in the Latin Quarter. He caught and showed forth the spirit of Paris as no one had done before and none since, unless perhaps Victor Hugo. But Hugo's presentation is to Comte's as is that of its vividly imaginative painters and playwrights to that of the civic architects who have impressed order, indeed order sometimes too severe, upon the city's monumental plan. The *Legende des Siècles* is built out of impressions selected by intuition, wrought with the instruments of art and re-expressed by his torrential poetic genius. Comte, on the other hand, used the systematic labour of the scientific mind to sort out with magistral effort, and then to put together (for most of us a little too formally), into one structure, those elements of its being which have made Paris the most representative city of the modern world. For where else can one see so vividly the procession of history as in a pageant of daily recurrence?

In Paris it is not only through monumental

reminder, and the incidental archaism of custom, that the past survives. For there whole groups of people continue in daily routine the essentials of historic phases. The Parisian is peculiarly provided with the opportunity of re-birth in the classical spirit, the mediæval spirit, the renaissance spirit. So indeed are the inhabitants of other cities; as, for example, Florence, or to a less extent Oxford. But in Paris there persist rever-sionary trends which continually recreate the earlier phases, from fetichism onwards. While as for the modern and contemporary phase, its triple manifestations, as industrial, imperial and financial, have each at one time or another flourished in Paris, the two latter with rare intensity, though in other cities these aspects of modernity have settled themselves in more conspicuous dominance, as in the financialism of London, the militarism of Berlin.

By the instinct of sympathetic genius, Comte incorporated into his personality something of its essence from each and all of these manifold phases of civilization. He re-wrote history neither with the distortion of the

partisan nor the detachment of the archivist ; but in the spirit and as the philosophy of the city whose richness of life and variety of character are so peculiarly derived from the survival of the past, and yet where the daily re-combining of those elements has oftenest made the new growths of the future. Thus, for the first time in the literature of history, and of its philosophy—indeed, in the history of civilization—there were achieved, in the writings of Comte, these two things. One was a presentation of human evolution that looked backwards with intimate sympathy and informed understanding towards each main stage of the record.¹ The other was a confident looking ahead, in ardent faith and eager preparation for the time when this whole heritage of culture should become the common birthright of humanity.

¹ In claiming for Comte primacy in a presentation of human history at once scientific and sympathetic, we do not forget earlier works. Herder's masterpiece, the *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, for instance, was certainly a worthy precursor of Comte's work. But it was impossible for a court preacher, even at Weimar in the eighteenth century, to enter, with the requisite intimacy, into other phases of culture than that of his own tradition.

In exchanging the rôle of interpreter for that of prophet, Comte unfortunately did not content himself with conditional prediction : that is a legitimate, even necessary, instrument of scientific method. He did not say : " Here is my analysis of tendencies that are shaping the future ; here are my plans for ensuring that such and such tendencies come to maturity and be realized, and others discouraged, frustrated or reversed." Nor did he, with the reckless audacity of the prophet, exclaim in combined exhortation and threat : " Obey my counsels, or your society will come to destruction." But his mathematical bias was apt to bring his historic standard to its too absolute level, and thus committed him to fatalist predictions, dated and unqualified. Yet it is only fair to recall that he was wont to explain these as intentionally diagrammatic.

As humanist interpreter Comte reflected the spirit of his "*Ville Lumière*," and he raised that spirit to a pinnacle of clearer vision. As prophet he reflected the defect of civic life everywhere and at all times. In the shelter of their richly stored " winter

caves," and in enjoyment of a culture heritage that seems to defy time and dominate circumstance, the inhabitants of cities too easily forget the rustic origins from which civic life and power are drawn. Thus the unfulfilled predictions of Comte testify to the vanity of cities, as well as to the errancy of genius.

As regards his plans for the re-construction of society, their crucial defect is manifest to all students of LePlay. They were not regional. In drafting his practical projects, Comte, like other political thinkers of the Revolution, leapt at a bound from the thinker's closet on to the platform of the world. Of the innumerable varieties of local and national life and tradition, he took little more adequate account than Napoleon, Alexander of Russia, or Metternich had done. Hence his great schemes have correspondingly lacked actuality. But though they suffer this disability for immediate application to practice, they remain a matchless monument of social idealism. The numerous volumes of the practical treatise, the *Politique Positive*, are an immense cairn of stones, sometimes

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rough-hewn, from which future generations will continue to quarry building materials for upbuilding the "Occidental Republic."

LePlay did not, like Comte, formally assume the prophet's mantle. He discreetly retained the Catholic peasant's blouse. But that did not prevent him looking around, with the keen scrutiny of the scientist, and ahead, too, with the sower's and planter's foresight, and making plans accordingly. These were based on his interpretations; yet sound as these were, they still retained the defects of their origin. The rustic mind, in looking ahead, towards the specific crops it desires from its definite sowings, will gain but a limited view of the future unless informed and supplemented. Informed more generally, by wider interest in living nature with her more varied sowings and growings; supplemented also by the civic sense of historic manifoldness. Thus it is easy in the light of Comte's vast historic researches to puncture by specific criticism the practical proposals of LePlay and his disciples of "*La Réforme Sociale*." Their remedies, alike for labour troubles and for war, although far

from valueless, can only be described as simplistic, when one recognizes the complexity of every problem of the modern world, the momentum of historic survivals also.

Putting aside, then, the detailed projects of both Comte and LePlay as being of historic interest and suggestive value, though not workable in details, let us ask what is left of immediate service? There remain the results of their labours in the interpretation of human evolution and its continuance. It is our contention that the two systems of research are complementary; and that taken together they constitute an armoury of principles and methods, a treasury of resource insufficiently recognized and still less adequately used. To find lines and methods of inquiry, symbols and formulæ for the representation of matters of both observation and reason, is the aim of scientific method. And to this aim few have contributed more than have both Comte and LePlay.

It is the misfortune of subsequent sociology, that the two schools which continued the work of each of their respective masters have never come together, to combine the historic

retrospect of Comte, the economic scrutiny of LePlay, and the forelooking habits of both. The two schools, as they grew up, followed the modern specialistic tendency of thought and action, to diverge. Each suffered the ultimate fate of cleavage, into a more scientific group ever drifting further apart from that of more practical application, and conversely. In each school there has thus arisen, on the one hand a band of disciples holding fast by the Master's practical maxims, and dedicating themselves to the exposition and propagandism of the original doctrine; and on the other a group of continuators interested mainly to extend and develop his thought.

It was not till the 'eighties of the nineteenth century, that anything in the nature of a collective and systematic effort was made to bring together and develop the interpretative formulæ of both LePlay and Comte. In mingled continuity and revival of the old Franco-Scottish tradition, there was started about that time in Edinburgh, an extra-academic School of Sociology which set before itself that synthetic endeavour amongst other

purposes. Its record of publication is inconsiderable, because it has been in its working even more a school of practical than of pure sociology. But nevertheless a certain number of theoretical memoirs have from time to time resulted from its speculative labours.¹ Its aim has been to maintain in due logical separation, the speculative from practical issues, and yet to work deliberately and experimentally towards their interaction, by what might be called the Laboratory method of social and civic activity.²

From recent publications of this Edinburgh school we select one for reference, and that for a double reason. In the first place, it was, like the present volume, an endeavour to popularize the joint regionalist-humanist doctrine, and to demonstrate its practical value for contemporary life and thought. In the second place, it afforded an example of what we believe to be the proper method of

¹ For a comprehensive synthetic endeavour see "Civics as Applied Sociology," by P. Geddes, in *Sociological Papers*, Vols. I and II (Macmillan & Co., London, 1906 and 1907).

² See Zueblin, "The World's First Sociological Laboratory," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1899.

prediction to which social and political science lends itself. Planned in 1911, written in 1912-13 (in the intervals of much travelling), the book was published in the spring of 1914.¹ In this book the characteristic formulæ were put to the service of a critical and constructive survey of the European situation. The writer was led to predict a widespread war as impending, but by no means inevitable. And in that distinction between the contingent and the fatalistic resides the essential quality of scientific prediction. A painstaking discrimination between the particular and the general is, of course, also a necessary element in scientific foresight. Thus it was not mere war—war in general—that was foretold, but a particular kind of war. By its definition as a “War of Transition” (between phases of social evolution discussed in detail) the threatened conflagration was classed in a known category; and related to contemporary movements of known character.

A scientific prediction is thus a definite

¹ *Interpretations and Forecasts: a Study of Survivals and Tendencies in Contemporary Society*, by Victor Branford (Duckworth & Co., London, 1914).

contingency disclosed by analysis of observed and verified tendencies. The prediction is necessarily accompanied by a similar analysis of modifying tendencies, and also of contrary ones. In point of fact, the bulk of the book was devoted to an examination of tendencies running counter to the threatened conflagration. That effort to divert attention from destructive to constructive issues was indeed the writer's personal contribution, however insignificant and belated, to point the way from wardom to peacedom—towards arrestment of the dominant war-ward processes, and towards advancement of the corresponding peace-ward ones; in fact to advance beyond the *Kriegspiel* in which our adversaries have been so strong, towards the *Friedenspiel* they have had so much less thought for.

Between these two antagonistic currents, one making for war, and this necessarily of transition, and the other for a peaceful way out of the threatened deadlock, there were intermediate elements refractory to scientific analysis. One of these was Time, and another the complex happening we call Accident.

Time might have been on the side of the peaceful tendencies, but for the series of political "accidents" which in the summer of 1914 gave the reins of power into the hands of professional war parties in Berlin, Vienna and Buda-Pesth.

It is important to notice that time and accident themselves incline to favour those particular tendencies which are most in the focus of attention. The mere prediction of an issue, therefore, creates a current in its favour, proportional in strength to the faith it inspires in the public mind. The prediction of evil or of good may thus become a decisive factor in the determination of the issue. Hence some justification for the unpopularity of Cassandras of every variety and at all times and places. Hence also an additional reason for accentuating the importance of social theory; since social predictions, however dogmatic, no less than social policy, however conventional, alike rest on, and appeal to some sort of reasoning. And such reasoning is of the nature of sociological "Theory," little though most like that name; unless we are to be indifferent to

consistency, hostile to exactitude, and repugnant to the hard test of verification.

The gist of what we have endeavoured to say is expressed in Comte's own forcible phrase: *Savoir pour prévoir ; prévoir pour pourvoir* ("See to foresee; foresee in order to provide").

In social seeing there are three stages. There is observant seeing, with the eye of the geographer and the economist—their outlook upon the region and its resources, material and human. There is the discerning seeing, with the eye of the historian, or say rather of the humanist, which is no mere retrospect, but a looking around for that vitally persistent past which is the very spirit of the present. Then there is the foreseeing vision; and this alike of danger and of hope. In this the prophets of old excelled. May not the science of to-morrow recover something of their power? It predicts evils likely to come, if we continue as we are; but also what better future is possible if we mend our ways.

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Each of these elements of social vision is twofold, having its receptive and its creative phase—its scientific and its practical side. For the regional outlook there is the receptive mood of enumeration, classification, assessment of resources, in a word the Systematic Survey; but there also arises the corresponding Policy of conserving, organizing, developing the resources of the region. In this the United States have led; but as we write, the British Empire, under stress of war is forming its Resources-Commission also. The humanist outlook invites, on the one hand, to receptive contemplation and æsthetic enjoyment of the culture heritage; yet on the other it prompts to a creative policy of selection from this and of education into its real acquirement.

In the prophetic forelook there is the receptive mood of dream and wonder; there is also the creative mood of struggle with evil and arousal of good.

Similarly: three corresponding sets of plans emerge. The Regionalist has his Rural and City Reports with their plans of improvement and development. The Humanist ela-

borates his plan towards progress and order. The Prophet announces his ideal; in fact, his plan of salvation. What, then, is the task of the Statesman? Is it not to harmonize these triple resources—these correspondent policies of possibility—material Reconstruction, individual and general Re-education, and moral and social Renewal— into their vital harmony, their working unison?

CHAPTER III

ON THE HIGHWAYS

As students and interpreters of cities we watch, with Comte, the rise and fall of Temporal and Spiritual Powers. We follow the drama of their action and interaction. We observe that cities are the citadels of temporal strength, and yet also the centres of spiritual influence. But of cities themselves is not the permanent vital support the peasant's corn-sack? There is a cynical point of view from which Temporal and Spiritual Powers are rival efforts to dip into the corn-sack brought to market by the peasant with such pathetic regularity. We do not say this is a sufficient point of view, but it is a real one. It is fundamental, not supreme.

On this rustic foundation LePlay builds his system. He is the philosopher of the corn-sack, as Diogenes was of the tub. His guidance we seek on quitting the civic spectacle, the historic phantasmagoria, for a

journey in the country-side. With his aid the rustic drama may be observed in its unity and interpreted in terms of regional life and labour. But it is a necessary preparation for profitable travel with LePlay to get a clear grasp of these terms---Region and Regional.

Consider, for instance, that ever-growing "Literature of Locality" which is at once realistic in description of scenery and environment, yet romantic in disposition and outlook. The Lowland novels of Walter Scott make the best-known example. They would in French be called *Littérature régionale*. And the adjective would be a matter-of-fact characterization, carrying none of that taint of provincialism, with which a metropolitan critic thought to annihilate the Barrie school of fiction by the epithet "kailyard." The first consideration, then, is to clear the words "region" and "regional" of all deprecatory meaning, and sharply to distinguish them from "provincial" and "parochial" in so far as these words convey narrowing limitations. Yet let us agree that the word "regional" shall also cover, and concentrate in itself, all those

qualities of local colour and tradition, with raciness of the soil, which are implied in the old phrase of *genius loci*.

When we say that a Bishop has diocesan functions, we mean that his work lies in a district encompassing both town and country. But we mean more than that; for the word diocese carries a spiritual flavour as well as covers a geographical area. The Region is, with certain qualifications, the sociological equivalent of the ecclesiastical Diocese. True the regional sociologist, in the first place, accentuates the geographical aspect; and the Bishop the spiritual. The former observes men as he finds them; the latter is occupied in raising their moral potential.

A further reservation is needed to prevent misunderstanding. In claiming "regional" as a scientific equivalent to "diocesan," we are somewhat looking ahead to anticipated, or at most incipient, effort rather than actual custom. To go by mere geographical usage, we should have to confess that the science of the schools has not yet given the term an intensity corresponding to the higher reach and implication of "diocese" in its full

ecclesiastical sense. This deficiency may be a symptom not unconnected with the difference in prestige between a Bishop and a mere sociologist.

There is a "Committee for the Promotion of Regional Survey," which with the current year is becoming the Regional Association. As their labours and those of fellow workers extend, the observational basis of social science will broaden and thereon must grow up a more concrete science of society, one which will earn for its exponents a fuller hearing, a growing measure of influence. And the work of this Association—by promoting the finer and more definite usage of this word "regional"—will contribute something to the incipient renewal of pride and tradition of locality. The immediate object is to cultivate the regional outlook. The first step is to look at one's own region; to look into it as into an ancient mirror reflecting the epitome of human effort. The next is to look at and into other regions. And there is no better procedure for this comparative survey than to arrange a country holiday accordingly.

Suppose a French student of the regionalist

school arrives at Dover from the continent, with the intention of spending a few weeks' holiday in seeing some representative regions of southern England. What will be his itinerary? The ordinary traveller on landing at Dover begins his railway journey to London by burrowing under the chalk hills called "Downs." But our regionalist having resolved to maintain and enjoy the use of his eyes, and of his legs also, has renounced the mole-like habit of the tourist. He ascends the Downs, and starts on a route which for most of its course will be a pilgrimage of watersheds. This will accordingly correct and supplement the limitations of the customary low-level travel by road, railway, or waterway. But the rewards of the regional pilgrimage are by no means confined to scientific observation, or even to the scenic splendours which open in successive vistas from height to height. There is also the magic of the Downs. That is an enchantment which roused to a moment of comparative rhapsody even the sedate author of that mild geological manual called *The Scenery of England*. Listen to Lord Avebury's encomium

on the Downs: "The air is cool and pure, crisp and sweet! Being generally in grass they are silent and peaceful, giving a delightful sensation of solitude and repose, heightened rather than interfered with by the occasional tinkle of a sheep bell, or the cry of a plover. The Downs present a series of beautifully smooth swelling curves, perhaps the most perfect specimens of graceful contour, and are covered with short, sweet, close turf. Turf is peculiarly English and no turf is more delightful than that of our Downs—delightful to ride on, to sit on, to walk on. It indeed feels so springy under our feet that walking on it seems scarcely an exertion."

London is the focus of roadway and railway travel in central and southern England; but it is the elevated chalk table-land called Salisbury "Plain" which has longest been centre and focus of the highways of the same great region. It is along these highways that we propose to take our continental regionalist. They radiate from the district of Salisbury Plain like spokes of a wheel. Disregarding geographical and geological niceties, and speaking in a broad and general way, we

may say there are six of these spokes. The accompanying sketch (Fig. 1), presents this radiating system of highways; which may be realized more vividly by looking up the diagram of it in *The Old Road* of Mr. Belloc,

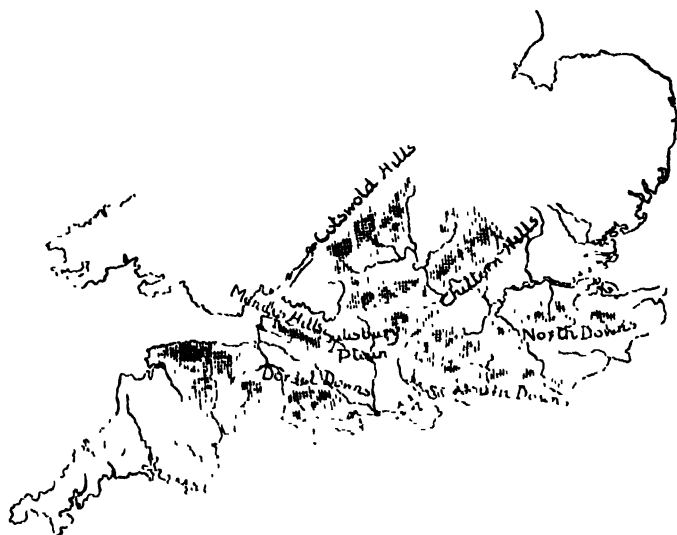


FIG. 1.

one of the very best of our regional geographers, and this, long before he made his reputation as a military critic.

The monumental remains at Stonehenge mark the point of convergence of ridgeways that carried the ancient traveller over the

radiating moorlands. A few years ago, the then proprietor of Stonehenge caged it in a ring fence of barbed wire. The charge of a shilling for admission naturally roused strong opposition. The Society for the Preservation of Commons and Footpaths took the case into the law courts.¹

On one side was the contention that Stonehenge was "the early Cathedral of the British race," and that deeply scored roadways converging on it across the Wiltshire Downs preserved the evidence of public approach. On the other side was absence of the evidence apparently required by law that a road only becomes public when it has been "dedicated" to that purpose by some landed proprietor. The Judge's decision was, that no public way led up to Stonehenge! The Society thus lost its case (at a cost of £4000, hard-earned funds), and the public lost their putative right of way. Divergence could hardly go further between ancient custom and modern land law.

From the variety of courses offered by the Salisbury table-land as a centre of travel,

¹ A new owner has given Stonehenge to the nation.

our continental pedestrian has to plot out a series of journeys that will show him the characteristic regions of central and southern England. Keeping to the old-time highways of the ridges and the hill-sides, he wishes

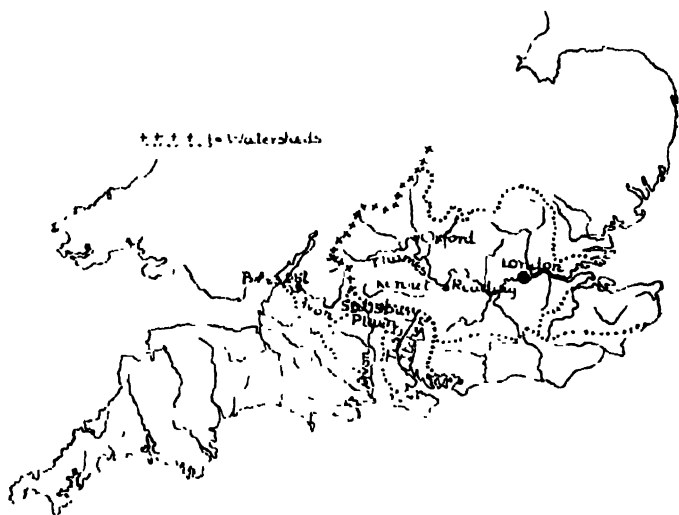


FIG. 2.

to view therefrom what may be seen of the representative plains and valleys lying below his path. Here a diagram map of river basins will help us, for the river is always lord of the valley and sometimes of the plain also. Which, then, of these many river valleys will be selected for exploration?

By comparison of Figs. 1 and 2 it will be noticed that four river valleys converge around Salisbury Plain and the adjacent highlands. These are the valleys of the Thames-Kennet, the Bristol Avon, the Salisbury Avon and the Test-Itchen. Our traveller will, therefore, naturally want to see something of all these four river valleys. Having schemed out the general plan of his journey he will rely on maps and guide-books for the detail.

But the ordinary literature and cartography of travel will avail him little, for these are made to suit the needs of travellers by the low ways along the valley floors which have usurped the name of the ancient and original highways. These latter survive from the early ages when pastoral man fed his flocks on the natural pasturage of the Downs and had his home on the dry and treeless soil of their slopes and hill-tops. The valleys in those days were for the most part choked with morass, woodland and forest, the haunt of wolf and wild boar, marten and wild cat. To this old England of the pastoral age belong the megalithic remains of

Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain, and the still more remarkable ones of Avebury, lying between Salisbury Plain and the Cotswolds. Evidence grows towards proof of a complex civilization centring in these trading and spiritual foci of the Downlands. The gathering interest in unravelment of its record is producing a whole new literature of travel. Adding to this the literature of revived interest in the mediæval pilgrim journeys, which also tended to follow the old highways, there is a considerable resource for our continental regionalist. And it may be noted that for regular use of the green highways we do not need to go back to the flint and the bronze age, or even to the mediæval pilgrimage. They were used for cattle-droving right up to the time of railways. There are said to be still alive old folk in the villages along the base of the Downs who remember the dark line of animals silhouetted against the sky as the west country drover moved his cattle along the ridgeway to the London market.

There could be no better general introduction than Mr. Bellor's *The Old Road*. This will

carry the traveller from Dover onwards well towards Salisbury Plain. His journey thither can be completed with the aid of Dr. Williams-Freeman's *Introduction to Field Archaeology as illustrated in Hampshire*. To the same order of Downland travel-book belongs Mr. Hippisley Cox's *The Green Roads of England*. This book gives a clear presentation of the whole system of "Green Roads," but departs from the more accredited archæological view in treating the congruent civilization as wholly neolithic. With the aid of Dr. Williams-Freeman, our regionalist friend may survey from the vantage point of the ancient highways, the valley of the Salisbury Avon, and that noble remnant of primeval England, the New Forest, and also the valley of the Test. Mr. Hippisley Cox's book will enable him to see something of the upper Thames Valley and also something of the valley of the Bristol Avon. Finally, there is Professor Fleure's analysis of evidence as to the state of the country when the green highways were main lines of communication not only for southern England, but also afforded through-routes between the continent, England and

Wales.¹ In a masterly re-synthesis and from well-observed data Professor Fleure presents us with a vivid picture of that ancient civilization as the social geographer sees it.

The immediate object of the regionalist Rambler in his recourse to this new literature of the old moorland life is, to be sure, different from that of the writers mentioned. He is concerned only incidentally with the observation of tumuli, the resurrection of forgotten roadways or other objects of pious memory or archaeological interest. His purpose is not anthropological but æsthetic and geographic. He will hope, with due anthropological aid, to enjoy the beauty and wonder, the majesty and the memory of the ancient moorland life. But he wanders on the high moorlands with eye turned not to the past but to the present. His object is to seek out and reach certain vantage points, where the moorland itself sinks into mere foreground, and there rise into full view stretches of

¹ "Geographical Distribution of Anthropological Types in Wales," H. J. Fleure and T. C. James, *Anthropological Journal*, January-June, 1916.

the river valley that meanders below. Hence the chief use of the books mentioned is to direct the regionalist traveller to the passes, the high places, the escarpments and the hill-tops from which may be seen the adjacent valleys.

To take a single illustration. One of the indispensable view-points is Uffington Camp, on the Lambourne spurs of the Berkshire Downs. Standing here on one of the sacred high places of Britain, immediately over the Great White Horse carved on the chalk escarpment, the spectator thrills at once to memory and to scenery. There unfolds to inner vision, first the story of early man and his struggle with the forest, then the epic of Alfred; and to outer view the superb panorama of the upper Thames Valley in its sweep from the Cotswolds to the Chilterns. For full historic appreciation Mr. G. K. Chesterton's *Ballad of the White Horse* should be carried in the knapsack for evocatory use at Uffington Camp. And at appropriate spots elsewhere on the Downs may be substituted for Mr. Chesterton's historic muse, the more naturalistic verse of Swinburne—

“Higher and higher to the North aspire the green,
smooth-swelling, unending downs;
East and west, on the brave earth's breast, glow
girdle-jewels of gleaming towns;
Southward shining the lands declining subside in
peace that the sea's light crowns.”

Our pedestrian traveller on the green hill-ways is no regionalist, if he does not, in the course of his journey, gather impressions which compose into one grand picture. A picture in which, indeed, the central interest will be historical, if we mean by historical the unfolding of that abiding interplay between human society and geographical environment in which each undergoes continuous and correlative change for better or worse. It is a drama of evolution in which both Man and Nature play an epic part.

At the dawn of British history we see the highways set over the far-spreading tangle of wood and swamp infested with carnivores and fever. Round Stonehenge and Avebury met the streams of influence whose mingling has yielded the riches of our ancient traditions. The bronze workers and the tin seekers, the gold prospectors, the refugees from the Eastern Mediterranean spreading

through Europe to West Britain, seem to meet there the men whom archæology has followed from the Scythian plain to our eastern shores. And who shall say what in the stories of Arthur and Merlin is not a memory of struggles in the ultimate fusion of these ancient elements of British life? Again, with the coming of Iron, the west is the conservative stronghold of Bronze. Had the Roman Invasion not overshadowed it, we might doubtless have had evidence of other kinds, besides the legend of Wayland Smith, to tell us of the meeting of bronze and iron civilizations in the future Wessex. Next, reading between the lines of scanty Anglo-Saxon data, we perceive a long struggle with varying fortune between Briton and invader. For resultant is created a composite unity. It uses the invader's language, it cherishes the sanctity of Glastonbury, it idealizes its Alfred, re-incarnation of the spirit of Arthur. Every legend is to the regionalist on the spot no mere story for the fireside, but an integral element in the spirit of the place. In this way, combining mythopoesy with interpretative travel, our rambler soon comes to see and feel

the great Downs of Wessex as the region of intermingling and fusion of British traditions, and so a main spiritual matrix of the national life. A deep significance thus attaches to the fact that it was Anglo-Celtic Wessex (British in the full rich sense) that helped the beginnings of English literature, that gave the commencement of political unity under Egbert, that led the resurgence under Alfred, that played a majestic part in the flowering of the Middle Ages, and has in our own time powerfully stimulated the "literature of locality" with William Barnes, Thomas Hardy and W. H. Hudson.

The historical factor in the regionalist outlook it were better perhaps to call evolutionary. For the latter word conveys the necessary implication of continuity with the past, but directs attention also to the present and to the future. It is, then, the evolution of the Region in (so to speak) a joint partnership with Man, that is the topic and the theme of the regionalist. It is the story of Man's movement from the high ground of the Downs to the underlying valleys, and his deeds

therein, that makes the main thread of the drama which our regionalist rambler is engaged in reading in the course of his journey. With the wresting of the valleys from the grip of wild nature and their occupation by human societies come interactions and complexities, whose resultants accumulating through the ages give rise to the tangled web of modern life. In our struggle to-day with the Burden of Evil, how often are we baffled through inability to reach the primary elements of the situation! We need a method of analysis which will lay bare the roots of social causation. And it must be a method which shows the interrelation of man and environment, of people and place alike in country and town. The beginning of such a method the regionalist claims for his "Valley Section." How this valley section naturally arises during the regional survey it is easy to see. Our French friend will, in the course of his perambulations, have extended his observations to the valleys of the Thames and the Bristol Avon. Let him make what geographers call a "section" of each and putting them together from west to

east he will have before him a diagram like this—

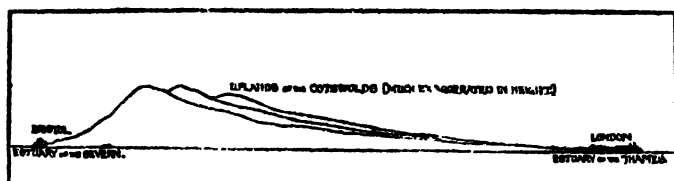


Fig. 3.—Section through valleys of the Bristol Avon and the Thames.

Now a glance at a relief map of Scotland, of the Scandinavian Peninsula, of Central Europe, South America and many other parts of the globe, shows that a section from west to east would make a diagram similar to the above section of southern England. The Rhine–Danube valleys, for instance, are just an enlarged version of the Avon–Thames valleys. In short, we have here one of the most characteristic pieces of earth structure. The river valley may be taken as the typical geographical region, but the linked river valleys on opposite sides of a low water parting may often be a more comprehensive and fully representative area for sociological study. Such valley sections are the elemental diagrams of regional survey.

The first aim of the survey is to see the world as scenery—in terms of river valleys, their mountain or moorland sources, their hill-side walls, their upland plateaus, their lowland plains and their marine or ocean outlets. Again our typical regionalist, Mr. Belloc, who unites both English and French experience in a rare degree has, in his *Path to Rome*, described a piece of the world as he saw it from successive upland vantage grounds. "When I call up by myself," he writes, "this great march I see it all mapped out in landscapes each of which I caught from some mountain and each of which joins on to that before and to that after it till I can piece together the whole road."

But the regionalist sees the world not merely as landscape. In his survey, the river valley appears next as clothed with characteristic vegetation, varying with soil and subsoil, with contour and slope, with rainfall and sunshine, and with man's influence above all. And when one valley is compared with another, and their plant associations studied, an ideal or typical linked

valley section can be built up: on the steeper western slope, coniferous¹ forests on the higher ground, and mineral-bearing rocks on the lower. Barren hill-tops mark the divide, and down the gentler eastern slope, woods with their wild life, then upland sheep pastures, then poorer arable lands and finally the richer plain through which the river meanders. Within each belt of natural products, the suitable human occupation appears, and with this localized type of worker his characteristic family life. Thus, in succession from west to east, there emerges in the typical valley—or linked pair of these—the miner, the woodman, the hunter, the shepherd, on the higher levels; then the poor peasant or crofter with his oats and potatoes on the thin soil next to the permanent pasture (his light plough not so long ago his mattock); then the prosperous farmer with his deep plough and wheat on the richer soils; and finally, adjacent to the city, where the river widens to estuary or sea, the busy gardener with his spade. At the mouth of the river the fisher with his net completes this series

¹ In England, more frequently, oak.

of main regional occupations. Such a representative section with its characteristic occupational types may thus be diagrammatically represented.

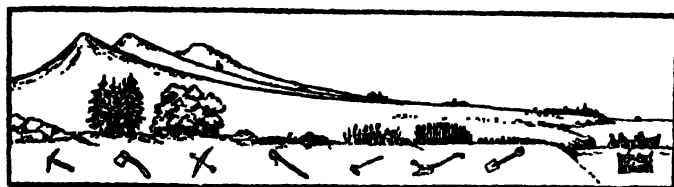


Fig. 4. -Valley section, with typical vegetation and characteristic regional occupations.

Presented in more graphic yet still frankly conventionalized fashion, the same regional panorama of environment, with its occupational types, is shown in the full-page block which we owe to Mr. Mairé's pencil. From this still much simplified rural outline are omitted the towns and cities indicated in Fig. 4 that grow up at the points where the various rustic belts mingle, or where the lateral valleys emerge on the main valley. Comparing in bird's-eye view the actual Avon-Thames linked valley with the "ideal" or imagined unit, we note wide departures, yet also considerable conformity. On the relatively steep western slope, there is not

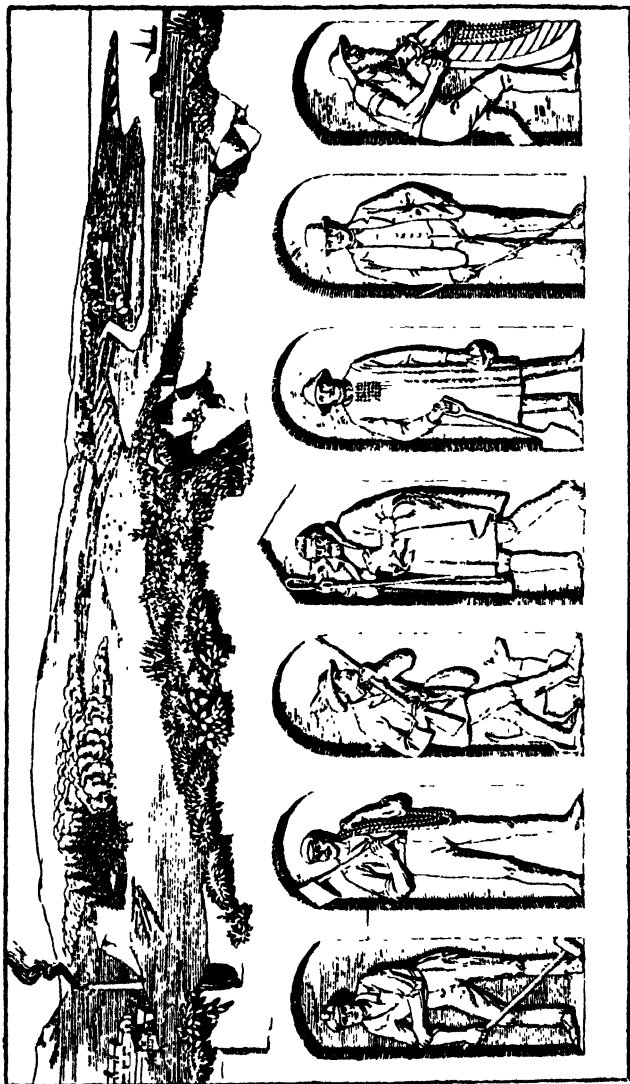


FIG. 5.—The Nature occupations.

only the Bristol coalfield, but also the famous " Bathstone " quarries, from which have come the building materials for not a few public edifices and private houses in London. The coniferous forest of the typical western valley is absent; but, as the traveller crosses the divide he notes that the western side with its larger rainfall is better wooded than the eastern. On the long gentle eastern slope, the first feature to catch the eye is the upland pastures of the Cotswolds. Is, then, the forest hunter of the typical valley absent? Not altogether. Travel a few miles northwards to the lateral valleys that link the Thames with the Severn basin, and you find yourself in a region beloved of the sportsman. Cirencester, for instance, the chief town of the upper Thames, is one of the main sporting centres of England. From there the well-equipped horseman can hunt with a different pack of hounds well-nigh every day of the week from Monday to Saturday. The turf of the Cotswolds, it is true, has not that elastic quality which makes the fame of the turf on the Downs, but it has merits which bring horsemen to Cirencester, not only as

a Mecca of fox-hunting but also of polo-players. But what of the sylvan cover necessary alike for the food of foxes and the supply of game for the sporting gun? That which nature has denied, the art of venery has supplied. The great game-forest stretching from Cirencester to Sapperton was laid out and planted in the eighteenth century, and may be inspected to-day as a representative paradise of that domesticated variety of hunter called sportsman.

'Tis true that for a fairly close approximation to the standard or "ideal" type of region, we must go further afield than the Thames Basin, and choose a river descending from more mountainous regions, through less populous lowlands, to an estuarine city, more limited to its immediate region than is London. Any of the larger eastern river valleys of Scotland with its western link will serve. Take the Orchy-Tay as a sample linked-valley. On the steep western slope are coniferous forests and here and there a granite or other quarry. On the long and gentler eastern slope as we descend from source to sea, we see how at nodal points

there have naturally arisen distinctive types of village, town and city, each congruent with the local environment and its characteristic occupations. Beneath the vast hunting desolations of the broad mountain tops lie pastoral hill-sides. Below these, again, are scattered arable crofts; and sparsely dotted hamlets lead us to the small upland village of the main glen. From this, again, one descends to the large and prosperous village of the foot-hills; with its railway terminus where lowland and upland meet. Whether we look to east or west, each similar mountain valley has its analogous terminal and initial village upon its fertile, fan-shaped slope, and with its corresponding minor market; while next, central to the broad agricultural strath, with its slow meandering river, stands the prosperous market-town, the road and railway junction upon which all the glen villages converge. A day's march further down, and at the convergence of several such valleys, stands the larger country-town, at the tidal limit of a till lately navigable river. Finally, at the mouth of the estuary rises the smoke of a

great manufacturing city, a central world-market in its way.

There are three traditional ways of land travel: the hillway, the roadway, the railway. Each is characteristic of a particular phase of civilization and has its reaction on the mentality of the traveller. The hillway traveller sees the glory, the wonder and the variety of the world. He sees it region by region and so observes it as a natural whole. In other words, he is acquiring the regional outlook, and he correspondingly develops the synthetic habit of mind. The roadway traveller sees more a succession of detached impressions, with less frequent opportunity for synoptic vision. His habit of mind tends, therefore, to be analytic, and in general view is apt to be but abstract.

And what is the mental reaction of the railway traveller towards the objective world? At the beginning of a railway journey, the faces of your fellow-passengers are invisible, being immersed in newspapers and magazines. At the end of the journey you observe

on their countenances the marks of weariness and boredom. They have too much missed the opportunities of mental refreshment that come through the simplest observation; and, being half conscious of the omission, they are correspondingly sorry for themselves and annoyed with others. Instead of sitting in receipt of a wealth of direct impressions, they have occupied themselves in seeing but indirectly through the eyes of those merchants in spiritual traffic who, in the words of one of the most successful, "buy paper and sell it inked." Thus is the mental outlook of the railway traveller turned the more surely towards the idols of the market, the theatre and the tribe. These flourish luxuriantly amongst townsfolk fed on print and rhetoric, starved of nature contacts, denied historic culture.

Man's conquest of the air has added to the ways of locomotion a new mode which promises to reverse the railway tendency towards the de-regionalizing and de-spiritualizing of travel. For the airman sees again the natural regions of the world, and these more than ever of old, in broad and synoptic vision,

which again is intensified by the ecstasy of flight, to inner clarity and unity. By a strangely appropriate turn in the whirligig of time, the "highways" of the airmen would seem to be again concentrating towards Salisbury Plain, as did of old the ridgeways of the hillmen. Against the regional focus of roadways at Cirencester, and of railways at Swindon, the more artificial concentration of London has prevailed. But will not a fresh rivalry proceed from Salisbury Plain in competition for the favour of the race of airmen? The call of Stonchenge will surely be renewed in the nascent age of aerial locomotion. And the doctrine of regionalism, with its accompanying synthesis and implied political and educational transformations, must needs be more and more heard among the vivid *élite* of this first generation to master the art of flying. It is no accident that to the development of this doctrine and to the perfection of that art, France has alike contributed so eminent a share.

CHAPTER IV

THE RURAL PROBLEM

LEPLAY is the father of scientific regionalism. He has taught us to think in terms of regional sequence. His line of reasoning begins with the soil and its natural products; it continues with man, the creature of work and place; it culminates in man the builder of cities and creator of arts and sciences; and it returns through all the vicissitudes of war and peace to end again in the soil with its fertility renewed and increased by the hand of man, or ruined and destroyed by the same hand. The tale of that cycle, in its full complexity, is the history of civilization. The merit of LePlay is to have insisted on the elemental beginnings and to have elucidated their continuity throughout the cycle. Let us consider some examples.

The chalk Downs of southern England when left to nature develop their carpet of herbage and reject all other vegetation.

Probably since the age of flint—some say during a score of millenniums—this pasturage has continuously carried its flocks of sheep and its community of shepherds. Even to-day there are on Salisbury Plain men who have been shepherds from father to son, certainly for centuries, and probably far longer. In this prolonged interaction between environment, occupation, and family life there evolve certain human dispositions and social traditions tending to fix the pastoral type. A simple analysis will make this clear.

For the shepherd, survival and prosperity are determined by the numbers and quality of his flock. His habit of mind and mode of life, renewed from generation to generation, thus inevitably take their stamp from the character and aims of his occupation. His ideals of success and achievement will be correspondingly coloured, and will tend to be expressed not in terms of things, as with the flint or metal worker and his successors the modern engineers whose aims and mode of thought are so widely dominant to-day, but in terms of quantity and quality of life. The monuments of this pastoral culture in

an early age were the megalithic temples of Avebury and Stonehenge; and in a later one, combining with peasant constructiveness it reared the soaring spire of Salisbury Cathedral and the noble towers of Winchester. These architectural creations fittingly express the ever-renewing quest of life more abundant.

Passing from the shepherd to the peasant type, let us visit with LePlay a hill-side farm on a southern slope of the chalk Downs. Yielding to the fascination of that psychological analysis which, to be sure, should crown rather than initiate the observations of the regionalist, we will begin by inquiring how the farmer, too, like the shepherd, has his habits of mind shaped by his occupation. The peasant, in so far as he is a stock-breeder, will naturally tend to select and breed superior types—cows that will give more and richer milk, horses that are fleeter and stronger. Survival value, therefore, for him, also comes to be measured by capacity to maintain and improve quality of life. So, too, for his crops and pastures. There is the same economic thrust towards selection and improvement of seeds and soil—for

instance, one kind of pasture carrying twice as many cattle to the acre as another. The ideals of the peasant thus tend to be expressed in terms of quantity and quality of life, as do those of the shepherd. Yet less directly and insistently with the peasant, because he is nearer to and more involved in the urban market, with its modifying tendencies towards "business."

Turning from psychology to economics, we note the farmer has ploughed up and put under crop a portion of the old grass downland. His arable is gradually creeping up the hill-side, and as it goes it is transforming to agricultural use the traditional pasturage of the shepherd. But simultaneously the flocks of the shepherd increase and need more pasturage. Thus in the drive of economic pressure there begins the struggle for existence between shepherd and farmer, between the pastoral and the agricultural type of family. The strife is, in our modern complex community, overlaid by many interactions, which obscure the simpler issues. The farmer, for instance, may purchase the shepherd's flock and hire the shepherd himself to

continue its care as a wage labourer. That transformation has, indeed, become long ago normalized in all the countries of western Europe. It means, none the less, disruption of the pastoral group; and this with all the changes in social function and structure which are implied in that break-up of an old-rooted form of community life. The shepherd's sons go to town, and in the furnace of the city they are transmuted into types apparently new, but really variants of the primitive one. How often, for instance, do they become porters, railway guards, and policemen? Or, it may be, poets, painters, divines? In either set of cases they gravitate into positions where the traditional qualities of the pastoral life --its trustworthiness and imaginativeness, its habitudes of life-service and its instincts of spiritual aspiration--may again count in the social struggle. Or, again, they lapse to levels which bring out the traditional defects of the pastoral life; hence they also too often become unskilled labourers, or even recruit that artificial urban residuum which we call the vicious and the criminal classes.

Returning to the chalk country from this urban excursus, let us note some further events of to-day, on that ancient homeland and centre of English pastoralism, Salisbury Plain. Just as the farmers have been tending to oust the shepherds, so now another elemental type of human occupation is encroaching on and even expelling the farmer. It is not very long since Aldershot sufficed for the field manœuvres of the British Army. Thence the soldiers extended their operations to Salisbury Plain. The farmer had to give way to the soldier, the agricultural to the military community. And even before the war, with its new urgencies, there had for a long time proceeded a steady encroachment of the camp upon the farm. Here again is no mere local and transient transformation; like the struggle of farmer and shepherd, it is one of the formative processes of history. Scratch the soldier and you find the sportsman; and within the sportsman persists that most elemental of all occupational types, the hunter.

Now consider the primitive hunter in his original milieu and normal mode of life. The persistence of the hunting tribe demands

an ever-enlarging area in the pursuit of game for livelihood. The hunting community, from the very nature of things, sooner than most modes of life, exhausts its field of supply, and is driven with irresistible pressure to extend its boundaries. The desire for territorial expansion thus becomes implanted as a tradition, and fixed as a habit of mind in the hunting type. The manner of its persistence and activity in the many varieties and mutations of the hunter type throughout past and present, and in contemporary society, is one of the many re-writings of history and of contemporary sociology which are awaiting monographic treatment by the LePlay method. In olden times the history of Dominion used to be written with rapture by the Bards of the Conquerors. Nowadays it is recorded with dullness by their prosaic successors, the academic historians. Sometimes, however, it is composed by the apologists or the satirists of the conquered. It has occasionally been written for the People by the romanticists of urban labour. All these "histories" now await re-interpretation by the realists of rustic labour.

Let us examine somewhat more minutely the psychology of the hunter. For him survival and achievement is in the measure of his bag of game. Success, therefore, is in terms of the successful infliction of death. His habits of mind will be similarly oriented and his ideals of life correspondingly coloured. So far, then, we have in sharp contrast the shepherd's ideals in terms of quality of life and the hunter's in quantity of death. W. H. Hudson, the prose Burns of the Downs, in his enchanting study of *A Shepherd's Life*, contrasts the characteristic attitude of the gamekeeper and the shepherd towards wild life. The latter readily extends his loving care from domesticated to wild animals, he seeks to protect them, and tends, therefore, to create in his grazing area a sanctuary of wild life. Says Mr. Hudson: "The gamekeeper cannot have this feeling [of habitual tenderness towards wild life]. He may come to his task with the liveliest interest in, even with sympathy for, the wild creatures amidst which he will spend his life, but it is all soon lost. His business in the woods is to kill, and the reflex effect is to lower, if not

extinguish, his interest in the living animal in its natural life and mind." And naturally so, since he must needs mainly think of it as an opponent to be defeated, taken captive, expelled, or slain outright.

The mere contrast of pastoral and hunting psychology is by no means the end of their story. Recall how the shepherd is ever needing new pasturage and the peasant new tillage; while the hunter himself with fiercest urgency demands increase of hunting-grounds. Conflict inevitably ensues. The shepherds become nomadized in the worst senses, and raid the peasant communities accordingly. These defend their settlements with ramparts and walls, and their young men are encouraged to play the warrior in self-defence and in counter-attack. But the peasant, most pacific of occupational types, is longest resistant to the combative life; hence there arises the immemorial custom of tribute from agricultural to predatory pastoral communities—blackmail, in fact, precursor of "civilized" developments too numerous for outline here.

Where in this incipient drama of regional destruction comes the hunter? He, only too

readily of all, turns man-hunter; and this not merely because it is congruent with his natural occupation and the highest intensification of it, but for an even deeper and subtler reason. In the hunting community, it is the young men who, by their greater prowess in the chase, become the leaders of the community and who direct its course in terms of the dispositions of youth. Thus is the hunting community impelled to the warrior life by the double drive of occupational tendency and by the combative instinct of the young male. A new rôle, therefore, opens to the hunter in the conflict of occupational types. He unifies and organizes the peasant, the shepherd, and all the others for war. To begin with, perhaps, it is inter-local and inter-tribal war, next it is inter-regional war, and so on to the greater wars which have culminated in the struggle of our own day, in which all these primitive factors and their working are still so plain.

Now facts have been accumulating to support a generalization which, if it be confirmed, is of great significance for human development. Each characteristic regional

occupation tends to generate in the communities that live by it a particular set of qualities and also of limitations and defects. The generalization is that true co-operation—complex co-operation, that is, as, for instance, in the war against the primitive forest in the English valleys—among occupational types tends not only to develop their occupational qualities, but also towards eliminating the occupational defects; while on the other hand inter-occupational conflict tends to develop the defects of the combatant types and to deteriorate or eliminate their qualities. But as we have lately been having experimental proof, war becomes a form of inter-communitary conflict with inter-occupational co-operations corresponding: and these develop qualities, and even to a certain extent eliminate defects. That the hunter, early in his career as organizer of war, learned to use and develop this moral potentiality of war, as well as many others less pleasing, may safely be assumed, as well as read at large in history or seen anew. His capacity to use war for its evocation of good as well as of evil, for raising and not simply lowering the moral

potentiality of a community, has thus endowed the hunter-warrior with a spiritual range of which the extent may far exceed, and the intensity well-nigh rival, that of the shepherd-prophet. Thus we come nearer to understanding that surprising docility which has characterized so many peasant communities throughout history, under the exacting domination of the hunter-warrior.

What of the future evolution of this potent occupational type? What clues are there to suggest the possible development of its more constructive rôle? Recall that, as the shepherd, the sailor, the peasant, with their craft-knowledge of the stars and the seasons, have laid the foundations of astronomy and the mathematical sciences, so from the craftlore of the hunter have come not a few main beginnings of the organic or natural sciences. The hunter as naturalist undergoes a normal development that runs, in a measure, counter to that of the hunter as warrior. Dwelling in the haunts of animal life, he comes to know the beasts of the forest and the field with an intimacy that, at least in those individuals of gentler temperament and

meditative habit, must make for the care rather than the destruction of life. But probably this trend of tenderness and meditation operates on the hunter mainly through his children, for these in their manner of being and their ways of life are so close to the young of animals as often to make pets of them. And here, as in so many other ways, the children may be educators of the parents.

The trend of circumstance thus impels the hunter in two opposite directions. One is a turning to the lust of death; but the other is a turning away from it, towards a loving care for, and interest in, life. If the latter mood comes to dominate the former, there results that transformation of character known theologically as "conversion." Spurred by the latter impulse, the hunter sees the vision of St. Hubert, which thus takes its place, not yet as a normal, but as a supernormal metamorphosis. The problem is, how can it be normalized? There the sociologist may leave it to be discussed between the naturalists themselves and those who continue the tradition of pastoral ethics.

But the remark may be permitted that we are recommending not a foreign but a domestic mission. We have stated the problem as for the inhabitants of the primeval forest. But manifestly it is in principle not dissimilar for the preservers of pheasant coverts and the owners of grouse moors, for shooting tenants and hunting squires. Regarded as a contemporary problem of civilized societies, this age-long question of the hunter's conversion may seem remoter than ever from solution, in face of the widespread arousal of reversionary elements indicated by the war. But suppose that the generation antecedent to the war had, throughout all classes, in every belligerent nation, been afforded ample opportunities for display of hunting prowess at the onset of youth, when combat with the elemental forces of nature is instinctively sought; and suppose the occasions so provided had been designed to encourage the qualities and virtues of the hunting life, and to discourage or reverse the hunting defects and vices! These assumptions do not seem extravagant, when we reflect that the Boy Scout movement

starts from this outlook, and at its best aspires to realize these ideals in the oncoming generation. The greatest significance then attaches to this initiative. May it not, in fact, turn out to be the very greatest of all our English contributions to the real advancement of education?

This movement in its origin and growth recapitulates with curious fidelity the natural divergences of the primitive hunting life. Already two well-marked types of Boy Scout begin to appear. In the one the incipient warrior tends to subordinate the naturalist, and in the other the naturalist the warrior. The "Lone Scouts," with their emphasis on forest craft and the use of the camera in the stalking of animals, illustrate the latter change. And that Baden-Powell's boys have exhibited so little tendency to the former change, even in these military days, shows how far the movement has gone towards re-establishing that process of conversion, which anthropologists and psychologists agree in considering as organic and not exceptional, however later conditions may have made it seem so.

Their latest achievement well illustrates this ethical tendency. The founder, in a recent letter to *The Times*, informs us what the Boy Scouts are doing to counteract that increase of juvenile crime which has shown itself not only in belligerent countries, but even amongst neutrals—a strange combination of mass suggestion and occupational reversion. He writes as follows—

“ For checking the increase of juvenile crime the municipal authorities of one great centre called in the help of the Boy Scouts a few months ago. As a result a system has been established whereby each Scout takes at least one street boy under his charge, and brings him in as an honorary member to use the Scouts' clubs, and to play in their games, and practise their hobbies, thereby gaining improved environment and activities. We find that the worst Hooligan soon makes the best Scout; he only needs direction for his adventurous energy and attractive pursuits to fill a void. So soon as he proves his worth he is given an armlet to wear as a ‘temporary Scout.’ ”

Here assuredly is seen at work one of those "moral equivalents of war" which William James foresaw amongst the social inventions of the future. To extend and multiply such instances is to advance the process of converting the perennial hunter that is in every youth. That other and higher stages of ethical operation are required to complete and maintain the good work so begun, no one will deny; but none the less we may rejoice over this return to nature which is even already justifying the best teaching of LePlay even more deeply than that of Rousseau. This educational philosophy has now to think out and organize opportunities for constructive application of impassioned youth's creative impulses. The problem is one for town and country alike. And it is not to be forgotten that, from the rustic standpoint, the central issue in the matter of war and peace is: How to effect and maintain the conversion of the hunter?

CHAPTER V

THE ROOTS OF DEMOCRACY

THE principle of interpretation for which LePlay stands we shall consider in a somewhat methodic way in a later chapter. But first we would drive home its moral significance and political implications by some further illustrations chosen as supplementary to those given in the last chapter. And in order that the illustrative examples may be considered on their merits, we plead with the critical reader to bear in mind a large reservation. It is this—that we do not put forward the persistence of occupational traits as an exhaustive explanation of modern and contemporary types, but as a basal factor in their development.

Auguste Comte is popularly supposed to be a Radical, a democratic man of modern science. But he makes his contribution to

sociology from the standpoint of the hierarchy of feeling and genius, of the aristocracy of action and thought. Conversely, it is Frédéric LePlay whose point of view has been utilized and applied in the foregoing chapter—and who is popularly supposed even in his own country to make his appeal to capitalist and conservative, to aristocrat and priest—who has really established for us the vital doctrine of all democracy; which is only becoming apparent as Liberal nonsense of the Sovereignty of the People, defined in terms of the Infallibility of Majorities of the electors of county, city, and parish of Buncombe, goes the way of the once current Tory nonsense about the Divine Right of Kings. Comte sees the great stream of Humanity; but in this he calls attention mainly to the Calendar of Great Men, to men of genius as Her chief servants. But patrician and priest, once established in power, are apt to regard proletarian and woman as little better than grown children, to be guided and governed by their elders, pastors and masters. For LePlay, however, worker and woman unite to form the elementary human family, and

from them, not only by bodily descent, but by social descent—that is, from their everyday life and labour—there develops the essential fabric of institutions and ideas, temporal and spiritual. No blossom, however rare or marvellous, whether of practical, intellectual or spiritual genius, but comes ultimately from this humble root—this tiny seed of simple daily human life—

“The lord is hay, the peasant grass—
This wood, but that the growing tree.”

With Comte and the historians we visit the historic dome of Aix, and thrill as we read “Carolo Magno” upon its vaulted floor; but with LePlay we see first the living, everyday Charlemagne, a solid, thrifty Frankish farmer striding round his estate, seeing that his stewards keep accounts even of the eggs—that is, have the assured wherewithal to maintain cities in peace, armies in war. We know the northern Lords of Battle—our Cœur de Lion, our Bruce—from legend or history; Le Play shows us first of all the viking axeman, not the coronet; he sees in their axecraft, the poise and swing and skill of woodman, of

house- and boat-builder over Scandinavia or Canada to-day. The historians, Gibbon or Comte or Sir Walter, all explain for us much of the present-day by help of the survivals of the past; but LePlay, like Lyell, explains to us the Past from the actual Present.

The method is less romantic; there may be some disenchantment in learning that the commanding, the supremely self-assertive, dignity of Norman noble was based on the swift decision and authority, the necessary and unquestioning obedience which necessarily springs up on board of every fishing-boat; and that the hauteur of Lady Clara Vere de Vere comes not from a hundred earls or even jarls, but from the simple ancestral fisher-carle, whose boys must learn to look sharp with the sail while he sits by the helm. The individuality, the independence of the women of western Europe is for LePlay neither American nor New; it is the direct product of the life-conditions of all North Sea fisherwives, whose men pass their lives at sea, or in intervals of rest when they return; so leaving their women-folk, indeed compelling them, to develop the

qualities of man and woman in one. And when the mother has to be father too, then the eldest girl, however small, must be much more of mother; so responsibility begins early, and here as everywhere gives individuality for its fruit.

In America it is, where democracy has free play, and where it is less confused by old developments and survivals of all kinds, that the natural growth of things is most obvious. How the stout axeman carves his way to fortune, wealth and power—"From Log Cabin to White House"—is one of the most threadbare themes; and who does not see "Poor Richard" as a canny Yankee, and Emerson as his more spiritual brother?

We may follow the same elemental clues into many phases of life. The dull and unimaginative wealth of England and America, which so seldom gets any realities for its money save sorrow for its children, is half explained when we read the story of the Industrial Revolution, and see how the nobler leaders of the working class have been constantly wasting their lives in barren politics; or yet more clearly when we follow

the fate of Robert Burns, and then see how it was left to too many of the grosser and duller types, the Arkwrights and their like, to drudge or gripe or crush their way to fortune.

Or let us now take race with occupation, and in the concluding struggle of the Civil War, ask what is the duel of Grant and Lee--of Grant the hammerer with Lee the strategist--but the fight of heavy and downright hitter with wary and skilful gipsy guide? And if we ask for light on Grant's racial type, what more characteristic than when he says, "I will fight it out on this line." For (all the better if unconsciously) he is renewing the age-old war-cry of his clan: "Stand fast, Craigellachie!"--the only possible strategy in holding one's narrow glen. And if Strathspey look to the American a small outlandish place for breeding the ancestors of a hero of his continent, let him look in his atlas and see what coast, what river-mouth in history must have borne first the shock of the all-victorious Norse migrations which were to be the unmaking and making of Europe. Then he will see that these Craigellachie folk are of one of the oldest

fighting breeds, the children of King Arthur's vanguard, the children also of his victors.

This elemental way of looking at all men and women is no doubt to many a commonplace, at least in general terms. They know that if rank be rank, there must lie under its stamp the gold; that rank is not mere stamp: that men must rise to rank, develop rank, attain rank through function, and in the measure of the reality and range of actual deed. That the war-duke is a soldier at his highest, the admiral a seaman at his best, no one will ever deny; but he who doubts or forgets that there is the stuff of viking and admiral in every fishing village of Devon or of Fife must surely have forgotten that Drake or Jean Bart or Paul Jones were but such pirate-venturers (some say Columbus too), or that the kings and nobles of Europe are proud to represent the younger branches of existing Norse peasant and fisher stocks. As the child is father of the man, so is the worker of all men; and it is time to be thinking less with the politician or the cleric, of the worker as a child (to be led by the nose or educated

respectively), but to recognize in him, according to his kind, the stuff of each type however highly developed—of skill however masterly, of genius however sublime, of virtue however pure.

Thus, as James Watt, instrument-maker, Glasgow, is the master smith of the eighteenth century, so Lord Kelvin was but a subtler avatar of the same craft-type in the nineteenth; fundamentally, of course, neither lord nor professor nor wrangler, but just the best Glasgow instrument-maker in his time and turn, developed by the problems which his life there among the shipbuilders and electricians brought him. So Whitworth, so Armstrong were swordsmith, arrowsmith; all the inventors, in short, are Thinking Smiths, be they lords of peace or war. Again, they who read the secrets of life are the Thinking Rustics: thus Pasteur was the thrifty Jura peasant, Darwin the Midland truant and poacher, fancier and gardener, happily only half settled into squire.

Even in more abstract thought the same principle holds. No philosopher, however sedentary, should need much introspection

to recognize his profound kinship here with the dreamy and dreary loafer, there with the restless and careless tramp, rustic or urban, as his case may be.

Next, why does the coal-master or iron-master, the master-weaver or master-smith, change his politics as he becomes landowner and lord? It is not entirely a change of society; the man is not a mere snob: but he inevitably leaves the direct and simple rationality of the workshop for the cautious empiricism of the field; in a word, from artisan he has become peasant. Here for the first time he realizes the limitations of argument, the simplifications of legislators, the complexity of life and labour. In short he becomes aware of his own ignorance in dealing with human affairs, and so his simple Liberal formulæ, made in Birmingham or Manchester, repaired in Newcastle, applied in Westminster, lose their former hold upon him. Little wonder that he lapses from grace--deplored by his successors in the party, until the call comes for them also to go up higher in their turn, and there help him to let well (and ill) alone.

CHAPTER VI

THE REGIONAL DRAMA

WE have now presented in brief outline the salient thought of the two French schools of social science, respectively regionalist and humanist, which have been in the shade during the Germanic vogue. We have tried by exemplary illustrations to exhibit their mode of working and its resulting interpretations. But we have as yet affirmed rather than demonstrated their co-ordinate and complementary character; and it must be confessed that their respective adepts, the disciples of Comte and of LePlay, have seldom realized this need. We shall, in succeeding chapters, at least reassert and illustrate their co-ordination in and through the doctrine of Civism; but first we would reinforce the regional interpretation of men and things by a recapitulation and bringing together of the various analyses already

made according to the LePlay method. In presenting such summary and restatement through the concept of Regional Drama, we trust to strike the synthetic note also.

In the forest and uplands the hunter ranges ; his tools are primitive, he runs on foot, he wins his life by perpetually risking it ; he is in peril when the stag or wild boar turns at bay ; he risks the precipice and the fangs of the beast of prey. As yesterday it was the young man who won at Bisley, or who now gets the Victoria Cross, so among hunters the speed and endurance of youth count for more than the cunning of age. And though it seems probable that women and not men invented the noose and the hook, yet inevitably from sheer necessity, and not merely from the brutality of men, the women of the hunting people are drudges and burden-carriers, the brief beauty of the young girl speedily wearing into the withered plainness of the squaw. For imagine London with all its restaurants abolished and even its convenient Lyons' tea-shops and A B C's vanished ;

the city once more a lonely stretch of swamp and low hills, and the few remaining Londoners compelled to get their meals by killing the wild beasts and birds. Instead of the men carrying parcels for the women then, sheer common sense would compel the London woman to insist on carrying everything possible, that the man might be free, his hands carrying only his missiles, and his muscles fresh and untired, to run swiftly or creep cautiously after any catable creature that he might see.

If the hunter can increase his radius twofold, he increases the area of his hunting-grounds fourfold. So the hunter is the expansionist. Should another hunting group appear in the neighbourhood not too near, each will drive the game towards the other; let it approach too closely, and the game is so far diminished that starvation is threatened. The remedy is obvious; it is War. And because the hunter's ideal is the successful infliction of death at any risk, he passes naturally from the noble hunt of the stag to the noblest hunt, the hunt of Men. So the Hunter becomes the War Lord, and the War

Lord in all subsequent stages remains the Hunter, from the time of Nimrod to the time of Theodore Roosevelt and his crowned compeers upon the thrones of Europe. Lord Kitchener knew that the hunt is the best training for an officer, and laid out a great game-park in Khartoum on that principle. In Scotland, Skye has been a prolific home of generals, a little Ireland in fact; and in England, Devonshire, the last habitat of the red deer as well as a land of fisher-ports, is also the birthplace of Drake and Hawkins, of Raleigh and Frobisher, of John Churchill the first Duke of Marlborough, and George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

The hunter is not the only inhabitant of the river basin. Farther down a clearing has been made, agriculture has begun, and by degrees one primitive industry after another is evolved, and a wide range of occupations develops the constructive arts. The shepherd appears upon the downs; poor peasants plough the foot-hills and rich peasants the plains; while in sheltered and sunny spots fruit trees are planted, and in the rich alluvium intensive gardening develops. Then the

woodman comes up, and sets to work to fell the trees which give cover to the game, and sends the logs down the river to the mouth for the fisherman to make his boats. The hunter now becomes not merely the warrior, but the organizer of war. He embroils his valley with the next one, and shepherd and peasant, woodman and fisher, all alike accept his leadership. It is not only because he is the most efficient man at this particular task; but also because, deep in the subconscious mind, men are all hunters at heart, having behind them countless generations of hunting ancestry. Thus the ploughman watches his opportunity to set a snare for a rabbit, and takes even more pleasure in catching one than in driving his furrow straight; and the artisans in industrial cities give their free afternoons to watch the hunting mimicry of football.

The hunter is the man of imagination. The strenuous vivid life of the chase, the full meal after hours and perhaps days of fasting, creates a vivid dream life and the sense of the other world. As war lord, the hunter must needs have his chaplain. He has

even his theory of religion; and makes his own interpretation of the religious ideas of the shepherd and peasant: his interpretation being that all those things belong to the dream world, and may very likely be realized in that life after death which is regarded as closely related to the dream world. Colonel Maude tells us to-day that religions were invented in order to drive cowards to fight and slackers to enlist. On the whole perhaps this is the theory of religion most normal in the Mechanical-Imperial-Financial age.

“For John P. Robinson, he
Says they didn’t know everything down in Judee.”

What they knew in Judee would be good for Sundays; what they did not know, *e.g.* cut-throat euchre, the gentle arts of adulteration and commercial competition, and the invention and use of machine guns, are real and practical and the business of weekdays. But as a matter of fact all religions are practical, and the best of them spring from the actual life and work of the shepherd and peasant, when these, in comparative freedom,

develop their own mentality and express their own ideals.

In that Wonderful Century that lies around 600 B.C., Buddha preached in India, Zoroaster in Persia, Confucius in China, the Book of the Law was found in Jerusalem, and the formative period of Greek religious thought began. From the hills of Palestine came those conceptions of pastoral ethics expressed for us in such phrases as "The Lamb of God," and "The Good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep," and this good shepherd is no mythical personage, but real and actual, as many a tombstone in the churchyards of the Downs, the Cheviots and elsewhere bears witness.

The other occupational types also have each of them their natural ethic, rising into natural religion. But it is only in the pastoral life that self-sacrifice develops directly from the occupational disposition, into highest sanctity of moral elevation. In other types the normal tendency runs less in this direction, indeed in a descending ratio from peasant to hunter. In the hunting occupation, the conditions of survival tend, as we have seen, in an opposite

direction. The idealization they culminate in is not that of self-sacrifice, but of other-sacrifice.

Hence, if there is to be an approximation towards the pastoral ethic, on the part of the non-pastoral folk, there is need for a transformative process of conversion or re-birth; and correspondingly the theory and practice of religious regeneration will naturally arise. And this will not be without its use in the pastoral life also. For even the shepherd requires conversion. There remains in him enough of the old Adam (*i.e.* the primitive hunter) to turn bandit on moderate provocation. Yielding to that temptation, he backslides to a lower moral stage—quite literally he *de-grades* himself, from shepherd to hunter.

Coming now to the peasant we may recall how the vine and the olive growers of Greece slowly developed the idea of Olympus into the idealization of the perfection of humanity of either sex and all ages—Eros, Hermes, Dionysos, Apollo, Hephaestos, Zeus; Hebe, Artemis, Aphrodite, Athene, Hera, Demeter. These divine creations are the imagined

perfections or super-norms of the human life cycle in that peasant milieu. In contrast to the pastoral ethic of self-sacrifice, these give thus also the complementary ideals of self-development.

Passing further eastwards let us illustrate from another type of peasant milieu. In Persia, where the desert has most contended with the oasis, was born the most strenuous of religions. It called on man to bear part in the arduous fight against the undying powers of evil. But with the advance of the desert, this religious effort narrowed into an acceptance of the fatalism and pessimism of Omar Khayyám, that gardener-lover who saw his roses die for lack of water. Again consider Buddhism. Is it not the last great effort of the tillers of the Plains of Northern India, so prolific of life, but swept by wholesale death, to reconcile the contradictions of nature? Again, in Confucianism is expressed the ethics that spring from the minute and conscientious labour of the cultivator of rice—above all his social and family co-operation.

Such are the great religions of the world : they are all real and practical, they all deal

with actual everyday life, and their aspirations relate to here and now. True, "they didn't know everything down in Judee"; but, knowing however little, they knew that little with a clearness and thoroughness that are not so easily attained now; and that little was what is best worth knowing. The Churches have made the advice, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven," so familiar that it has come to appear to men as a meaningless exhortation; but if seriously examined it is seen to be the first and last word of statesmanship. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" The implied answer has become an apparent paradox; but it is nothing more than the most elementary common sense.

CHAPTER VII

TOWN AND COUNTRY

IN tracing the outline of the Regional Drama, we followed the rôle of the occupational types from primary work, through mutual interplay, up to manifestations of religious activity. But the place where dramatic action is intensest we omitted from the story. Where in the regional drama come the town and the city? To that question we now turn.

In a previous chapter we assumed our continental Rambler to have traversed the southern edge of the Thames Valley, turned northwards at the Cotswolds, and walked some distance along the western lip of the hills in which the main stream rises. He would come to vantage points in the Cotswolds from which striking panoramas unfold. Eastwards the eye traces out the gathering head-waters of the Thames. Northwards

stretches the great English plain of multiform undulations, amidst which the Thames Valley itself is but a trough. Westwards is the valley of the Severn, rising on its far side into the beautiful outline of the Malvern Hills, and beyond these, visible on an occasional clear day, is the dark edge of that ancient mountain mass which is the body of Wales, and, as geologists tell us, the parent of the English plain, built up from its detritus.

Thus from the vantage points of the Cotswold uplands, many regions invite to further exploration. But we will suppose that our visitor decides to make the return journey by road down the valley floor, intent now not on comparing regions and enjoying scenery, but on the study of that labyrinthine problem, the relation of town and country. We will pause with him in one of the small towns on the eastern Cotswold slopes, that serve as market and educational centre for their district. Such a place is Chipping Campden, once a town of some importance when the wool industry was at its height and England was learning the secret of the Flemish manufacturing cities. Sinking later, well-nigh to

the status of a village, Chipping Campden has undergone some revival in our own days, thanks largely to the migration thither of Mr. Ashbee and his group of art workers from East London.

A walk through the High Street of Chipping Campden shows, not one or two survivals of mediæval and renaissance architecture, but a whole sequence of notable edifices, public and private. The church and the market-hall, the rows of gabled stone-built houses, all compose into a vision of civic dignity and beauty. You ask who planned and erected these buildings and ordered their lay-out and their proportions, so that the whole, from great church to cottage, unites into a single harmony. You are told it was the work of local masons, who built without architects and, as it were, like bees, by tradition, not by book-learning. Mr. Ashbee tells us that an occasional survivor of this type of master-craftsman is still to be found amongst the masons of the district.

A long day's walk down the valley you come to Oxford. By general consent the High Street of Oxford is among the archi-

tectural masterpieces of the world. Coming into it direct from Cotswold towns and villages you discern at once, if not the secret of its beauty, yet the manner of its coming into being. It is a magnified and glorified version of the High Street of Chipping Campden. The conclusion leaps to the eye that Oxford was built by Cotswold masons, who came down the valley bringing with them the limestone of the hill quarries, and with it the aptitudes and tradition, the social and cumulative instinct, of their craft. But who and what were the masons?

Throughout the history of civilization it is the peasant who is *par excellence* the builder, as the Germanic word *bauer*, in its double meaning of builder and peasant, aptly recalls. Those early shepherd communities whom we have seen moving with their flocks over the upland pastures, came in time to cultivate the southern slopes and passed from the purely pastoral to the mixed agricultural and pastoral life. The hill-top encampment, remains of which still survive at intervals of a day's march all along the Downs, gave place to the upland village; and as the valleys were

cleared of forest and drained of swamp, the market town would appear at junction of roads or ford of river. In the latter case the town might the more readily grow into a city like Oxford or Westminster, because the river added both its traffic and its perils, thus calling for spiritual aids and remedies and yielding the toll to pay for them.

Wherever the peasant fixes his home or takes his goods to market, there he builds for permanence, with the materials of the region—limestone in the Cotswolds, brick in the clay bottoms like East London, timber in the oak-forested slopes of the West Country. In building, the peasant unawares becomes the citizen. As the hunter organizes all the varied rustic types up and down the valley for war, so under impulse and direction from the peasant, they become organized for the building and the maintenance of towns and cities. Into this urban co-operation each regional type brings the material of its occupation and the characteristic traits of its exercise. The quarryman comes to town with his building stone and tools, and remains there as mason: the forester as car-

pester or engineer. The shepherd brings his wool and his stuffs, and remains as weaver, clothier, and what not. How the pastoral habits of mind and traditional outlook tend to give the shepherd as citizen a certain moral leadership we have already seen.

The distinction for us moderns between town and city turns on numbers of inhabitants and on administrative machinery. But going back to the times before we gave ourselves body and soul into the hands of politicians, lawyers and statisticians, we find the distinction was not quantitative and material but qualitative and spiritual. The cathedral which, in former times, gave civic status was no mere building or even passive place of worship. It was the living and throbbing organ of social life which gathered into itself, and re-expressed as corporate individuality, the finer aspirations of citizen and rustic alike. To its building, maintenance and functioning were given the best services of the workshop and of its craftsmen, because it afforded an abiding opportunity of expressing through the medium of their craft, at once their own personality and ideas, and

those of their city and region. The common notion that the Church Militant became a spiritual power because it created the arts and the sciences, is in a sense true, yet so stated it reverses the natural order of things. The Church Militant became a spiritual power because, through it, the arts and the sciences of the day were able to function freely and creatively. In measure that the church ceased to afford that spontaneous outlet, it hardly deserved the name, however powerful and even spiritual it might be. But the cathedral when fully alive did, indeed, spiritualize its place and people. In other words it made a town into a city.

Let us try to show our continental friend, as we convoy him down the Thames Valley, how our towns and cities are to-day being made and unmade. We shall doubtless arrive at some town on a market day. We take our stand amid the stalls and the booths of the country folk, who have brought to town for sale a variety of goods both in bulk and sample, for the maintenance or the delectation of the townsfolk. We halt in this town for the night, and make a second perambulation

through its streets on the following day. The market place is empty, the stalls and the booths are removed. But the shops and the warehouses remain. Their contents are manifestly the stored accumulations of produce direct from rural or maritime sources, or manufactured at one or more removes from the primary products of peasant, shepherd and miner, of hunter or forester or fisherman. In other words the shops and the warehouses are permanent booths and stalls, and we shall doubtless not be far wrong if we represent to our companion that these shops and warehouses derive their origin and their maintenance largely from rustic and seafaring folk, who, having come to market, have stayed in town for good and ill.

Let us examine some implications of this continuing urban recruitment. Habits of mind and disposition of character engendered in rustic occupations long persist in individuals even when they migrate to town and there practise the urban counterparts or variants of such rustic occupations. And though there be no organic inheritance of such traits in the second generation of urban

dwellers, yet social and family traditions tend to fix such traits; and this tendency will be reinforced by the maintenance of intercourse between the rural and urban families of similar trades, with its intermarriages and interchange of careers accordingly.¹ And below all these social fixations of specific rustic dispositions in particular urban trades, there goes on a steady and continuous process of reversion towards rural type. The successful tradesman buys a country house for the pleasure and status of his family and his own tranquillity in old age. His sons grow up devoted to the country pursuits of the rural gentry. Their real education is too often only at the hands of gamekeeper and

¹ Certain temperaments gravitate to certain occupations. There is considerable evidence of the inheritance of deep temperamental differences often associated with racial difference. From each occupation there has been a persistent sifting out of the incongruous rebellious temperaments (*e. g.* running off to sea, to London, to North-West Canada). Thus, while tradition counts for much, there is probably genuine natural inheritance fixing occupational traits. These ideas will be discussed in more detail in subsequent books of this series, and notably in *Human Geography in Western Europe*, by Professor Fleure.

groom : so that they revert to the hunting type. And the family's transference to that social formation is hastened by the marriage of the daughters into the rural aristocracy, with the adoption of naval and military careers by the sons and grandsons.

So far, then, the town is but a country village enlarged and stored with honey from upland hives. But the town is not only a permanent Market, it is also a permanent Fair, as we may verify, if by good chance our itinerary takes us through a town in which one of the old-fashioned Fairs has survived and happens on our arrival to be in full swing. If we could time a visit for the beginning of September we might participate in the Autumn Fair at Oxford. We will disregard the buying and selling of material goods, much in evidence though this be. It is something beyond the economic, that characterizes the spirit of the Fair. What distinguishes the Fair from the weekly or monthly market is, first of all, that it is an annual or biannual event coinciding with some great Church Festival, or perhaps with the day of the Patron Saint of the parish (as at Oxford on St. Giles's Day). It is,

therefore, essentially an occasion for relaxation and even revels—a time when the needs of the inner life are given full play and the liberated spirit seeks its Elysium. Priest and bishop, monk and friar, with all their resource of art and knowledge, all their skill in ritual and drama, could not, even in the heyday of the Church, completely satisfy the claims of the inner life. So the immemorial customs of the Fair persisted and flourished. That the same word, in at least one great European language, stands for both Fair and Mass, is for the student of LePlay an item of significance.

Let us, therefore, mingle with the motley crowd of townsfolk and rustics from far and near, as they surge round the booths of the mimes and the musicians, the dancing rings and the boxing matches, the vendors of curiosities and charms, the fortune-tellers and interpreters of dreams, the lightning artist, the stargazer with his telescope, the herbalist with his simples, the itinerant preacher, the mob orator, and so on in inexhaustible variety.

When next day we have slept off the fatigues of the Fair, questions as to its meaning

arise, and perhaps clues to its interpretation reveal themselves. Can any connection, for instance, be established between St. Giles's Fair and the University of Oxford? Outside the books of scholars who put together and recount what they have read about the genesis of universities in written documents, there are legendary origins. According to one of these, there are Mediterranean universities which arose from the mediæval custom of disputation among the groups of the learned and the curious who gathered round merchant vendors of Greek and Arabic Manuscripts at the Annual Fair. Whether the mediæval vendors of those literary treasures ever visited the Autumn Fair at Oxford, academic historians do not say. Indeed they have become strangely silent as to the remoter origins of the university, since the German fashion of writing history exclusively from documentary evidence came in. With the adoption of that fashion, it has become customary to assume that folk-lore is either lingering superstition or debased remnants of learned culture. But there is another way of comparing the spiritual traffickers of the Fair with the

priests and professors, the savants and artists of the schools. They all of them profess to do one or both of two things. To enhance life or to interpret it is what we desire for ourselves. And in that quest we seek the aid of practitioners who are experts in enhancement, and of professors who are specialists in interpretation. In the former professional class may be bracketed, without disrespect to either, the priest of established religion and the vendor of charms; in the latter, the professor of philosophy and the fortune-teller. From the standpoint of function and not status, all four professional types are co-ordinate and to be respected, if, and so long as, they *do* enhance life and interpret it, each for his particular clients.

Of all the many distinctions between the practitioners and specialists of the Fair and those of the Schools, we single out one as vital. The former represent a tradition of "occult" science, which is not only of vastly greater antiquity than that of the schools, but contrasts with it in a notable way. It claims to be comprehensive, synthetic and symbolic; while the science of the schools

has, since the Germanic vogue became established in our universities, increasingly prided itself on being the opposite—*i.e.* specialized, analytic and detached. Knowledge may be called symbolic when it is resumed in formulæ or symbols which have a value at once for interpreting and enhancing life. And since whatever enhances life has religious and æsthetic value, it follows that symbolic knowledge touches directly and simultaneously science, art and religion. Knowledge which, like that of the specialists, disclaims this triple intention may be called detached.

The science, the art and the religion of the schools, and consequently of the leisure and official classes, have under the specializing spirit tended to drift apart and become separate things. That tendency has, to be sure, its own advantages, as notably in quantitative increase of positive knowledge, and its elaboration of technique. It is hazardous to suggest that the cultivators of official science and religion have anything to learn in actual detailed knowledge from the occult sciences and arts. But there is something they might learn from the spirit of the latter.

For these have maintained that union of life and knowledge and labour, which is the first axiom of the rustic world and of the common people everywhere. From this unified source of their economic being, as of their spiritual renewal, the citizens of each passing generation tend to drift away, in proportion as they become isolated by sub-division and specialization of functions, from that regional life whose crown the city should be. What better illustration of this drift than books, both popular and scholarly, on *Oxford and its Colleges*, in which St. Giles's Fair, past or present, is not even mentioned!

In the art of repairing and renewing cities (which is the true and original art of politics) there is a lesson to be learned from the Fair. There are in the Fair deeps of humanity as well as shallows of vanity. The lesson is, that a city's spiritual organs need constant renewal of contacts with rustic life and labour. Without that continuous revitalizing, the spiritual organs of a city wither and formalize, or ferment to active degeneracy. In the former case, the city sinks to the level of a mere town; in the latter it flames into posi-

tive evils against which the prophet declaims and the reformer contends. To this city of evils there comes from time to time the Good Shepherd to seek and to save that which was lost. And from it flees Christian, the Pilgrim, in search for the Celestial City of his dreams.

The town—however vast its storage, extensive its reshaping of rustic products by manufactures, however elaborate its communications, magnificent its exchanges and banks, limitless though be its income of tribute—is still but a permanent Market. It is in the grip of circumstance, and passive to tradition. A town becomes a true city in the measure that it develops new and higher powers to enrich and enhance the inner life of its citizens, to combine their diverse interests into an ethical polity, and to evoke those high gifts of personality which master circumstance, transcend tradition, and rise on the wings of the spirit into the realm of creative culture. That is what many historic cities have, in their different ways, done for their citizens, and so became real centres of spiritual life for their time and region, and even to this day for us.

How this spiritual process worked through the cathedral in the mediæval city we have briefly indicated.¹ But let us not forget in the mediæval city, the Town Hall with its Belfry, the Guild Houses, the Colleges, the, Abbey, and the Castle. In spite of bickerings, rivalries and disputes often acute, all these did at their best work together towards the beautification and ennobling of civic life. It was that working together which made mediæval civilization; it was in the end their severance, discord and resulting sterility that unmade it. The representative institutions of the mediæval city were the Cathedral of the Seculars, the Abbey of the Regulars, the Townhall of the People and the Castle of the Chiefs. In so far as these four institutions were in unison there resulted a natural balance of spiritual and temporal powers. The upsetting of that balance in favour of the temporal power not only destroyed mediæval civilization, but inaugurated the modern movement which has its climax in the Absolute State.

By similar analysis of civic life in other

¹ For a fuller analysis see Branford, *Interpretations and Forecasts*, Chapter VI.

historic periods, the history of civilization could be written in its own proper terms, *i.e.* of cities. A new concreteness and clearness would thus be given to Comte's conception of history as interplay of temporal and spiritual powers. Behind the spectacular movements of Chiefs and People, of Emotionals and Intellectuals, which make the temporo-spiritual drama, we should see the more concrete and definite civic drama. And again behind the rise and fall of cities, their maintenance, decay and renewal, we discern since the impulse of LePlay, the regional drama. In the sweep and orbit of this dramatic cycle there are, as we have seen, two foci. Around one works the constructive instinct of the peasant; around the other, the destructive instinct of the hunter in his unconverted and elemental state. From being, as rustic, relatively passive to nature, the peasant as city-builder turns upon his environment as plastic to his purpose and shapes it to his heart's desire. In contrast to this constructive process of civilization is the predatory activity of the hunter-warrior, for whom the stored wealth

of cities is object of loot, or source of tribute. For historians of race and dynasty, of state and empire, it is the hunter-warrior who has seemed the prominent maker of history. Again, therefore, does this clue of LePlay's lead us towards a conclusion remote from the thought of academies, but close to the heart of tradition. It is this—that the peasant and the hunter are the essential thinkers and makers of rival systems of history, and therefore of politics, as previously we saw shepherd and hunter to be the ultimate terms in rival doctrines of life and ideals, and therefore of religions.

What is the practical conclusion to be deduced from our historic generalization? What is its political value? In other words, what its bearing on that reconstruction of politics to which we are seeking the clues? Our examination of the rural problem in a previous chapter disclosed as its vital issue the moral conversion of the Hunter by the Shepherd. Similarly it would seem that the central element of urban life is of analogous order. In brief, how can the Peasant, himself turned citizen, civilize—i.e. *civicize*—the

Hunter, upon whom the Shepherd has already done a preparatory work of moral purification? If it be objected that this is not a practical but a visionary conclusion, we answer by reference to the language of the great religions and their record in the moralization of communities. Let the practical man take this language and record literally instead of figuratively and he will come to see that there is a more intimate relation between vision and performance than he imagines. And as to the future, what has been done may be done again. What has failed may be tried again and with possibility of better results.

CHAPTER VIII

STATE AND CITY

CONSIDER the contrast implied in the words civil and military, with all that it connotes in the history of political liberty. Consider also its full charge of meaning in the hazards and crises of contemporary life. In the one word is resumed the history of a city-state, and its constructive contribution to human development. In the other is resumed the legacy of an empire which lived on the tribute of cities. True that empire was but a phase in the life cycle of the very same city-state. It is the secret of that transition we are seeking.

Nowadays the word "civil" has suffered attenuation and become but the ghost of its original self. For the loss of its concrete and vital element we have doubtless to thank the abstract mind of the modern lawyer. Without its civic implication the word became devitalized and served no longer as a

bulwark against its rival, but as a temptation to hostile attack. The progress of decay left the phrase and the idea of civil law, with its corollary of civic life, spiritless; and this just when strength was needed to withstand the successive waves of militarism, that arose with increasing intensity as Liberalism declined, during the later nineteenth century. The process has been similar in principle in each country of western Europe, but most emphatic and threatening in that where the imperial and militarist heritage of Rome took firmest root through deliberate cultivation in our own days, as it declined in the nation which was its more natural heir. From the symptomatic episode of Zabern might fittingly be derived a specific title for the fever of militarism. It would enrich the vocabulary of social science and commemorate the event, if we agreed to designate this wasting disease of the body politic, as *Zabernitis*.

A similar decay is seen in the substitution of the abstract and colourless word "civilization," for the more concrete and human word "civility." How recent is the substitution,

readers of Boswell may recall, for Johnson would not admit "civilization" as a legitimate word and insisted on the use of "civility." The latter, with implied contrast of rusticity, is manifestly nearer in reference and intention to the springs of civic life than is its more abstract rival. These illustrations are samples of a tendency in modern times to dissociate the civilizing process from cities and city life. It is clearly no mere coincidence that this tendency should have grown concurrently with the increasing subordination of cities to centralized state governments. True the bureaucracy of the State denominates itself as an administration of Civil Service. And this the citizen, in the innocence of his heart, assumes to be a ministering of civic service, with progress of cities accordingly.

The modern State has taken over and absorbed into itself as much as it could grasp of the heritage that properly belongs to its constituent cities. The uncomplaining docility of these in submitting to the loss of their birthright is a social phenomenon that merits a fuller investigation than it has received. It is explicable neither by the region-

alism of LePlay, the humanism of Comte, nor yet by both together. But wandering to and fro between metropolitan capitals and their provincial cities, with the formulæ of Comte and LePlay in mind, and not forgetting those of Darwin, one gathers certain clues as to the causes, the consequences and the method of the spoliation, and the submissiveness of its victims.

To prevent misunderstanding, it should be made clear that we distinguish sharply between the Nation and the State. A people conceive themselves a nation when united by common memories, and by aspirations extending even beyond regional boundaries. In a very real sense there is a national spirit. It receives embodiment—say, rather ensoulment—in characteristic arts and institutions. Language is commonly but not invariably its chief vehicle. In Switzerland and in Belgium the national spirit lives in a memory and an aspiration of freedom that finds expression in ways seemingly independent of language. In Germany the form is essentially musical, as well as linguistic, and in Italy civic and artistic in their fullest and technical senses.

In Scotland the national spirit had its characteristic expression, as frequently elsewhere, in folk ballad. For France it has found supreme expression in that instrument of lucidity—French prose; for England in the succession of poets from Chaucer and Shakespeare to Shelley, Tennyson and Browning, and their living successors. If now we ask who stands in the popular imagination for the State, as do the poet, musician, artist, writer for the nation, the answer is not less manifest. It is the soldier, the policeman, the M.P., the tax-gatherer, and now in our fully centralized states above and beyond all these a mysterious functionary commonly known—or unknown—as the bureaucrat. The conclusion obviously follows: that the realities for which the terms “Nation” and “State” stand, belong to contrasted categories as respectively spiritual and temporal powers.¹

In our proposed inquiry into the concept of

¹ The contrast between the Nation as cultural, and the State as political, legal and military, has been well worked out by A. E. Zimmern, *Sociological Review*, January 1916.

“the State,” a further proviso is also necessary. The customary procedure of speculative politics we reverse; instead of beginning with a definition of the State, we end, if not with a definition, at least with a definitive concept which we submit for consideration to those interested in the reconstruction of politics.

For an initial light on the problem of the State we search by inquiring into the nature of the city, the relation of cities to one another, and to their respective regions. Whatever else the city may be and do, there can be no question that it serves one specialized function, which no other instrument of man or nature performs with the same directness, fullness and perfection of adaptation. May not the city be the long-sought missing link between animal and human evolution? Biologists puzzle over the relationship of the individual to the species in respect to the inheritance of acquired characters. But suppose that civic life and city development represent the supreme striving of nature to balance the freedom of the individual and the continuity of the species! The central and significant fact is that the city

does function as the specialized organ of social transmission. It is the vehicle of acquired inheritance. It accumulates and embodies the culture heritage of a region, and combines it in some measure and kind with the culture heritage of larger units, national, racial, religious, human. It stamps the resultant product upon each passing generation of its citizens. The stamp has an obverse and a reverse. One side is the individuality of the city—the sign manual of its regional life and record. On the other are the marks of the civilization, in which each particular city is a constituent element. Like a phonographic plate, the city receives the experiences of each passing generation and hands the record on to the next. It is the instrument primarily of the regional memory, but serves also as the memory of larger groups, with a faithfulness proportional to the vividness of the corresponding experience. But the civic rôle is far from passive. It is also (and essentially) active, creative, evocatory. By some subtle alchemy, the spirit of the city selects and blends memories of the past with experiences of the present and hopes for the future. The

complex product expresses, or rather constitutes and is, that individuality of the city which it impresses on each oncoming generation of its citizens. These in turn react on civic life in ways that vary from the passivity of a Dombey to the militancy of a Dickens. Is not opulence of personality in each citizen determined by the fullness with which he inherits the past from his city and contributes to its future his own experience of the present and his ideals for the future? By such interaction between civic and individual life, the city in its more abiding persistence and continuity serves the purpose of selective retrospect for the people of its region, at times also, as in cathedral-building days (and why not again?), of creative prospect. It is thus, par excellence, the organ of human evolution and also, alas, of degeneration. Regarded from the standpoint of a naturalistic humanism, does it not seem that the city, in its being and becoming, is, as it were, the very incarnation of the evolutionary process? Is it not the spirit of evolution come to self-consciousness and fraught with the destiny of its own regional life?

The regional life concentrates in the city and functions through its activity. Regional *élan vital* fruits in civic life. The city and its region compose into the true social unit. This vital truth, the practical wisdom of the Roman Catholic Church recognized and applied in its episcopal organization by dioceses. It treated cities and citizens as what they essentially are, psychic entities, yet it did not forget that bread and wine are produced from land by labour. A secular version of the same elemental truth is the saying that Boston is not a place but a state of mind.

Let us, then, assume that the progressive struggle and co-operation of living beings, which we call evolution, has its culminating manifestation in the life of cities. The striving of cities to extend their power and influence beyond their natural region is thus interpretable in two senses. In the first place as a particular case of the general struggle for survival. In the second, as a reaching and groping towards those higher forms of collective life which are evolved mainly through co-operation and mutual aid. In so far as the

competition of cities is a natural struggle for survival, we should expect to find developed a whole armoury of those instinctive devices for the defeat of rivals, which the natural selectionists have taught us to look for. To take one or two instances which on the face of them seem to invite this explanation. A railway system is organized, which perhaps makes it less expeditious to travel from one "provincial" city to another, by the chord of a circle, than along the two radii that connect them via the capital. Again, there is the metropolitan custom of cashing at a discount cheques drawn on provincial banks. This is tantamount to establishing in favour of the capital a permanent difference in exchange against all provincial cities, in the real and effective currency of the realm which of course consists of cheques, as against the official and nominal currency of coin and bank notes.

But if in the scheme of nature it is the essential function of cities to transmit the culture heritage of mankind, then it is towards assault on this spiritual quality that the competitive strife would mainly turn. Is it

not an illustration in point, that from the dawn of history till the burning of Louvain, the conqueror's road to exploitation of foreign countries has lain through the destruction of their culture cities? It has been put forward in extenuation of the burning of Louvain and its University Library that only an eighth of the city was destroyed, as though the value of the British Museum were assessed by accounting it not a thousandth part of London! A more finished procedure than the burning of libraries is the endeavour to incorporate the culture heritage of the conquered into that of the conquering city. When Nebuchadnezzar carried off the Jews from Jerusalem to Babylon, it was not merely to make slaves of them, but also for culture purposes, as the subsequent return with full complement of historic tradition would seem to show. It was the commonest of devices in the competition of cities during the Italian Renaissance, for the victorious prince to treat the artists and sculptors of a defeated city as the richest part of his spoil. A more devious instance is the trick of exploiting a characteristic tradition of one city to

the profit of another. There may be cited, in illustration of this, the carefully organized exploitation by Berlin in 1913 of the Battle of Leipzig in 1813 by means of its centenary celebration. In the official French publication on the origin of the war may be seen letters from the French Ambassador in Germany to his own Government, giving warning of the perils likely to result from the heated enthusiasm worked up by Berlin in memory of 1813. "Leipzig" proved indeed to be a "state of mind" - a great state of mind, appropriately precedent to the subsequent explosion in August 1914.

But assume that in the intercivic struggle, the main factor of survival is the city's efficiency in integrating present experiences with past knowledge, and using the product for the shaping of the future. If this be so, then it becomes of more than theoretical importance for each city to inquire as to the adequacy of its means for the performance of such mental and moral services. In common phrase (though insufficiently realized) the problem is that of Higher Education. Taking the phrase in its largest sense, what is the

essential civic organ of higher education? Is it not a University, but this as no pale reflex of some fancied perfection of a "national" archetype, but a living and militant institution, that serves its city and region in the quite definite way required? It must be a university that embodies the regional life and tradition, incorporates into this life and tradition the vital experience of all its most actively creative sons and daughters of the passing generation, and offers to each individual of the oncoming generation, without distinction of sex or class, the resultant wisdom. In proportion as it does these services for its city and region, a university aids their survival, or by its failure handicaps them in the struggle with other cities and regions, domestic and foreign. Without such an organ of spiritual energizing, or with one of mingled archaic and degenerate pattern and correspondingly diminished survival value, the biggest of towns is no city. It is but a town, a mere combination of mart and vanity fair, enjoying, it may be, an evanescent prosperity by drawing to itself the people of its countryside for business of dull uniform-

ity, broken by Bank Holiday spells of orgiastic revelry. To reduce to such degradation a city of ancient culture, or to maintain at that low level of social life a modern hive of industry, is a sure way to turn the spiritual outlook of the unfortunate citizens elsewhere, and to the profit of some other city, thus invited to become a more and more centralizing one.

Consider the reaction of the modern centralized State towards the question of civic or regional universities. In England not one institution of that type appeared before the middle of the nineteenth century. In France, Napoleon I completed the centralizing work of Louis XIV by creating a great "national" institution, the University of France, which meant in practice the (deteriorated) University of Paris. It is only in our own day that the regional movement in France has checked, indeed to some extent arrested, this current of academic centralization. In Germany the process of administrative centralization from Berlin ran concurrently with an increasingly systematic subordination of the old regional universities to the new Berlin university,

specially created to be the spiritual organ of the Prussian monarchy; and where, as in the case of Goettingen, the customary means of draining away the best blood to Berlin failed, other devices were tried, such as gossiping disparagement of the local degrees.

It may be objected that England should be excluded from the foregoing generalization, if only on the ground that the capital city had, until the nineteenth century, no university of its own. That, to be sure, is true, but only in a formal and narrow sense. Viewed in a larger way, Oxford and London are twin cities with respective functions, which long ago reached a certain perfection of adjustment. In the mutual division of labour, one city specialized on temporal power and the other developed a congruent spiritual power. The pride of Oxford is its school of *Litteræ Humaniores*. By combining literature and philosophy, history and politics, it opened a range of culture from which nothing was excluded except science. And that upstart in the world of learning, being, as the classicists agree, of little cultural worth, and

of value mainly for its industrial applications, could appropriately be left to the schools of commercial and manufacturing cities.

Thus by nice adjustment did, and does, this renowned curriculum of Litteræ Humaniores educate for the art of Government. To take an illustration which shows its mode of working. A relatively complete theory of government is to be found in Aristotle's *Politics*. As it stands in the original, it is in truth a theory not of state administration but of civic life. Suppose, however, that we decide to take the centralized state to be our modern equivalent of the ancient Hellenic city, then, defying mere literary accuracy, we shall render the Greek word for "city" by "State," and go on to use it, without qualification, in lecture-room, in textual translations, in commentaries and in political discussion.

By these assumptions and due dialectical substantiation of them, and by teaching them as valid truths to youths preparing to be masters in public schools and grammar schools throughout the country, or to be leader-writers to the provincial and the metropolitan Press, perhaps, above all by thus training

the novitiate of the modern preaching Friars, the numerous and mighty order of Barristers, Oxford did spiritual service for London. Through its own modernized organs of spiritual power—its schools and its press—each provincial city thus received authoritative inculcation of the lowliness of civic life and government—as of mere “gas and sewage”; and these in little Pedlington—and the loftiness of national life and state government, the latter being no affair of cities, but of that higher entity, the State, which in practice meant London. In final result the industrial cities were left, for all save the simplest mechanical purposes, as innocent of science as Oxford itself. And trained as they were, at first or second hand, in the culture of humane letters, it was natural that neither provincial editors nor Members of Parliament should think of demanding the introduction of science into the schools of industrial cities, till amateur smatterings had already entered and tainted the very name of science. As for the notion of a civic or regional university, it would have seemed a contradiction in terms to the mind cultivated in that London—

Oxford tradition, which from the decay of mediæval faith till the nineteenth century was the most active and in its way most effective spiritual power in England.

Thus the Industrial Revolution came upon the cities like a thief in the night, who, prompted by the sound instinct of his craft, tackles the unwary householder in the early hours of morn, when, awake or asleep, he is at the diurnal ebb of the physiological tide. Not only were the authorities unprepared for the implied moral and economic changes. The contemporary spiritual regime was such as to preclude any adequate understanding of the tendencies of the situation, still less of handling them in the service of the cities and their regions. Unheralded and unguided, the rustics poured themselves and their passive spirit into towns, which accordingly bent to the hammer blows of circumstance. First came the Factory Age which moulded the towns into monotonous dreariness of mean streets; and next the Railway Age which distorted them into shapeless repulsive forms, disfiguring the country-side by luxuriant growth of monstrous tentacles.

In the particular region wherein our flying survey has been so cursorily and incidentally made, the towns of Reading and Swindon may be noted as minor illustrations which emphasize respectively the former and the latter process of urban growth. But Swindon's loss and Reading's shame were, in a measure, London's gain. For if the disoriented citizen is shorn of opportunities for "life more abundant" at home, is he not the more inclined to seek it in the alluring splendours of the capital? Or alternatively, for want of spiritual organs that combine moral evocation with intellectual attainment, as a university at its best can and should do, the decivilized town fills the void by developing debased substitutes, which supply a bastard stimulus to the eager spirit of youth upon its city streets.¹

To sum up the interpretative observations of our rapid march down the Thames Valley from the Cotswolds to Reading. In Chipping Campden with LePlay, we saw the peasant turning citizen. In buildings both public

¹ For a remarkable study of this degenerate side of city life see Jane Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (Macmillan, 1910).

and private he worthily enshrined craft lore and regional tradition. These memories and the corresponding aspirations he compounded with no inconsiderable element of the general civilization of his day. That is the impression as you observe the plan of the town and enjoy the beauty and dignity of private houses and public edifices. Coming to Oxford, we saw the completion and perfection of what was begun by the upland builders. A jewel finely wrought on the garment of nature, Oxford is the very embodiment of the civic spirit in æsthetic and retrospective mood. Memories regional and national, caught and preserved age by age, and blended each with the characteristic phase of its contemporary civilization, compose into a unity which make the city a pageant of history. Pausing there with Comte, we realize perhaps more vividly than elsewhere is possible in England, what it is that differentiates civilized man from his rude progenitors. It is the culture heritage and the potency of its spiritual influence.

In contrast to Oxford, which makes its own environment, the railway town of Swindon is recalled as a complete expression of

material determination. It faithfully reflects that phase of the Industrial Revolution which brought it into being, accepting alike the defects and the qualities impressed upon it, as though a city were a lump of plasticine. Finally we took a passing glimpse at Reading, also largely determined by the characteristics of the machine age, but inheriting a tradition of culture and struggling nowadays to renew and develop it, by adventuring once more towards some mastery of its fate.

Passing Reading, a long day's forced march brings us to the end of our journey, and we reach at length the great city itself.¹ Reversing the customary order of travel, as by railway, which starts from the capital, we approach it in a mood not necessarily critical, yet naturalistic rather than devotional, and so we are less prepossessed by that mystic awe, that pervasive legend, which surrounds every great metropolis as does a halo the saint.

The prevalent legend of the metropolis tends to present each imperial capital as

¹ In a later volume of the series, *Westminster, Temporal and Spiritual*, we shall treat to some extent also of London.

unique, as profoundly differentiated from all other urban growths, and standing apart from "the Provinces" (no longer of much other significance beyond their own boundaries, and represented essentially for taxation purposes) and far above "the country" (mainly considered as a source of milk supply, or at best of varied holiday). Its ascendancy is expounded by economist and statistician; it is maintained above all by State Politics and Government; by Administration and by Finance. It is expressed by Society and by the Press; and its resulting supereminence is accordingly accepted for better or worse throughout nation and empire.

Approaching the metropolis from the regional standpoint (which as we have seen is not only rural but civic also, and therefore historical), we are prepared to understand and appreciate the legend of the imperial capital, the manner of its growth and the vogue of its being, without letting it overpower us. Whatever we have seen of good and evil, of mastery and acceptance, of tradition and initiative in the villages, the towns and the cities of the Thames region, we find repeated,

multiplied, compounded and recrystallized in London. In the most thoroughgoing and representative way it is the regional capital. But similarly it is a truly national capital. We might have approached it along the main arteries of connexion with other regional capitals, ancient and modern, as Norwich and Lincoln, Nottingham and Derby, Shrewsbury and Worcester, Birmingham and Northampton, Salisbury and Winchester (once its rival for the seat of King and Parliament). We might thus have seen how London has absorbed something vital and essential from all these cities and their regions, and so has become the genuinely representative city of the great plain of England, the true heart, if not the brain or the hand, of the empire. Starting further afield, we might have approached through the three well-marked natural avenues from north and west which geographers call respectively the Vale of York, the Midland Gap and the Bristol Gate. In this way we might have seen how deep and far spread in the life and tradition of the metropolis are influences from Scotland and the north, from Ireland, Wales and the west; and observing

this past and present inflow from the confines of England and the British Isles, we could not but admit how truly London is a national as well as a regional capital.

Or, again, approaching London from the channel and the sea, we should not fail to observe that the Thames estuary is part of an inland sea into which other great rivers, like the Scheldt and the Seine, also empty, and how consequently the cities of all three river basins have been driven to struggle for mastery of the maritime outlet and dominion of the oceans and of the world beyond. The mind would be carried back to the centuries of fierce rivalry between London and Paris, now happily terminated by adjustments which leave both cities with ample claim to be Imperial Capitals. But when all is said as to the manifoldness of their representative character and of the services they have rendered and continue to render, the imperial capitals have still an accounting to make to their respective regions.¹ To the auditing of

¹ For a continuation of this theme, see Chapter XI ("War Capitals"), in the companion volume *Ideas at War*.

that account the formulæ of LePlay are admirably adapted and may be reinforced by the use of Comte's. Those of Darwin have also a bearing, as we have endeavoured to show. We have indeed outlined a more naturalistic interpretation of the "state" idea, than those commonly discussed. But in making that suggestion, we would not have it thought we are advancing a comprehensive explanation of the origin and function of the State. To suppose that "the State" is nothing but a fictitious masquerade of metropolitan capitals in rivalry with provincial cities would be a palpable exaggeration. Our naturalistic interpretation is that of a main selective factor but in a problem surpassingly complex.

We did indeed suggest at the opening of this chapter that as the nation has an existence in the spiritual order, so the state has a corresponding temporal materiality. But nations vary from the loose cohesion of scattered Jewry to the compact unity of the Dutch; and similarly for States, they range in substance and kind from the civic simplicity of Andorra to the immeasurable heterogeneity

of the British Empire. And there has been under the Anglo-Germanic tradition of "political philosophy" and, especially as developed at Oxford, a tendency for investigators and thinkers to conceal these divergences of reality by the abstractions of metaphysical speculation; a tendency, in short, to hypostatize the State, and virtually deify it, to ignore and forget the city, and so spiritually to nullify and materially degrade it. Those who may be unaware of the extent to which the accepted philosophy of "the State" is interwoven with dialectical fiction may be referred to a recent discussion at the Aristotelian Society (1916). The contention of Mr. Delisle Burns that the current political theory is "fantastic" in its ignoring of realities was endorsed by some and seriously challenged by none of the assembled philosophers. To re-express the manifold problems, theoretical and practical, of statecraft, of nationalism, of empire, in the more concrete terms of civic and regional life and the federation of their respective communities, is, we submit, the primary need of a reconstituted political science. To these problems we return when

considering (in Part III) how in practice to move forward from the State as it has been and is, to the State as it might become in the hands of a generation endowed with clear vision of a better world and resolute to create a corresponding polity.

The applied philosophy we have so far been pursuing may be called that of the combined outlook at once regional and historic. For the most part in open-air observation and travel we have been finding the examples of our interpretations by help of the LePlay-Comte method. Returning to the speculative confinement of the study, we propose now a critical discussion of method itself.

PART II
METHOD

CHAPTER I

LEPLAY AND HIS FORMULA

RECENTLY a manifesto urging the importance of science was issued by thirty-six representative scientific men. There was no ambiguity as to what they meant by science. They enumerated mechanics, physics, biology, geography and geology. There was no mention of anthropology, psychology or sociology; to say nothing of economics, ethics and æsthetics. Here, then, was a deliberate — almost ostentatious — exclusion of the humanist sciences. It signifies a perception by the naturalists of profound falling short on the part of their humanist half-brothers. The latter have so far failed to develop what is one of the vital elements of scientific method.

The naturalist sciences have each of them

their own unit of investigation. The unit is a device contrived by the mind of man to bring order and clearness into the seeming chaos of facts presented by nature. Mechanics has its foot-pound of energy; physics its unit of ether; chemistry its atom and molecule; biology its concepts of organism and of "species"; geology its stratum and section; geography its concepts of North, South, East and West, with corresponding standards of latitude and longitude. These units are ideal creations, conceived as a reality of perfection towards which nature tends and strives. The unit of the scientific man is like the little angel which each mother sees in her babe, or the perfection the lover sees in his mistress. The vision is no optical illusion, but a discernment of the flowing and direction of the stream of reality.

Conspicuous on the great tree of science (indeed in a way eldest of all), the humanist branches have failed to develop adequately, as yet, in methodic progress. The exponents of anthropology, psychology and sociology, of economics, ethics and æsthetics, have rested content without any single group

agreeing even upon its own working unit of investigation.

Amongst the varied and competing units which have emerged in this field, there is one to which, in a former chapter, we called attention under the title of the (linked) valley-section, with its distinctive occupational types. Now this unit having grown up outside the pale of the fashionable Germanic tradition and within the unfashionable French tradition, and so outside British education and even literature altogether, has scarcely received even passing attention. Its capacity to illuminate representative problems in some of the humanist sciences we have already shown by illustration. But now we proceed to argue more explicitly that in conjunction with other formulæ developed within the same tradition, this concept of the linked valley-section constitutes an approximate and effective working unit for the whole circle of the humanist group of sciences.

Let us approach this problem of social method on its historical side. As Comte had his precursors mainly in Montesquieu and Condorcet in the renovation of historic inter-

pretation, so LePlay renovated and resumed the economic investigations of an older French tradition. His forerunners were the Physiocrats. These made the first scientific beginnings of economic observation and thought. They applied scientific method to an investigation of the practical questions of statecraft. Above all they sought an answer to the question which war always forces to the front—how to maximize the national output. In the strife for European dominion, Louis XIV and Louis XV wasted the substance of the people by wars well-nigh as devastating as that of their spiritual descendant, Kaiser Wilhelm II, although, having less knowledge of chemistry and mechanics at their disposal, they were slower and less skilful at the devil's game.

Thus their essential peasant milieu on the one hand, and the devastations of war on the other, were sufficient to direct the inquiries of the Physiocrats to the conditions of rural life, even if they had not been living in a monarchy of the pre-Industrial Age. The motto of Quesnai's famous treatise—"Pauvre Paysans, pauvre Royaume, pauvre

Royaume, pauvre Roi"—expressed at once the historic era, the point of origin, and the practical conclusion of the physiocratic doctrine. From this early association of economics with physical and geographical conditions Adam Smith departed. And equally naturally—as a British observer standing in the very midst of the Industrial Revolution—he switched the discussion on to forms and processes of trade and manufacture. His continuators and successors, with their paucity of factual observations and their prodigality of premature generalization, gradually, by successive refinements of logic, evolved high abstractions, and these into a veritable new Pantheon of world-directive Deities, now "Supply" and "Demand," or again "Capital" and "Labour." These in turn volatilized into mystical entities for German dialecticians. By the repercussion of these, at least two generations of English and American economists, trained at first or second hand in Teutonic method during its prolonged academic vogue, have bowed the knee obediently to this or that dialectical Baal.

In France this abstract and urban "Political

Economy " had, of course, its exponents and its followers, but it has never taken enduring root. On the contrary, the more traditional type of concrete and rustic economics flowed on below the surface. The emergence of Le Play was evidence of this. True to the impulse of his Physiocratic precursors, and to the instinct of his peasant milieu, he renewed the search for a factual basis of economic observation. He also sought fresh inspiration for economic doctrine in his life of perpetual travel and inspection of industries and homes. Thus he established vivifying contacts with the nascent sciences of geography and anthropology.

LePlay was then no mere "social economist," as it has been the fashion to regard him in England and America. He was a philosopher resolved to penetrate to the very roots of social life. He was also impelled, like the Physiocrats, by practical motives. A student on a sick bed in Paris during the Revolution of 1830, he listened with pain and shock to the firing of the soldiers and the resulting cries of the terrified people and their wounded. He straightway vowed devo-

tion to the life task of discovering the social and economic factors that lie behind political ills. His quest was for the principles of a reconstituted politics. Never did saint of old more faithfully carry out his vow. Having first fully grasped the idea that the unit of social life, and therefore also of social investigation, is the working class family, he centred his busy lifetime of travel and research upon the comparative study of working-class families in most of the countries of Europe. From these *Monographies des Ouvriers Européens* came the Family Budgets which Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. Seebohm Rowntree have popularized among us, though well-nigh a couple of generations after his day.

LePlay carried his investigations even into Asia. It was, indeed, on the Asiatic steppe amid the simple, primitive life of pastoral nomads, that his far-pressed research was rewarded by the clue that gave meaning and order to the mass of factual observations he had accumulated in modern lands of more complex social formation. His famous formula, *Lieu, Travail, Famille—Place, Work, Family*—was the generalization of the sequence

he realized upon the Asiatic steppe—Grass, Sheep, Shepherds—and these with their community families and their corresponding patriarchal ways of life.

The word “Folk” is a convenient term, to cover at once the family, the group of families, and the pervasive spirit of social life that moulds them into a community. We therefore substitute the word “Folk” for “Family” in the LePlay formula and prefer to speak of

Place → Work → Folk.

Now there are several things to be noted about the formula of LePlay. The first is that it inserts a middle term Work between environment on the one side and social life and institutions on the other. By this advance was filled the fatal gap left open by the investigators and exponents of the determinist school, from Montesquieu to Buckle and onwards. Is it claimed that this deficiency was made good for that school by Karl Marx, with his economic interpretation of history? That might have been so if Marx had started not as a Hegelian, but as a geographer and naturalist, as himself a pro-

ductive worker and organizer like LePlay, not as a thinker in the study, a reader in the British Museum. But the dialectical impulse drove him into abstractions in which both "environment" and "work" became so rarefied of geographic and technic content as to be practically useless for concrete investigation. For there is one invariable test in all such matters: Can the data and the results be graphically set down, concretely mapped? It was the working out of his investigations on the map of London that have made Charles Booth's volumes of indisputable and permanent scientific worth. It was the working out of his researches on the map of Europe that set the seal of a scientific classic upon the monographs and treatises of LePlay.

But let us be clear as to what it is that is mapped. The observer maps the facts of these sequences—Grass—Sheep—Shepherd; Forest—Game—Hunter; Arable—Corn—Peasant; and so on for each of the occupational types. Several results follow from this rigorous insistence on mapping. One is that the observer is pinned down to a particular type of hunter, a particular type of shepherd,

and so on. He is saved from the besetting temptation of general talk, and yet he comes in time to have generalizations as well as particulars about hunters or shepherds. The requirements of that concrete monographic study which is the first essential of scientific method are thus fulfilled. Another resultant of survey method, the mapping practice, is, that in thus setting down his facts along with his classifications and comparative studies, the observer is compelled to make sure that his classifications are of like with like, and that his comparisons are in keeping with one another. His generalizations are thus open to each new observer's criticism and verification, and this is the second requisite of scientific method.

In these ways the observer gradually builds up in his mind not only the picture of nature with the geographer, but with the humanist also, as a theatre in which man plays his part. There is an orderly progress; and from fact to image, and from image to symbol, there is, or should be, no break; and similarly for the return from symbol to fact. Thus the social sciences begin to form their first

commencements of "conceptual shorthand," and from this they may go on to represent and co-ordinate for man's thought and benefit, not only the world without but even the world within.

But neither the world without nor the world within is fixed and definable in the old ways of logicians and classifiers. They are, both of them, dynamic and changeful, in perpetual transformation from present appearances towards something different. To seize and represent the mood, the spirit, the tendency of this twofold Proteus, objective and subjective by turns, is the central aim of social science, as of art. The units of the physical and natural sciences have this dynamic quality and also the graphic presentment. The lack of such visualizing symbolism, at once idealistic and realistic, has been, as we have already said, the standing weakness of the humanist sciences. Not only have these been content to muddle along with metaphysical substitutes, made in Germany, but there has never been any general concurrence upon any one amongst the rival entities. If anywhere are to be found clear and practical

beginnings of a better unitary system, the student of method is therefore invited to turn to this French tradition in quest of it.

For those who are not students of method, it may help towards an understanding of the problem, to consider the chess-board; and what, to the player, it stands for. With the pieces all in their initial places, the chess-board is to the player no inert piece of matter, but a symbol which expresses the essentials of every problem. It contains hidden within itself all that infinitude of moves which makes the fascination of the game. Reflect how this symbolism comes to life and works when the game is on. It provides the player with the means of doing three things; and, moreover, of doing them with perfection of performance proportional to his capacity for using the symbolism. For the player as his skill advances becomes increasingly enabled to remember what has happened since the opening of the game, to visualize its present situation, and, within limits, to anticipate future moves, and balance the advantages and drawbacks of each.

Now, returning to the matter in hand, recall

the diagram of the linked valley-section, given on page 86. Picture the appearance of the valley as seen, for example, from an aeroplane. On the broad hill-tops, bare rock or moss-grown surface alternating with scrub, heath and bracken, the whole affording scanty food and cover for game, of which the grand source is in the deciduous forest below, sheltering a rich variety of animal life; next is the belt of upland pasture with its wandering flocks; below this the agricultural belt ranging from the poor hill-side croft onwards through the rich farms of the plains, to the market gardens on the outskirts of the great city at the river mouth. Finally, at the estuary is the region of the seafaring folk.

Here are four characteristic areas, and the addition of the coniferous forest and mining belts on the western slope altogether make up, as it were, a six-square chequer board. On their respective squares stand the sextet of occupational types, each ready for its part in the interplay of the regional drama. The rules of the game are infinitely complex. But the outline of the plot may be followed and even understood, if certain major assumptions

be made. The first is that each occupational type upon its native square, has its character determined and consequently its rôle conditioned according to the formula: Place—Work—Folk. The next is, that mutations of character, and changes in habit of mind, are likewise capable of interpretation in terms of the same triad. Making these provisional assumptions we have a working scheme of study and notation which can be revised and amended, as we progress from observation through classification and hypothesis to generalization, and conversely.

Thus from the endeavour to devise a conceptual shorthand for field investigation there begins to grow up a logical apparatus. There is no such exact thing in nature as our diagrammatic valley, containing all the types and in their right place. But as an ideal unit it is valuable just in proportion as it enables one actual valley with its quantum of regional life to be compared with another, and conformity to the ideal standard or departure from it, observed and defined. Similarly for the occupational types and their assumed mode of life and manner of interplay.

These regional types are, it may be incidentally noted, a concrete version of the "economic man" that served the classical political economists for a unit of study.

Does the new formula justify itself by its yield of observations, comparisons, classifications and generalizations? This, of course, is a question which calls for answer by the workers who have used the methodic apparatus, and by critics (if any) who have assessed the harvest gathered. And its answer would soon lead us into a larger and more elaborate volume than this; though in the next chapter we shall have something to say under this head. What we are here concerned with is the fact that such a graphic association of descriptive and logical notations exists, and works; that it has been developed with help from this too neglected French tradition; and that it claims to bridge, at any rate, provisionally, since workably, the chasm which yawns conspicuous in the rival tradition, which has hitherto dominated all official schools of science: that is the separation of the environmental sciences of nature on the one hand, from the humanities on the other.

CHAPTER II

TOWARDS "THE GREAT RENEWAL"

WE have thus entered upon developments of the social method of LePlay and of his continuators of "*La Science Sociale*"; and we may go on to plead for its elaboration for other purposes than social investigation, and for its application in a wider field. First we will test the formula, as an instrument of scientific logic and philosophy in their unending work of order and clarification. That such a notation possesses power of introducing order, where at present little or none exists, a simple illustration will show. Consider the spectacle of confusion presented by the anthropologists, the economists and the sociologists of the current scientific (that is the Germanic) persuasion. They are all at sixes and sevens, as to the delimitation of their respective fields and manner of cultivating them. They evince no tendency to mutual adjustment even in face of the

social geographer, who is nowadays actively invading the territory of all three.

On the other hand note how each of these sciences falls naturally into its place in the common scheme of research envisaged in the present argument. Survey the facts, the record and the processes of human evolution from the standpoint of Place, and your research is Social Geography; similarly from the standpoint of Work, and of Folk; it is now respectively Economics and Anthropology. Sociology thus naturally appears as we co-ordinate these three specialized lines of research, from their conventional isolation into their normal triad of Life, as the study of Place, Work and Folk taken together.

But where in this scheme, it may be asked, is the sphere and function of the more subjective sciences, within the humanist group? Most cultivators of ethics, of psychology and of æsthetics, follow academic traditions and so are if possible even more confused as to method and correlation than are their colleagues of the objective group. But they may fairly ask us: Can your present and proffered outlook, apparently so external,

so regional and naturalistic, so industrial and technical, so anthropological and descriptive, offer any orderly emplacement also for ethics, for psychology and æsthetics? True, in first surveying our chosen region from our aeroplane, we observed mainly rustic valley landscapes, but less its towns and cities. Yet how cities accumulate, store and select regional memories and regional aspirations, and thus act as agents of social transmission, thereby supplementing the deficiencies of organic inheritance, we saw in a previous chapter. We saw also how the distinction between rural life and civic life is but a matter of proportion—that is, of relative passivity or activity to environment and tradition. The city is the hinge on which man turns from creature to creator.

This rustic life is interpretable primarily in terms of place, work and folk in that order. But for the interpretation of that which constitutes the essence of civic life, we must reverse the order of the formula. It will then read—

Folk → Work → Place.

These terms now acquire modification, corresponding to the actual transformations of men and things in cities. Taking civic life not by contemporary sample, but at its historic best, we see in its transmutations a higher potential all round. The Folk becomes a Polity as it is animated by moral purpose. Work is no longer determined by place, but by selection of means adjusted to more spiritual ends. Thus Occupation becomes Vocation, and Work takes on the character of Culture-activity. Place is correspondingly transformed, recreated as Art. These high phases of civic life are the true culmination and flowering of rustic life; and thus our formula passes into a higher version—in which Folk, Work, Place are transmuted, as—

Polity → Culture → Art.

We are now in a position to locate the sciences of the subjective group. The original formula was in the first place objective, then objective-subjective. In this new version, the formula is obviously of an interest and impulse primarily subjective, then becomes

subjective-objective, since impulses arise in the inner world of personality, but thence proceed to the transfiguration of the outer world, shaping it to purposive effect. The identification of each of the subjective sciences—ethics, psychology, æsthetics—with the corresponding aspects of this process is manifest. Survey the stream of inner life from the standpoint of moral purpose (*i.e.* of Folk reshaped to Polity), and the resulting specialism is Ethics; from the standpoint of mental working (*i.e.* of Culture-activity), it is (Social) Psychology; from the standpoint of environment transformed to beauty, it is Æsthetics. And out of the endeavour to co-ordinate these three specialisms there arises Sociology anew, and now in its more subjective aspect, just as our more objective sociology arose from the co-ordination of geography, economics and anthropology.

In further illustration of its efficacy and clearness, note how the double formula automatically translates itself into terms of mental process. Parallelizing now our full

social formula with the corresponding psychological one, we have—

Place →	Work →	Folk		POLITY →	Culture →	Art
Sense →	Intelligence →	Feeling		IDEAL →	Idea →	Image

Here then the full range of psychology is displayed in a way that relates its subject-matter to that of sociology; and also, what is more important, both alike to the concrete facts of everyday life. The advantage is twofold. Psychology through its correlation with sociology finds its needed unit in the valley-section. Simultaneously it secures its data in the mental life of the rustic types and of their civic variants. These types have long been recognized, alike by literature and popular thought, as the raw material of personality. All that rich and varied flowering of personality which transforms types into individuals thus secures recognition in the field of science. Personality in flesh and blood can thereby contribute to, and at the same time receive from, psychological science. In other words psychology is brought down from the academic cloister to the market-place and the home, and to its further

gain the market-place and the home ascend to the cloister.

With this simplifying and clarifying, the same fertilizing interaction is next seen to be possible between the life and labour of the people, and the whole group of humanistic sciences. To incorporate Woman and the People into the scientific culture of the age was the supreme ideal of Comte. Upon the possibility of that educational achievement he believed that the health and orderly progress of society depended. Sharing this ideal, the student of LePlay must peculiarly push on towards realizing its necessary complement. The health and orderly progress of the sciences may next be shown also to depend not a little on their incorporation into the life and culture of Woman and the People. Given these two conditions, of current and counter-current, in the elemental realities of life, labour and science; are we not again coming in sight of the *Instauratio Magna*, that Great Renewal, which Bacon foresaw, in the advent of modern science?

The renewal involves on the one side an uplift and ennoblement of popular life and

thought, and on the other a new birth for the humanist sciences. And that the latter are awakening from the torpor of their academic obsession with metaphysical entities, with premature abstractions, and other dead matter, there are many signs. Witness the psychology of William James, Stanley Hall and many more, the advance of art endeavour, and the progress of its appreciative criticism, above all the living (because social and civic) ethics which have been appearing on all sides.

But from the isolated (and therefore inhuman) academic closet, even from its many dissecting-rooms and charnel-houses, have come too much of the material and method of sciences as yet but humanist in name. From these dead or poisoned sources have issued the “ Race ” of the philologists, the “ Capital ” and “ Labour ” of the economists ; just as definitely as the skulls and skeletons, which have fossilized anthropology.¹ So the

¹ For a vivid example of living anthropology and its illuminating value for current issues, see A. G. G.’s analysis and presentment of “ The Great God Gun,” *Daily News*, November 11, 1916.

exhumation of their literary equivalents, of "documents" and "archives," has been not merely of service but also of disservice for history. Indeed it is not only Lord Haldane but the great body of academic and official scientists (and of the humanist groups, far more than the naturalistic), who have had their "spiritual home" in Germany, though unlike him, they most of them lack the sincerity and courage to see and to confess it. The hope for the coming generation is not merely that its men of humanistic learning and science will escape from this Germanic thralldom, but that they, and the Germans too, will find new freedom, activity and life, through receiving and developing the sociological traditions of France. And for the Germanic communities, that may happily mean a new and greater Reception, a more fertile and lasting union of the Latin and the Teutonic spirit.

With such renovation, the shadowy figures of hunter, shepherd and peasant, of miner, forester and fisher, that have hitherto flitted darkly in the background of history and economics or been torn from their native soil

to furnish curiosities and anecdotes for anthropologists—indeed, from their very tombs to yield their skulls and weapons to the archaeologists—again become for science what they are in fact, the elemental types of civilized as well as of primitive society. Elemental man will thus again be seen as no mere arrestment in savagery or lingering survival in civilization. He will become realized as the very stuff of social life, renewing from generation to generation the essentials of humanity. Without his aptitudes and traditions, without his memories and aspirations, rural culture would cease, cities wither, nations stagnate and decay.

Maeterlinck has well said that if there is one fallacy more than another which the war has exploded, it is that the modern peoples have civilized and cultivated themselves out of the antique virtues. In evidence are cited prodigies of valour and miracles of enterprise displayed at the front by townsmen, educated and uneducated alike. The truth is, that given the conditions of renewal, the latent hunter in every man comes promptly to birth again. But the same

principle of evocation, the same re-education with it, holds also for the other elemental types, each in its own degree. Here there are truths, awaiting application when our statesmen turn from Wardom to Peacedom, from *Kriegspiel* to *Friedenspiel*. The Boy Scout movement is but an earnest of untold educational possibilities, as its principle of rustic renewal becomes extended and applied to the whole range of the primitive or nature occupations. And that consummation seems less remote, when we recall that in entire independence of sociological studies, French or other, more than one school of educationists has been busy with beginnings of a real training of the young by aiding them successively to appreciate and to master the characteristic conditions of each form of primitive life.

The genius of Kipling gave a convincing application of the principle, in *Captains Courageous*. Who can read that story without realizing the fishing fleet as an unrivalled school of conduct not only for the young hotheads of the leisure class, but for all classes? Similarly a season's apprenticeship

with the shepherd on the Downs, with the peasant in field and stockyard, with the forester and the miner or quarryman, is capable of evoking not a little of the qualities that come from the occupational struggle with these environments. What we want for our boys, in place of the existing elementary education, is an elemental one, with picked craftsmen for schoolmasters.¹ Here we submit is an after-war economy, which would simultaneously provide a school of the military virtues, under headmastership not of the drill-sergeant, but of the hunter, not less skilful and courageous because “ converted.” The cure for militarism is neither more militarism (as the Prussicators assume) nor more pacifism (as their critics too often assume), but a humanism springing directly from naturalism. In this direction surely lies a first step towards the Great Renewal.

¹ For remarkable suggestions and initiatives see the “ Woodcraft Way ” series, published by the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry, 4 Fetter Lane, E.C.; also “ The Value and Importance of Handicraft in Education,” by Henry Wilson, and other papers, in *Reports of the Conference on New Ideals in Education*, obtainable from the Secretary, 24 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.

To recapitulate: Our original formula (Place, Work, Folk) of LePlay must be read two ways. It may be read forwards with the materialists, the determinists, who trace the influence of environment on economic conditions and of these on social institutions. But we must also read the formula in reverse order with thinkers of the more spiritual schools, who see the ideals of life reacting on labour and on environment; transmuting the former to Vocation and the latter to Beauty. Let us again set out our formula for this duplicate use—as it were on both sides of the shield:

Place → Work → Folk | Polity → Culture → Art.

Thus stated the formula brings together into one working system many rival schools supposedly irreconcilable. But the great advance it signifies goes even further. Its framework of Sociology is in precise congruence with the corresponding scheme and notation of Biology. It also suggests the parallelism of both these sciences with Psychology. Such claims, ambitious though they sound, may almost be verified by inspection when we set out the correspondence as follows—

Place	→	Work	→	Folk	Polity	→	Culture	→	Art
Sense	→	Intelligence	→	Feeling	Ideal	→	Idea	→	Image
Environment	→	Function	→	Organism	Organism	→	Function	→	Environment

This triply sixfold scheme now invites application to the whole field of the humanist sciences, and this not only for the orderly arrangement and interpretation of their own data, but also in their co-ordination with biology. So is afforded a clearer and completer presentment of all forms of Life in Evolution, from that of simplest nature to humanity at its most complex or its best. A beginning of systematic endeavour to substantiate this has been made elsewhere.¹

In the earlier chapters of the present volume we tried to show the Comte and LePlay formulæ at work, with little or no reference to their methodic aspects. In the present chapter we have outlined in briefest survey some later developments which the LePlay formulæ have undergone at the hands of naturalists who are also logicians. Their labours have necessarily been in the shade at a time when the sun of academic approbation shone upon a scheme of education that treated studies of life and logic as

¹ See *Civics as Applied Sociology*, already cited, p. 58.

unrelated specialisms. That confusion of thought is now beginning to be seen as the educational device of a society habituated to modern fortune-hunting by the trick of making man and machines interchangeable. To a community regulated by such ideals of success, a logic of life that was vital would have been nothing but a hindrance. What it wanted for spiritual comfort and mental justification was a logic of life that was mechanistic. It has long enough got what it wanted under our Germanic régime of specialisms, each and all isolated in thought, and at most, empirically linked for “ practical ” purposes, in industry and politics. The French tradition, so long obscured in a mechanical and State-ridden age, is of the opposite tendency. It cares first for unity of thought in terms of life, and hence it appreciates, and even prefers, diversity in politics and industry. With the escape of the western universities from their Germanic thralldom, an immense clearing up of philosophical *débris* will begin. We have tried to show how adapted to this task and to the corresponding renewal are these guiding

threads from LePlay and Comte, of which our formulæ are but developments.

In literature and philosophy, myth and religion, there have ever been presented two predominant theories of life. The one view sees life bowed before inexorable fate, submissive to impassive Gods; the other shows life overthrowing Titans, achieving heroic labours.

Religious sects have been wont to erect one or the other view into dogma, and stand immutable thereon. Philosophers have generalized one view as Determinism, the other as Liberterianism; and have disputed interminably as to which is the one and only true doctrine. But, as we have seen, each view falls, simply and inevitably into its place in our duplicate formula—on the left hand is the determination of life by circumstance, and on the right the re-domination of circumstance by life. Again, observe how writers of romance and their works arrange themselves as predominantly on one side or the other. Witness Scott or Fielding, with

the novel primarily of circumstance on the left, and Richardson or Jane Austen, with the novel of character on the other. In childhood we read impartially *Robinson* and *Pilgrim* by turns, for life was then in active progress. Only with the fixation of maturity do we settle down to an insistence on one view, an under-valuation of the other, and so dispute as to which is true, on the absurd assumption of mutual exclusiveness. Thus educationists have tended to over-emphasize the importance of nurture, as too many eugenists now do those of nature. Modern evolution theories have for the most part but renewed the old quarrel in their particular terms, and have disputed between “ Luck or Cunning,” one harshly insisting on “ the All-Sufficiency of Natural Selection,” another on subjective uplifts left too indefinite. But our formula shows all these contrasted schools as but respectively emphasizing and elaborating the more objective and the more subjective sides of life, individual and social. It recognizes as “ a legitimate materialism,” a standpoint from which the parallelism of vital and social, even of material and mental,

processes, not only may, but must, be stated in determinist language. Yet the reciprocal conception, the idealistic view and philosophy is equally demanded and recognized; indeed, no less explicitly set forth by the complementary formula, that of a "legitimate transcendentalism." As we progress in the every-day world, by steps with alternate feet, so with this higher progress. It is through the every-day world too, and this seen with fresh and freshening eyes of naturalistic realism; yet also with fresh insight and freshening hope, even faith as well, of idealistic renewal. And it is after all by these elements that biologist and sociologist alike must measure the unending ascent of evolution.

Do classifications of ideas, such as the above, still seem to be of purely academic interest, and of correspondingly little practical value? But classifications, when not merely logical, but vital also, bear fruit in resulting clarifications. Sectarianism is rampant in every department of life and thought; and it flourishes on the current mental isolation with

its resulting Babel of confusion, its arbitrary distinctions, its false antitheses. But now, a wider co-operation of men of goodwill, of all diverse groups of thought and action, a larger working together, is beginning, of which the nation's unification during the war, the well-tried solidarity of the Allies, are but earnest. Such unison in action must be associated with growing unity in thought, and corresponding clarity of purpose. Towards this coming Great Renewal, three parallel movements are indispensable. The renewal of life, the renewal of labour, and the renewal of thought, must run concurrently and in correlation. The remaking of the nations calls for all the resource of science and art, and these demand their reshaping as philosophy, even their re-idealization at once by poetry and by religion. Our formulation of life has thus its fullest advance before it: that of co-ordinating these highest forms of life and this towards creative purpose.

With this chapter we have brought to an end our long journey through the outer

world of reality and the inner world of higher reality called ideality. To retrace the main stages. We began with history, in order to ensure our contacts with the living past and in the hope of selecting its better survivals and continuing its nobler tendencies. Next we made a journey on foot along the high places in order to see the world with our own eyes and discover what Man is doing in it and with it. This exploration took us into the field of rustic labour, with its supreme ideal of the Good Shepherd and its perennial temptation, which is reversion to the predatory life of the hunt. Next we followed to town the peasant turning citizen and builder. We made a perambulation of cities, and saw these as not only the treasure houses of civilization, but also as its essential creative organs. How cities work for the enhancement and progress of life, yet also for its repression and debasement, we saw. Finally, we made an incursion into the realm of logic and philosophy. There we saw good ground for supposing that a logic which is also a calculus of life may be developed by following the clues of our previous wanderings.

Such a calculus of life is needed for that co-ordination of knowledge and orchestration of spiritual resources which will differentiate the coming order from the passing chaos. The transition towards a more vital era was proceeding even before the war, but confusedly and with infinite friction. How will it proceed after the war? Will the strain and struggle of conflicting interests prolong the transition and defer the genuinely preparatory phase, so that still more generations be condemned to wander in the wilderness? Or, on the other hand, can we hope to usher in the preparatory period without excessive friction, and so encourage our successors of the next generation with the prospect of more positive achievement?

The task before the nation is one of transition from the competitive individualism of pre-war days to the larger unison which, if we knew how to cultivate it, should be the fruit of the war. How, in fact, to renew the co-operation, the strenuousness, the self-abnegation of the war; and to direct the liberated energies towards the tasks of a more efficient and nobler public life than

heretofore. The ideal of each "doing his or her bit" arose under impulse of a common national aim. That ideal was, in no small measure, realized, because the war by its redemptive qualities compelled us to think of the national energies no longer in fragments but as a whole. Cannot this conception of Social Synergy be renewed and applied to reconstruction? The core of the problem is to arouse a personal sense of definite responsibilities including and transcending each one's own life and work.

The nation will doubtless rise to the occasion in proportion as a clear yet moving vision of a better future is revealed, and the means towards its gradual realization grasped as a matter of goodwill and a task of organization. To these practical issues we therefore now turn.

PART III

PRACTICE

CHAPTER I

THE RENEWING OF CHRISTENDOM

LET us try to portray the present situation in European politics by adapting an old fable.

In dull weather, when flowers were few, and work was well-nigh stopped, there came buzzing to the depressed bees a solitary wasp of genius. Said he, "Foolish bees, are you not tired of your dark little hives? of your dirty old combs crowded together, and of your perpetual search over the fields, to gather a little food for your children? Look how I can use my sting and so make my voice a terror to all: be like me, and you will enjoy my freedom!" "But what of our old town Hive?" asked one bee. "And of my old village comb?" asked another. "And of my little cells with the young ones I have to take care of?" said a third. "Foolish

bees ! these things are all out of date : do you not see how narrow are your minds, how limited are your horizons ; merely domestic, local, provincial ? How petty all of you ! how ignorant of politics and affairs ! But come and buzz with me, and you shall soar into the great world and dominate it by your voices, which we now call votes. With all our stings together, we shall not only defend ourselves, but conquer our enemies. Think then no more of hives and combs and cells ; for here is the greater idea, each bee in the air becomes an Individual, like me, all and all to himself, and for himself." " But what of the other bees ? " asked a lingering conservative, hesitating to be alone. Said the new political genius : " Don't you see that when all the bees are in the air, they constitute the modern Democratic State ? In this great and free Society we are henceforth emancipated from petty cares of hives and homes ! " So with acclamation the great Revolution was accomplished ; and with much making of history thereafter ; with little of honey, though much of blood. But now, after the greatest of bee wars, more

and more wasp-like towards its close, the survivors will doubtless show increasing signs of aversion from the glories of stinging flight ; turning towards their old-fashioned working world once more they seek to renew their broken hives, the shattered combs, and tend the neglected and orphaned children.

It is this movement which is called Reconstruction. It began for France after the first Battle of the Marne ; and steady rebuilding of ruined villages has thus been in progress since the end of 1914. By 1916 it was able to fill the Paris " Exhibition of the Reconstituted City," although the enemy's guns were within hearing of the gates.¹ Here, then, we see the reconstructive movement arising to meet the definite needs of a definite time and place. The ruined region is one in which historic cities, with their cathedrals and their universities, lie ruined and shattered, in which great industrial towns stand

¹ To this exhibition Professor Geddes transported the essentials of the Town Planning Exhibition, which had been touring the cities of India during the previous two years. He thereafter resumed his civic labours in India, and he hopes now to return to the reconstruction service of the war-ruined regions of Europe.—V. V. B.

idle, robbed of their last machine; the villages destroyed to the last stone, the orchards cut down to the last tree. It is the garden and workshop of France, but gardens and workshops and mines, like so many also in Belgium, Poland and Serbia, all battered into destruction, soaked with death, black and livid with decay. Yet once more men will build again the wasted places, and in some ways better than before.

For men are becoming disillusioned, and moreover throughout Europe—not in Petrograd alone, but also in Berlin, and through all towns and countries, in all armies, even in some measure in all council rooms—of the ideas and activities which have brought about this climax of destruction. Its reconstructive groups plan and build from dawn to dark, yet they also think; and with a clearness and purpose to which those who brought things to this pass are unaccustomed. For with all its industrial and imperial and financial greatness, these rebuilders ask, what has been this industrial world after all? A time of digging up coals anyhow, to get up steam anyhow, to run machinery anyhow,

to produce cheap products anyhow, to sell them for profits anyhow, and so achieve "success" (say for one per thousand), estimated in money gains, and these mainly at death. So, too, there is disenchantment with the imperial world, with its promise of peace and pride of power, its victories and glories: and with the financial world, with its incalculable and crushing debts. Many, no doubt, can still see nothing beyond the industrial progress, the military power, or the financial enterprise, which have thus led down to pandemonium. Under the mental fixation imposed by this triple dispensation, they foresee and desire an after-war destiny not less and may be more mechanical, more violent, or more venal than ever. Again, there are many others, who in rebound from all this steaming chaos stand aside and waste life and usefulness in mere criticism, here radical, there socialist, and elsewhere anarchist in character. Compound these three insurgent types of social critic, salt them with millennial idealisms, add a mingling of traditional politics and conventional creeds, compound this concoction, fling

it into a seething cauldron of poverty, discontent and disillusionment, and you have the disorders of Revolution, actual in many countries, latent in all.

Over against all these static parties and sects, with their respective critics and antagonists, there are the marching regiments of reconstruction. Observe that the many groups of the former, however hostile to each other, meet upon the common ground of social and political theories that are outworn. They are, therefore, as regards the making of the future, immobile, reactionary, or in a state of drift. How different the situation and outlook of the rebuilders. These have their vision of growing clearness; they have their plans of increasing definiteness, and the execution of these plans is beginning. Looking upon the war-ruined areas, what they say is this :—

“ We have to re-open the coal-mines, renew the machinery, and multiply the products like our predecessors of the industrial and Liberal age; but now not merely for sale and personal profit, but for clothing the naked. More important still, we have again to till

and plant the ground ; but now not merely or mainly for market, but to feed the hungry. Again we have to build houses, but now no longer merely as properties, as comfort-villas, or luxury-places ; still less as speculations in rise of land values or on profits of jerry-building ; but to house the homeless. We have to rebuild the schools ; but not to pass examinations in, or provide returns for metropolitan clerks to pigeon-hole ; but to teach the children. That is, we have both to tell them something of their still undestroyed and indestructible heritage of the spirit, and also to prepare them to help more effectively and more speedily in every home, village or city, with the reconstruction of the material heritage now lying destroyed. We have to do all this, as on the battle-field, with its strenuousness ; and as behind the battle-field, using for the tasks of peace the very maps they use for war in the Staff-Office ; but with even fuller Civic and Regional Survey of every material feature and element of the situation ; yet with increasing incorporation of the other elements as well, mental, moral and social."

Seeing, feeling, thinking after this fashion means the renewing of Christendom, and, moreover, on the modern spiral and with full command of contemporary resources. To suffuse and encompass the life of home and neighbourhood, of village and city with uncovenanted service is the Church's ideal for the here and now. It is an ideal for which the Church contends with an efficacy in direct ratio to its own resistance against the temptations of materialism. So, naturally, you find foremost in the work of reconstruction that Christian patriciate, the Society of Friends. But these rebuilders, already active in the war-ruined regions, come largely also from the Schools of learning, and from all their faculties. In this service they escape from the limitations of these faculties and rise into that larger world of better understanding, which is entered as we exchange our external domination by the letter of our training (tempting us ever to see and think in terms of mechanism and money) for a fuller appreciation of the spirit and of life, say, rather, of the spirit which is life and of the life which is spirit. On this higher plane

of the spirit with its life-synthesis, the old controversies of materialism and idealism, which seemed so insoluble, are alike re-absorbed, as the dual aspects of life. The reconstructive campaign will thus engage the best elements of the universities of the war-ruined regions. It will gather its practitioners, its counsellors, its adherents from Louvain, the first martyr university; from those long-silenced, like Liège and Brussels, Ghent and Lille; from others, during all the years of war hard-beleaguered like Nancy, and again from those threatened, and above all, therefore, from the historic mother university of the west, Paris herself. From all these and more will come together some of the best minds, at once the most broadly social and ethical, philosophic and geographic, and the most effectively specialised, both in thought and in things concrete.

But this is tantamount to a renewal of the ancient university from its historic origins; for in such eager intercourse of minds, in co-operation of ideas, the great universities arose. Liberated from the subtle temptations of capital; immune to the bitter-

ness of insurgent labour ; freed, too, from bureaucratic shackles and examination torments, with their petty rewards and fears, these pioneers of the militant spirit will give examples from which may spring the University of the Future, at once synthetic and analytic.

That this academic prospect will seem "utopian" to many is of course obvious. But such critics may consider whether it be not the fact, that each great renewal of universities in history has arisen at times of social transition and war, comparable to the present one. In such ferment of thought and inquiry arose the Renaissance and Reformation universities, the movements of the Encyclopædia and of the French and the Industrial Revolutions, the University of France with the Empire of Napoleon, and those of modern Germany after her defeats by him. Again, the renewal of French universities came as part of the recovery after the Franco-German War of 1870-71. Why, then, since the hour for Reconstruction is striking, need we despair, either for those best satisfied with things educational as they

are, or for their most pessimistic and unconstructive critics !

We foresee the coming of a movement, already incipient in the war-ruined areas, which, whatever it be called, will be, in fact, the university in action. Why not adapt a phrasing from crusading days, and call it the *University Militant*?¹ It will receive growing support throughout the universities of the allied lands. It will even penetrate Germany herself ; it will shake her proudest citadels, rise above them, drop ideas into them, more fully than can raiding airmen. And with her specialisms thus surpassed because co-ordinated ; with her State-philosophy over-powered because out-thought, her pride-illusion cured, Germany will increasingly be brought back to reason, and even to human loyalty, from her fanaticism of an imaginary Teutonic race, and its aggressive superiority. Thus will her victims return to her good for present evil, and good for previous good.

¹ A phrase we believe first used by a far-sighted American writer, a decade and more ago ; see *The University Militant*, by Charles Ferguson (Mitchell Kennerley, New York).

The coming University Militant, regional in its many centres, yet synthetic and integral in them all, and hence increasingly catholic and human, may thus do much towards reuniting the shattered unity of civilization and world-peace; since its principles lead not only to tolerance, but to appreciation of the best qualities of all peoples, and their co-operation accordingly.

People's minds are increasingly preoccupied by discussion of the theory and practice of a League of Nations. But that temporal project is perilous in its incompleteness unless it be balanced and supplemented by a correlative but wholly independent spiritual power. And whence is to issue the intellectual element of the required spiritual authority unless from the purified wells of a renascent university? There and nowhere else is the historic reservoir of waters to irrigate the fields of occidental thought. In universities not poisoned by national bias and distorted by State interference, men grow habituated to think in terms of a culture common to western civilization. More than all other institutions, the university

is preoccupied with this common culture of the western mind. It was a sufficiently dramatic illustration of this cultural unity, that when an endeavour was made (unhappily with very limited success) to organize a protest of universities, academies and learned societies against the burning of Louvain, the one directory of addresses available was that admirable German annual the *Minerva Jahrbuch* !

It should be a postulate of international policy that a concert of universities is a necessary counterpoise to the League of Nations. Without counsel and education from sources at once informed and untainted, the public interests embodied in the League will suffer all the old political temptations and some new ones. If left to face unsupported every gust of national passion, what will happen to the League of Nations and its equipment of law, police and armed forces ? A temporal power thus erected in isolation would be imperilled and in course of time inevitably subverted by the very tendencies to chicanery and even to absolutism which have been the undoing of the national State

Governments. But a happier fate should await a League whose activities were paralleled by an independent volume of spiritual influence. For this would be needed the critical spirit, the trained intelligence, the moral weight of individuals and groups educated in the dispassionate atmosphere of international thought which will surround the renovated university.¹

But warmth of impulse and loftiness of aim are also needed and in fullest measure. An alliance of the University with the Church is therefore imperative; for assuredly no full-orbed society of nations is possible without that ancient mother, of whom Alma Mater is herself the daughter.

At present a society of nations exists, but strangely limited. Its individual citizens are like caged animals, occasionally liberated, only to be recaptured and brought back into confinement. Their natural *habitat* is in the universities, academies and learned societies of Europe and America. Here, it is true,

¹ For valuable suggestions in this connection see *Janus and Vesta*, by B. Branford (Chapman & Hall), especially Chapter VI., "A World University."

men learn in some degree to think internationally. But how fleeting that habit of mind when it runs counter to nationalist and patriotic bias ! For on the outbreak of war practically the whole world of science and letters lapsed into partisanship.

The occidental republic of culture is a real community, but of tenuous life. Examine representative samples of its productivity and you may see not only its qualities and defects, but also how the former may be intensified and the latter amended. During the early years of the twentieth century the leading academies and learned societies of Europe and America devoted much time and thought to studying the question of an increased co-operation. The upshot of many conferences held in one capital after another was the launching of certain international projects. One was the collection and editing of the works of Leibnitz. The editor put in charge of this long-delayed obligation was a professor in a French university. That was a happy conjuncture recalling the mediæval intiniacy of international communion, when, for example, it

was possible for a Spanish cathedral to be built by a French architect and dedicated to the use of an English bishop.

Another resultant of these conferences was the organization of an International Catalogue of Scientific Papers, a truly Herculean labour of bibliography. This undertaking illustrates at once the renewing of Christendom and also the sort of difficulty that has still to be overcome. For there is a lion in the path, and no attempt to dodge it will avail. The bold line, which is always the straight course, must be taken. How? Well, recall that the academies and learned societies are, in their origin, fragments torn from the cloister of the Church. Momentous have been the consequences of this rupture. It undermined the constitution of Christendom. So long as the intellectual life of the community was sustained by the Regular Clergy, linked with the Secular clergy in *their* particular work of emotional uplift, the Church could and did function as the spiritual power of Christendom. But with the severance of science from the speculative life of the cloister there began a new order of Regulars, whose con-

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vents, now called academics and learned societies, were soon at open warfare with the parent body. After several centuries of hostilities this great schism of the spiritual power has been practically composed in our own time. On the major issues, as to the interpretation of Man and Nature, a broad basis of concurrence has been reached, and only secondary matters remain for adjustment.

The re-union of science and religion being thus no longer hindered by any insuperable obstacle of doctrine, what delays their practical co-operation in the making of a better world? Many things, doubtless; but fundamentally this, on the side of science, *the main body of the sociologists has not yet learned to think internationally*. This fatal shortcoming was duly branded and registered in the exclusion of the social and psychological sciences from the International Catalogue of Scientific Papers. It is now for these laggard members who should be leaders of the scientific circle to earn their right of entry. And this they can do (as we have tried to show in Parts I and II of this volume), by advancing into line with the progressive

group which has continued to cultivate at once the observational and the synthetic tradition of the science.

Institutionally considered, this failure of the sociologists to think internationally is a failure of the university. Similarly on its side the Church has no less conspicuously failed to *feel internationally*. Are not both failures deeply associated with the relative inactivity of these two traditional arms of the spiritual power, in face of the gigantic evils of our contemporary world? Thinking, feeling, willing, these are the constituents of the Life Triumphant whose Christian name is spiritual. That truth is proclaimed by the immemorial sanctity of the triangular symbol, whose renaissance has been a superb feature of the war. But for the transcendent complexities of reconstruction highest combinations of thought, feeling and action are manifestly requisite. For this nothing less will serve than a renewal of Church and University in a joint campaign of epic intensity. In the task of surveying and reconstructing the war-ruined regions, surely lies the dramatic opportunity for re-initiating the long

overthrown spiritual power. As to the what and how, the when and where of the Church's part in this adventure, we perforce leave that to those who are competent to speak. But on the other side we claim a hearing as life-long workers for the university, if not always in or with it.

Manifestly the prospects sketched above for the University Militant must remain Utopian in so far as we fail to plan, to design, and to initiate them as Eutopian. That is to say, no longer vague everywhere and realized nowhere (ou-topia); but definitely regional and local, and so making the best of each place, in actual and possible fitness and beauty (eu-topia). Thus we may recover and make our choice between the contrasted meanings (and destinies) concealed by Sir Thomas More, punning in the fashion of his day, in the title of his immortal *Utopia*; but which too commonly has only the sarcastic half of its meaning understood, seldom its real and hopeful one.

Given such a movement as the University Militant launched in the war-ruined regions, may it not spread like a leaven to other regions

and peoples, however fixed the old habit of mind which would return to "business as usual" like a dog to its bone? For has not every city and region of the belligerents been in the war, not merely with its soldiers, but with its entire people and all it holds most dear at stake? All who have suffered this experience have been, in degree and kind, actors in a world-shaking drama, not mere spectators of it. They have thrilled to the mighty issue of a life-and-death struggle of communities. But in the poignancy of this situation there is danger of reaction and consequent lapse into torpor, of unintelligent spectatorship or even petrified aloofness. To those in such peril let the University Militant sound its clarion call to a contest which in a deep sense is a holy war; since its aim is the liberation of the Time Spirit, striving to emerge from the night of the present into the coming day.

We are groping now through the twilight of Transition. Recall that no one any longer speaks merely of "the Stone Age" of early man. This is nowadays discerned more clearly, in its two distinct and successive levels,

of the Old and the New Stone Age, Paleolithic and Neolithic. Similarly we need now to distinguish our modern Industrial and Technical Age into what we are also beginning to see as two phases, Old and New; and these may therefore conveniently be discriminated by parallel terms, as Paleotechnic and Neotechnic. In the beginning of the Old Stone Age man seems still but emerging from the brute; yet grasping the flint as tool, its spark as fire, we see him advancing to mastery of the (henceforth) lower animals in the hunt, rising to tribal groupings, and even expressing his strenuous life in vivid art. But in the later Neolithic age he had reached what are the essentials of civilization to this day: not only in the varied tools of special arts and labours, wrought to fineness, no longer that of chipped flints, but that of the polished jewels of temples and treasures of palaces. For Neolithic man was creating agriculture, with specializations and domesticated animals and plants; and therewith its higher status of women, its beginnings of religion.

Similarly in our Industrial Age. We have

long been living essentially in its earlier paleotechnic period. This we have already characterized as a time of making money anyhow and having wars anyhow ; and with only utilitarian economists and liberal lawyers, or else imperial bureaucrats and bards, as our rival priesthoods : the whole system being crowned at its summit by the ruling financier. But now the ending, or at least the subordination, of the paleotechnic phase is coming into sight. Beginnings of the neotechnic order have indeed from the first been in progress in every specialism, in every inventor's workshop, in every research laboratory, where experimentalists are ever engaged in putting a finer polish on their implements. But at length, with the stress of this war of machines and processes, inventor and physical scientist are coming into power ; with production leaders, commerce organizers, and railway re-organizers to head them, and with the thinking airman surveying wider outlooks beyond them all. For from his vantage-point of survey (regional, and therefore increasingly interpretative), the last more especially sees the coming transforma-

tion of the destruction he makes to-day into the Reconstruction of to-morrow. This must be neotechnic in all its details : but it must also be geotechnic, that is, geographic. But that is to say that every true Reconstruction is capable of being comprehensively mapped, and definitely planned for.

Yet how much more is needed than material reconstruction and political readjustment, we have already tried to show. Now, to reinforce the case for the spiritual power, let us re-state it in other terms. There is an old and venerable Babylonian tradition, transmitted by Israel to the west, that man had once long ago a home and a garden given him to care for, which were the masterpiece of the divine Geotect, and to which all since planned are but what their kindred garden-suburbs are to Paradise. The story tells how he and his wife lost home and situation together, and merely through yielding to what are our common modern desires, of things fair to the eye and sweet to the taste, with luxuries of "intellect and culture," as well. The story is thus plainly and psychologically true. Its lesson is that the adjust-

ment of our life and surroundings must be not merely geotechnic, much less merely neotechnic. It must also be spiritual; assuredly not merely intellectual: on that point the story is clear. Its emotional element must be not only large and impulsive, but also sincere, and therefore ring true in action.

We are thus compelled to the admission (one hard for the student, the man of pure or applied science), that the essential problem of life is not material, but psychical. In a word, life needs to be eupsychic; or in an older word, religious: a term more familiar till Modern Education enlightened us, as the serpent did Mother Eve in the story. So for this definite summary we are now ready: that re-education, now and everywhere the object of discussion and quest, is not simply neotechnic, though this is urgent for workers and specialists; nor even geotechnic, though this be no less urgent, especially for organizers and statesmen. It is, above all, and therefore in the first place eupsychic, religious, or, to be more precise, re-religious. For the test of an abiding success is in the measure of our breadth and fulness of sympathy with

nature and its powers, and with our fellow-men in their past and in their present: throughout all their varied groupings, in their present cares, sufferings and anxieties, in their hopes, aspirations and possibilities. And "where man is helping man, the Divine is there." Only thus can we have any real understanding, worth the name, of science, much less of philosophy, morals or statesmanship. And only thus can we successfully initiate the needed reconstruction of city and country, upon geotechnic lines, and with the corresponding command of the needful neotechnic detail.

In the coming polity our renewed university and school curricula will be doubtless again much like the ancient ones. But they must become religious in spirit, and reconstructive in ceaseless effort to ascend the spiral of evolving life. Thus they will be effectively scientific because vitally constructive, in all the rich variety of modern and advancing specialisms and applications.

Here, then, is obviously appearing in this reconstructive policy (whether applied in a ravaged French city or a deteriorated English

industrial town matters little) a form of civilization widely different from the present one : and much less dependent upon simple faith in coin and in routine, whether these be active in Business or static in Bureaucracy.¹ Hence little wonder that the educated public, so largely divided between these two great castes, should have difficulty even in imagining the possibility of this reconstructive form of society, and think it "merely utopian," although it is already actively at work and growing since the War, and preparing for larger claims with peace. It was neither for pittance of pay, nor routine of drill (though, of course, drill and pay are both necessary), that the youth of Europe marched out from home, from school and college, from workshop, counter and office, in Garibaldi's immortal phrase, "to face hardships, privations, wounds and death." Why, then, should we assume the cessation of the heroic appeal on the resumption of peace? Surely youth returning from the fight will see to it that

¹ For an analysis and estimate of the impulses, tendencies and resultants of stark Business and Bureaucracy see *Papers for the Present*, No. 9, "The Drift to Revolution" (Headleys).

life will be tuned and led on its reconstructive march by a different music from that of the turning of wheels, the scratching of pens, the clinking of coins and rustling of papers, of our passing chaos. The spirit of youth ever needs and responds to love of neighbourhood and home, of country and city, yet of widening humanity as well.

CHAPTER II

THE POST-GERMANIC UNIVERSITY

IN current opinion the university stands as most conservative of institutions. But that popular estimate merely reflects a temporary arrestment of university development. It is informed by no adequate knowledge of universities in their historic evolution. Consequently, it ignores certain deep-seated tendencies. But develop these tendencies and you restore to the university its proper rôle of leadership, not only in the things of the mind, but also in their practical applications. If, therefore, the university can be aroused to a sense of its human mission and inspired by civic vision, it becomes again the cutting edge of progress. A brief historic sketch will make this clear.

Universities arose in the west from the discussions of the great problem of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that of how

to reconcile the prevailing doctrines and traditions of the Christian Church with Greek thought, expressed in the recovered works of Aristotle. There was also the nascent quest of the sciences of physical nature, and their would-be practical applications in power over nature. In Medicine the physicians of all faiths—Christian and non-Christian, Jewish and Moslem—had begun to compare not only their drugs, but their doctrines and theories. Lawyers wrestled for the rival claims of Civil and Canon Law. Thus each of our modern “Faculties” (say, rather, surviving Faculties) takes its academic rise from that fertile period. But, after a certain productivity, discussion deteriorated into wrangling and sophistry: and thus, as ever, the books of the dead weighed down the minds of the living.

Yet one cure for the tyranny of books is furnished by more books. Hence in the fifteenth century, the next recovery of Greek, of Plato above all, called forth a transformation in existing universities, and colleges, and the renaissance foundings of newer ones. These, again, were powerfully stimulated by

the strifes of the Reformation, and by re-awakened interest in the Old and New Testaments as well as in the Greek Classics. A further incentive to all studies was the invention of printing, since the press diffused reading and impelled to authorship. Then again came arrestment. Two subversive or reactionary factors came into operation. First there was the fixation of most Protestant bodies by that subordination to secular powers to which Luther and Henry VIII had committed them. Next followed the contrasted fixation of Catholic universities by the subordination to the Papal Power, through the counter-Reformation. The inevitable result ensued in a dying down of the university flame, everywhere.

From the middle of the eighteenth century, however, a new influence arose, and this, as before, originated outside the existing university altogether. This quickening impulse was born of the Great Encyclopædia, planned by Diderot and D'Alembert, edited by the former, advertised by Rousseau and Voltaire, written by these and other living minds of France.

The fruits of the encyclopædia movement were gathered by the university in the succeeding generation; a first crop by France herself, and a second and fuller one by Germany. As part of the organizing and codifying work, by which he still rules from his grave, Napoleon stereotyped and transmitted an official version of the Encyclopædia; for from its essential aspect to him, as a well-digested summary of extant knowledge, he made his University. His aim was to reconcile the democratic spirit of the Revolution with the centralized authority of the Empire he had created. To effect the needed moral and intellectual adjustment he instituted a new "University of France." This spiritual organ of the Imperial State, the synthetic mind of Napoleon thereupon directed to two practical ends. He disposed it to the training of his cohorts of officials, higher and humble alike, and to the schooling and disciplining of the entire nation in a not too unintelligent obedience. The University of France was made catholic in the widest sense; for it was legally entered by every child, with the learning of his letters. And so, in terms of

this truly democratic conception, the University embodied all the teaching institutions of the nation, primary, secondary and higher alike, and welded them into a single Education Service. The needs of imperial officialism in respect of recruitment, selection, discipline, were met by the introduction of the severe examination-system of the Chinese Empire. For there is no reason to doubt that this was an importation, definitely and consciously Chinese, just as are tea and silk and porcelain themselves, or as was Chinese landscape-gardening in the previous generation in England, as Kew Gardens still show.

After the bitterness of the Napoleonic wars had died away, and the ideas of the French Revolution were again at work in the leavening of English Liberalism, the University of France naturally commended itself as a model to English educational reformers. These reformers knocked in vain at the doors of Oxford and Cambridge, then the only universities in England. A high wall of mediæval and renaissance traditions, preserved with the utmost denominational exclusiveness, protected for a long time the two

ancient universities against the influx of reformist ideas. But under this French influence was founded the University of London: and hence its character till recently and still predominantly, that of an examination testing machine. In course of no long time the reaction of this examinational and bureaucratic impulse extended to academic circles beyond the Metropolis. Even in Oxford we see, later on, the examinational apparatus far outgrowing the capacities of the old Schools, and necessitating the erection of vast and costly new buildings, on which, the local guides boast to the stranger within their gates, there was a six-figure expenditure for material construction.

But no less profound, during the past two generations, has been the Germanic influence in the way of tuning up and modernizing our universities. Most notably, perhaps, this is witnessed in Cambridge, but also in London and in Scotland, and even in Oxford since the missionary adventure of Max Müller. But with inadequate resources for the setting up of new chairs and lectureships and for the equipment of laboratories, this development

of our universities towards specialization has fallen short of the best Germanic standard. There has become acclimatized amongst us, what, without deprecation, and in mere matter-of-fact terminology one might call the sub-Germanic type of university. With the exception of Durham, patterned on unreformed Oxford and Cambridge, the many new universities founded in England during the nineteenth century (and above all those in the United States) were a mingling of the examinational or bureaucratic type with the sub-Germanic. Thus, the present university situation is peculiarly dominated by the survival of an essentially pre-Germanic examinational system, supplemented by the Germanic ideal of specialized research. Improvements have, of course, long been urged and at many points are in active progress. The tyranny of examinations has not only been abated, but there is going on a development of examination methods. They become less and less regurgitation-tests, and more and more carefully-thought-out understanding-tests. The range and freedom of study already established is being further extended. Research

has been encouraged and will soon be still more promoted in any and every direction, of scientific, historic, linguistic and literary detail, and most of all, doubtless, as regards problems of technological character, mechanical, chemical and electrical for choice, but medical also. Yet something more than these advances, something including and transcending them all, as springtime surpasses the best days of winter, is needed, if the university is to do its proper spiritual service, on the one hand for its own community, and on the other for the world at large. What, then, let us ask, is or should be the post-Germanic ideal which universities should set before themselves and ensue? Well, first we must do full justice to the Germanic type, with its long-recognized intenser development.

The modernized German university led the world throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, alike in quantity, in thoroughness, and in variety of learning, in personal and detailed research. Consequently its general influence upon civilization, even tardily upon Britain itself, has been incalculable. Summarized to the utmost, the

German University is again the French Encyclopædia. For while, as often in history, the initiative was in France, its cogent application was in Germany. It is deeply, almost literally, true to affirm that the great Encyclopædia of Diderot was imported to Berlin and parcelled out, but now for re-editing, into all the studies of their new University of Berlin, by the brothers Humboldt, who still sit sublime in marble, the guardians of the academic entrance. There they sit, in memory, not only of their respective mastery, the one brother over the sciences, and the other over the humanities, but as expressing that "freedom of teaching and freedom of learning" (without definite and authoritative curriculum), which has been the watchword of German universities throughout their best days. Such, then, was their imperishable advance upon the stereotyped and more or less fossil curricula which still hampered the British universities, the tradition of surviving mediæval and renaissance studies, reduced for pass, even if intensified for honours; and maintained by monopoly in distinctions and in endowments,

by conformity above all; and with students more or less poorly prepared, in obsolete schools, mostly staffed by the least ambitious graduates. Germany planned better than to import the University of France. To her instead there opened, as half a century before to the French encyclopædists (who unhappily never became teachers), the whole universe of nature, and that of human discourse, now henceforth accessible to the German student. The Encyclopædia, with its innumerable and apparently unrelated subjects, was too vast for any single mind. So here we see the student left free to choose his own study, according to his own aptitudes, purposes and predilections. Alone in Europe, the German student was thus practically emancipated from that fixed academic rule which the renaissance tradition in its decay had established; and which the Napoleonic regime had intensified a hundredfold, by its importation and standardizing of examination success as the authorized portal to subsequent employment.

Taking it at its best, observe and ponder on the positive spirit of the German student

thus freed from dogmatic and administrative authority, from memory-taxation, and from economic fears. How is it that he has made German the most necessary of all the great languages, throughout the nineteenth century and after, for well-nigh every serious student of well-nigh every subject in the Encyclopædia? The answer assuredly is that one can only really study, still less investigate, from interest in the subject; whereas under external authority, or amid internal fears, one can only cram. In this distinction, clear as that between the kernel of the nut and its shell, lies the historic rise of German universities, and the comparative arrest of French and British ones. This appreciation is due to German universities, after full discount is allowed for the perfunctory, quantitative and useless character of much of their doctor - dissertation work. Similarly, the general indictment of British universities for arrestment holds, in spite of much progress along particular lines of development both in the sciences and the humanities.

Having surveyed Germanic universities at their best, next consider them in deterioration.

Their subordination to the whole set of Prussicating influences radiating from Imperial Berlin, especially during the latter nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, has become, since the war, a matter of common knowledge. We have had something to say of that evil reaction in earlier chapters; here we have dealt with the best of German learning, and its world services while sober, rather than since its intoxication: and what is now most important to note is that such potent intoxicants are no monopoly of Prussia. They are more or less in active distillation everywhere that the State over-dominates education. And if these noxious influences are indirect and circuitous in their effects on British universities they are none the less real.

Education, like religion, can only be truly vital in the measure of its freedom from external authority; for truth, like goodness, cannot be imposed from without, but can only grow with mind and soul within. That astronomy and mathematics live and think in a world of space wider than that of State enactments has always been obvious, even

to the strictest advocates of central government, but so it is for every science, and for the arts ; for literature, if possible, even more clearly. Forgetting these truths, we harbour the illusion that it is the kings who laureate the poets : but assuredly it is the poets who have preserved for memory the deeds and personality of kings !

It will be clear that what we are pleading for in our approach to the post-Germanic ideal is no new academic foundation, but a re-awakening of the university to its mission, a renewal of its spirit. No true and living university has ever been "founded" by statesmen or by millionaires. They have all historically arisen from a preliminary growth of, and demand for, culture in their cities and regions, and they can be, at best, but watered and guarded by external wealth and power. This re-growth has happily begun. The practical question is how to increase and guide it. The post-Germanic university is preparing : its establishment will come in time. Meantime preparation for its full advent assumes increasing urgency.

The designing of the post-Germanic uni-

versity implies, in the first place, a study of the needs and opportunities of each country, proceeding region by region, continuing across national frontiers and not failing to envisage the oneness of the globe, and the variety in unity of civilization. There are two essential problems to be kept constantly in mind. One is that of the university in general, considered as the expression of the best and most progressive synthesis of the world's thought and its times. And the other is in the application of all that a university should stand for and might achieve in each city and region, if it seeks and finds its tasks and problems in local needs, and its opportunities in local resources, material and spiritual, actual and latent.

In illustration, take rural England and consider its case from the standpoint of our valley section and the six rustic types. The English countryside is everywhere dominated by that community of super-hunters, the county families. Under this age-long oppression and misdirection, the other rural communities (miners, foresters, shepherds, peasants and fishers) have been submitted to a

deterioration and an errancy of folk, work and place of ever-growing aggravation. It needs only to cite the rigour of the game laws; the making and the maintenance of hunting solitudes; the enclosure of the commons; the decay of cottages and cessation of their building; the continued creaming of village youth and maid for domestic service in town and country mansions; the creation of desert areas by mineral owners or lessees; the criminal neglect of small harbours by Governments since the incoming of big ships. These are the marks of the hunter's trail blazed through the villages of England by the "country gentleman" and his political associates. And so far neither England, Scotland nor Wales has produced a Bishop Gruntvig or a Horace Plunkett to grapple with the situation in the interests of the rural communities thus exploited and dilapidated.

Rural England as it stands to-day is therefore a maze of distressful regions urgently needing improvement, at once of place, work and people, such as Denmark since 1864, and Ireland since (say) 1900, have been achieving. This proposition may be

taken as denied by none, but accepted by all, indeed with a certain feeling of impatience, as the reiteration of a commonplace. But its educational corollaries are not yet commonplace, indeed are not yet adequately recognized : for the claim involved is that, of all kinds of education, it is rustic education which appears to be fundamental, instead of clerical education, legal education, medical education, as heretofore, and at present. And first, of course, on practical grounds.

Now, what can or could the post-Germanic university here do by way of service? Ask, to begin with, what it is doing? In reply we credit to this account those improved wheat seeds which of late have issued from a Cambridge laboratory. And alongside this initiative we put an analogous and complementary one from an Indian College, inspired perhaps by Cambridge impulse, and in turn may be to react on the home university and through it on rural England. In attributing to the new Cambridge wheat and the Ewing College plough the significance of a post-Germanic example for other universities, we cannot but be aware that in face of a

cultured and educated public which as yet knows and understands little of these things, we are advancing views which must seem not only eutopian in their agricultural hope, but merely utilitarian in their educational outlook. Yet that improvement of seed is a research of biological subtlety; and this improvement of the plough has not been without the alternation of keen observation and reasoning with experiment and practice, which is the very essence of all scientific research worth the name. Moreover, little though the wheat-selector or the busy plough-maker may yet have had time to think of it, there lies deep in all such concrete work as theirs the essential change of philosophy now in progress. This transformation is from the mechanical outlook of the nineteenth century to the biological and psychological outlooks of the twentieth. For to all such investigators the world is no longer seen in the old simple mechanical way, which still rules in the minds of most of our generation, and not least among those of its governing classes, however ignorant of mechanical detail be these lords of the "bar-

barians." For our experimental agriculturists, the needed educational revolution has practically taken place. In their ideas of better seed, and better life arising from it (with mechanism of plough and all else, adapted to such culture), there lies a renewed and vital philosophy, and its corresponding practice involves a new moral philosophy as well. Hence in principle the congruent education is also involved. For now not simply the student is primarily considered, but his service of the people, rural first, but urban also. And the student-assistants whom such agricultural professors and practitioners require and produce are obviously no longer young people of bookish memory-exercises tested by examination, but those of increasingly skilful and intelligent practice, estimated by results. In short, here appears a manifest clue to the solution of the examination difficulty. It is in the transcending of mere examination by *Estimation* of the man and his work together.

Next turning from student to graduate, reflect on the similar change in type of personality and outlook, in those issuing from

such a vital school and "Faculty" of Agriculture. Instead of college graduates educated and adapted for mere orderly ruling of the People as by police and taxation, we shall have youth ardent for Leadership of the People towards the "better Farming, better Business, better Living" of Ireland's one effective leader, Sir Horace Plunkett.

In such investigators, whose good seed and ploughing are preparing more than they yet realize, there resides, as we have said, the promise of an educational range and efficiency beyond that at present foreseen. The type is already winning. As it becomes conscious of ability and purpose it will forge its way into power. And realize that this type is no sport. It may be discerned everywhere in agricultural colleges and schools of horticulture, and is soon to appear in schools of forestry which the disforestings of the war will call into being. From these younger schools of applied biological science, as they expand and multiply, will emerge a rural renaissance destined to double the wealth and yield of the countryside. And the deepest educational results will inevitably ensue, if

the underlying spiritual tendencies can be not only maintained, but brought also into conscious cultivation.

For beyond the economic results are the deeper cultural reactions. We have taken Cambridge wheat and Indian plough as an intermingling pair selected amongst a host of recent aids by universities to agriculture, such as improved cattle and poultry, artificial fertilizers galore, new ideas of improving soil with legumes and so forth. Seed and plough are immemorial symbols of peasant civilization, as may be observed amongst the Chinese and elsewhere. They are central to the rustic philosophy which underlies the present volume and our whole series. The joint and simultaneous improvement of seed and plough stand for the renewing co-operation of rustics up and down the valley section, combining under peasant leadership for service and enhancement of life. Here we see mechanic-woodman and miner joining to make finer tools for the peasant instead of more lethal weapons for the hunter. And the fisherman-sailor serves as the link of intercourse for cross-fertilization of ideas between England

and India. All these things are happening to-day. To-morrow we shall see the pastoral-idealist turning from his present rôle of battle chaplain to the hunter-warrior, to renew the highest of rustic impulses. This traditionally pushes on in ascending steps from organic to human life, and from the economic to the spiritual, in the process of selection, improvement, enhancement. Many facts point in this direction.

The same incipient revolution from the mechanical and the merely organic to the psychic and the social, which is in progress in agriculture, may be traced also in medical thought; for this is advancing beyond the mechanical standpoint of its post-mortem studies, and the externalism of its germ-theory pathology, towards a wider and clearer view of the processes of life. Witness not only the recent change of prominence, from inorganic drugs to organic serums, but also the increasing comprehension of the life-process from the subtlest electro-physiology, to the growing recovery of the broad and simple practice of the ancient founders of Medicine, that of Regimen and Re-education.

A younger school of physicians is arising which fully recognizes the interaction of mind and body and of both with environment. Hence they re-establish health by setting the patient to recover and integrate his lost or enfeebled contacts with his fellowmen in their work and play.¹ This procedure, to be sure, is not only a renewal of Hellenic tradition, but also a scientific adoption and refinement of everyday domestic practice; and so is doubly confirmed. For another sign of change in this field, it may be noted that the replacement of Examination by Estimation, for which we have pleaded above, is already becoming established in Finals in Medicine.

Throughout the biological sciences and their arts as applied in the faculties of Agriculture, Hygiene and Medicine, we see then a definite transformation in progress. It consists in a turning round upon the mechanical, physical, and chemical sciences and a deliberate harnessing of these to the services of life. From its former servitude to these preliminary sciences, life is not only escaping,

¹ See *Papers for the Present*, No. 4, "The Re-education of the Adult." (Headley Bros., Ltd.)

but learning to apply whip and rein to its previous masters.

Next consider the neo-rustics (as we might call these incipient leaders of a more vital era) in relation to the social sciences and the literary and artistic expression of these as humanities. How are these humanities to fare at the hands of those who are primarily interested in Culture in its old and literal meaning, in terms of the creation, here and now, of better crops, of better life, and only secondarily in the regard and commemoration of past ones? The accredited champions of these humanities speak of their fears, every year more poignantly felt, of the insidious dangers of a utilitarian efficiency unaccompanied by the humanizing of the mind. Well-grounded, doubtless, under recent and present conditions, such fears may well be proved baseless by the rising tide of vitalism. On this tide the neo-rustic will himself move forward from agriculture through medicine and hygiene into that higher education which gives and is given by full citizenship. And always, remember, he carries with him his traditional disposition towards a rich realism

of culture. The art, song and dance of peasant communities rise naturally into the higher expressions of religious and civic cultures, where not limited by hunting tribute, subverted by industrial parasitism or debased by mammonalotry. The neo-rustic will seek the humanities, as rustics have ever done, not only in school and cloister but even more in the teeming life of the city. And there he will be satisfied by no debased makeshifts and specious pretences of life more abundant. There is a long-deferred reckoning due from cities to the folk of their countryside. Modern cities have failed in their historic function of preserving and making available for their regions that heritage of culture which scholars call the humanities. The accumulated debt of cities to rustics is therefore a spiritual one and must be paid in like coin.

To the neo-rustic this supreme question of the humanities will therefore present itself as a task of civic renewal. He will see it in terms of his traditional outlook, as a needed conversion of cities from their present money-economy and machine-economy towards a life-economy. This contrast being somewhat

unfamiliar to a generation reared in other habits of thought, it will be far from irrelevant to illustrate and re-state stage by stage from individual and family to city and community the antithesis of life-economy and money-economy.

A man's money wages are what he receives on Saturday in £ s. d. His real wages are in the satisfaction he gets out of his work; in the way he spends his holidays and his Sundays; the neighbours and friends he has; the sort of street he lives in and his interaction with village, town and city; but above all they depend on the kind of wife he has and the home she makes for him. In short, a man's real wages are in what he can get out of life and still more on what he can put into it. The money budget of the family is traditionally the special concern of the man; and the vital budget that of his wife. Hence, as novelists clearly perceive, a man's real success in life is mainly determined by marriage. So marked is this feminist factor in the matter of life-economy that some would define social classes in these terms. Aristocracy they declare to be a class whose women

possess a high traditional skill in creating life values and to this end directing the course of the family income. Of the plutocracy, say these observers, their women try valiantly, but do not know how. Again, given women who devote themselves to the experimental solution of these problems, and the upper middle classes emerge. The lower middle classes would be correspondingly defined as those whose women-folk do not know that such problems exist. And what of the working classes? The lamentable fact would have to be admitted that the burden of domestic labour put on their women makes them chronically too tired to give the deeper problems of life-economy their serious attention.

From the life-economy of individuals and of classes pass to that of cities. And not to waste time over generalities, consider some concrete examples. Take any one of the metropolitan cities of the modern world. And if London is the one you know best, reflect for a moment on the daily life passed by a denizen of "the city." As he walks the streets, fatigued and harassed, one of Wren's

beautiful steeples catches the eye. Straightway his condition of mental strain should relax somewhat and give place to a mood of tranquil contemplation. But seldom, in point of fact, occurs this happy release; and chiefly for this reason. Wren and his successors designed these steeples to draw the gaze of pedestrians in streets of dwelling houses and plain warehouses of modest dimensions. But what is the architectural condition of these streets to-day? The vistas of charm and foci of beauty that marked the older design of the city are made of no avail for their proper objects of spiritual healing and psychic uplift, because obscured and dwarfed by the towering edifices, elaborately ornamental, of commerce and finance.

Yet there are compensations to this upset in the balance of business-economy and life-economy. London City is an arena of these modern gladiators the "fortune hunters." Their golden dreams stimulate the most passionate strife of man against man. But often the citizen can have his golden dream for nothing. He has only to watch the sunlight playing its mystic game of light and

shade on one of those Bank façades of real architectural beauty which here and there adorn the city. Its fluted columns, carved frieze, symbolic statuary, when sunlit, become charged with a vision of joy and wonder, as though all the gold in its vaults had been handed over to sculptor and mason for the vital use called decorative. But it is not quite true to say that this vision can be attained for nothing. The street crossings where it can best be had are often so narrow as to afford no space for an island shelter; hence the expectant citizen pauses for contemplation at the peril of his life.

London has its spires. The still nobler and even more historic sanctities of Westminster have their embodiment in a galaxy of towers. To contemplate these in all their opulence of shining beauty you must see them rising over greenery of foliage from the foreground of the gleaming river. And where do you find the particular spots where this beatific vision may be absorbed in tranquillity into the soul? You find two such spots, of which one is occupied by a railway passenger station and the other by a goods station, the latter

aid to mental tranquillity being flanked by two tubular antiquities commonly called gas works.

Thus life in this richest of metropolitan cities alternately repels and attracts like the opposite poles of a magnet. Each morning the citizens come crowding in, hopeful and eager. Each night they depart weary and depressed. Great passenger stations are built for this diurnal inflow and outflow. The greatest of these stations has for its approach the narrowest of streets. The efforts of the passengers to get in and out each day is like forcing Niagara through the mouth of a gallon jar. This expenditure of human energy expands the dividends of the Railway Company and correspondingly contracts the lives of the citizens.

These devastating conditions of life are literally maddening. So asylums are needed and many of them, where the mind may rest and recuperate as in a green oasis. One of the largest of these homes of spiritual serenity is placed far away in the western suburbs. But even here the turmoil of the city pursues the inmates like an avenging fury. Around

two sides of the asylum run triple-tracked railways, and on the third side is a football field.

Here, then, are evidences of conflict in the design (or rather lack of design) of a representative modern city, showing the prevailing tendency towards sacrifice of life to money-making. But this is to reverse the historic rôle of the city, which, instead of humanizing its region, is nowadays too much given to doing the contrary. No wonder that under this withering stress the accumulated heritage of the past has faded to attenuation or shrunk to venerable memories, to be jealously conserved in college cloisters as alleviation and escape from a present world overpoweringly mechanical, monetary and militarist. But will not the neo-rustics (and still more their womenfolk, made immune to the evil enchantments of sham culture and mimetic masculinity) strive to re-establish the city as the organ specialized for struggle towards a civilization not only material but increasingly spiritual : as of seed and root and leaf towards flower? If so, then the social heritage will be more than ever realized as the cumulation

and example of all high past achievements, and as yielding precious seed, which may again be blended with that of our own age, towards perfections surpassing either.

This kind of higher education must needs be achieved through a citizenship which, because it is real and vital, concrete and vivid in the here and now, begins in one's own city and region. But for the same reason it runs on past national frontiers. It calls for a world-wide co-operation, a veritable comity of culture cities. In this comity of cities, with its concert of universities, would develop a citizenship ranging with the League of Nations and quickening that formal structure into a living body.

Let us therefore boldly predict and take pains to ensure that there is nothing for the humanists to fear in the advent to power of the neo-rustics and their wives and daughters. On the contrary, they will promote a true renewal of all that is vital in classical and historic cultures. For the student will be far more vividly initiated into the recovered life of the past : he will be awakened to its wisdom and beauty, and first in his own vernacular,

from noble translation, like those into English of the Old and New Testaments, and not through construing (or failing to construe) snippets. He will also learn the old tongues from song, recitation of their poetry, active representation of their drama. He will be told of the glorious regions, the noble and inspiring cities of the past, and be encouraged to visit them. All this, to be sure, is what the best of the wandering students of Germany were wont to do in her noble past. Winklemann, Goethe, Schliemann, are instances from the three generations preceding the present empire-educated one. When the student cannot wander, the resources of all the arts will be employed (and, moreover, convergently) visually to present to him a completer, because more selected and concentrated, picture of the great past than even its own generations knew. Even the sacred Grammars will only die to live. In the wide, all-embracing Grammar of the Sciences, social, organic and natural, all that is vital in the old grammars will be reborn. For a vital science corrects the conventional order, of Noun and Verb, into the true and vital order of activity and

fixity, of life and form, of kinetic and static : as verb and noun, as creative and as product.

We have now surveyed somewhat cursorily certain deep-seated changes which are tending to set up in the seats of educational authority the essentially religious conceptions of Life, Mind, Morals and Society in substitution for the idols of Force, Motion, Money and Power. This change, already incipient, is sometimes represented as the coming triumph of the humanities over the sciences. It is rather a meeting and reconciliation of the newer sciences and the older learning on the mountain top. There, for instance, classical studies and anthropology have already joined hands ; and around them are assembling other branches, both of humanistic science and scientific humanism. From this peak in Darien we may discern a vision of the post-Germanic university. We see it rising above the existing *Encyclopædia*, escaping from the Napoleonic memorizing, and the German dispersiveness of the latter. Beyond the *Encyclopædia Tyrannica* of the first and the *Encyclopædia Chaotica* of the second we discern in preparation the *Encyclopædia Synthetica*.

In this there is no loss of detailed knowledge; but its scores, hundreds, even thousands of specialisms are presented more vividly than heretofore, because now vitally. They are all presented as orderly aspects, intelligible products and realistic details of Life in evolution. The specialisms taken all together as one great and growing system, illustrate and show forth evolving Life in its rich and protean variety. They no longer conceal its unity, nay, rather express this opulent unity more abundantly.

The post-Germanic university will not merely continue the analyses of nature and human life, amid which our sub-Germanic universities are struggling. Even more effectively will it prosecute specialized research, because each particular investigation will fall into its place as an integral part of its *Encyclopædia Vivens*. The tree of knowledge thus appears no longer as the dead material of intellectual timber-yards or practical fuel shops, with their dry sticks, great or small, but again as a living and growing tree: with ever-increasing spread of branches, deepening and ramifying mileage of roots, ever more multitudinous leaves and flowers. So vast is the

tree that no man can climb over it wholly, yet so simple that all may see the essentials of its vital architecture and of its mode of growth, and may gather its blossoms, may taste the mingled sweet and bitter of its fruit, and plant its seeds within the garden of their own and others' lives.

Lest it be thought that our forecast of an incipient phase in the development of "higher education" outruns a fair assessment of the facts of the case and the tendencies involved, we close with a few more illustrations, which will serve also to point our thesis and recapitulate its argument.

The most audible note in the post-Germanic chord is the regional one. Is it not that note which Cambridge is sounding in her quest of new and better wheat seed? For the eastern counties, whose cultural product Cambridge in a sense is, are the natural granary of England. A more conscious regionalizing of studies may be witnessed at the University College of Aberystwyth. A visit to the College Museum there shows as its most notable exhibit a relief model of the whole

Principality on the scale of an inch to the mile. It is the work of the School of Geography, and serves many purposes. One of them is to stir up Welsh schools to make real and vivid their teaching of national history and geography, by basing both on duplicates of this relief model. Other departments of Aberystwyth College are also tending to regionalize their studies. And before long, may be, Welsh collegiate science will be building on this model a comprehensive campaign of development and renewal, as the General Staff of our armies in Flanders and Northern France worked out the later battles of the war, on large-scale geographical models.

Along the same path are rapidly progressing the universities of the middle-west in America, under leadership of Wisconsin and Michigan. But the university that has gone furthest in re-establishing its whole set of activities on a regional basis is Clermont Ferrant, the academic nursery of Bergson. Here, in one of the smallest provincial centres, one of the poorest of French regions (Auvergne), the staff of the university have not wasted their lives in conventional teaching and examining, or

on minute papers; much less have they yielded to the lure of search for endowment or promotion to Paris. They have set themselves to understand their region, and to interpret it, arouse it, develop it. Instead of geographer and geologist, botanist and zoologist, anthropologist, linguist, and folklorist, archæologist and historian, economist, agriculturalist, physician and the rest, all teaching and investigating in their own way and each for his own hand, as is too much the practice in other universities, they decided to co-ordinate their studies. How? Not upon any abstract system or classification merely, but upon the organization provided by nature and life, Auvergne itself, place and people together. Mountains, volcanoes and lakes, flora and fauna, antiquities and monuments, folk-ways and folk-lore, manners and customs, institutions, laws. The chequered history of the people in this place, their past and present economics, their health, energy and mind, their agriculture and its possibilities: all these subjects and more come up in terms of this single Regional Survey, of how the place made the people and the people re-make the place.

It will be observed that the universities which are seeking to regionalize their studies are but following in the wake of naturalist and antiquarian societies, which everywhere learned long ago thus to vitalize their activities. And to-day a further inevitable advance in the same line is impelling the naturalist societies to the making of civic and social surveys of their regions; as notably at Croydon, under the indefatigable pioneering of Mr. C. C. Fagg. Let those societies who are failing to share in this advance take note that they are risking their recruits from the coming generation.

Above this regional note in the post-Germanic chord is the synthetic one, and again beyond this may be heard a blending into overtones, which in definition of their character might be called integral, unmelodious though that word be. Towards Synthesis there are many ways open, of which, perhaps, the regional approach is the main central road. But other paths are being deliberately laid down, and, moreover, on all sides. One of these is well begun in Oxford. A section of the Radcliffe Library has been cleared of con-

ventional academic literature and re-stocked with bibliographies and books bearing on the history of science. Here are installed Dr. Singer and his associates: a genuinely synthetic group, for the task they have set before themselves is to work out the history, not of the sciences, but of science. Their aim is to trace the development of that vision of the universe in evolution, of whose veil some corner is ever being lifted by each particular science.

It would be deeply in accord with the spirit and tradition of Oxford if she of all universities were to enter upon a renewed leadership towards the university integral. It is her distinction to have implanted in the best of her alumni a certain equipoise of body and harmony of soul. To that end this Alma Mater has cultivated her milieu of civic beauty and her atmosphere of tranquil learning. And if one asks how this serene putting forth of integral personalities has come to be, the answer may be read in the inner history of the university. Recall the essence of that history in its most formative phase. From beginnings like that of New College in the fourteenth century, through continuations

like Magdalen and All Souls in the fifteenth, to culmination in Corpus and Christchurch in the sixteenth, there is one continuous endeavour. This long succession of collegiate adaptations owes its impulse to a series of episcopal initiatives. Must we not infer, when the disruptive character of those times is taken account of, that these bishops, real, spiritual overseers of their flocks, discerned a great need and great opportunity? The middle age, with its depression of individuality for the sake of community, was ebbing away before the oncoming of an era which threatened precisely to reverse that social process by exalting the individual at the expense of society. Hence the educational need was to correct this twin tendency to extremes: and the opportunity was to do so by balancing the one against the other. This, as we read the inner story of Oxford, was the sort of problem that occupied the mind and directed the action of those spiritual overseers whose long series of episcopal "foundations" set the dominant type of college. Their aim, on this reading, was to combine and integrate into the personality of each student the qualities of the

passing mediæval culture with those of the oncoming renaissance. And the measure of their success may be seen in the later flowering of Oxford culture which yielded institutional blossoms like the Royal Society (soon torn from Oxford by the pull of London), and individual ones like the blessed Thomas More, the admirable Sidney, the judicious Hooker, the incomparable Wren, the lucid Locke.

Now, is it not demonstrable that the world is faced to-day by a problem of transition similar in kind to that which the bishops of the later middle age and the early renaissance put to Oxford for solution? The need, above all, is for integral personalities holding fast to the best of the passing order yet incorporating what the new has to offer.¹ How to seize and retain what was and is vital in the Mechanical and Money-Economy, yet use and direct these gains of the recent past to-

¹ In a later volume of this series, entitled *University and City*, we hope to give some account of a type of collegiate institution designed for an experimental bringing together of regional, synthetic and integral resources in application to combined university and civic progress. It was in operation in Edinburgh during some quarter of a century antecedent to the War.

wards the ennoblement of life, personal and civic? There in a nutshell is the sphinx riddle of the current transition. But assuredly it is no other in essence than the problem of the mediæval or any other historic transition. To work towards its solution through the personality of youth directed by the wisdom of age is the social rôle of that modern cloister, the university. But in order to do that work efficiently, the university must not slumber. It must be perpetually alert to the call of the future no less than responsive to the voices of the past.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE OLD STATE TO THE NEW

It has long been contended by the more objective amongst observers, that diseases of civilization are diseases of cities. With this contention goes also an insistence on the need of diagnosis as precedent to treatment in social and political no less than in medical science. Following this line of approach we have tried in earlier chapters to show that the Absolute State, supreme in spiritual as well as temporal affairs (perhaps the most pervasive of current disorders), is a disease of metropolitan cities. This disease has run its course concurrently with the disintegration of Christendom. Taking Western Europe as a whole and surveying it in a broad historic sweep, one may say that its ideal of spiritual unity came nearest to attainment under a regime of free cities, or rather of cities

struggling for freedom from the overlordship of the hunter-warrior. The decisive repression of the free city, and the full triumph of the predatory prince with his exquisite pagan culture, came at the Renaissance and was confirmed at the Reformation. That anti-climax meant a long deterioration and decay of cities; it meant the break-up of Christendom and its replacement by unholy groupings of ravenous individuals contending for prey, now naked and unashamed, again under masquerade of the State.

There have been two stages in the subsequent descent to Avernus. First, from the struggle of innumerable minor war-lords amongst themselves emerged the great war-lords of the centralized monarchies with their war-capitals. Next, in due logical sequence, followed the ultra-homeric contests of the war-capitals, now in megalomaniac mood denominating themselves Great Powers. In turn Madrid, Vienna and Paris, each had its day of dominance. And our own generation has witnessed an intensity of rivalry between Berlin and Petrograd, each spurred by hunger and pride to overvaulting ambitions. This

last bitter strife was a major cause of the ebullition which let loose into a raging tempest of hate every national disunion in Christendom.

But within the far-flung continental tragedy and obscured by it, there has been going on all the time a narrower but no less poignant series of regional and national tragedies. Each great war-capital has been as a devil fish to its own nation. Its tentacles (the centralized system, first of roads, then of railways) intertwined through village, town and city, sucking their life-blood. Its squirting ink-bag (the metropolitan Press) blinded and confused the inhabitants of the "Provinces." But no metaphor can do justice to the subtle parasitism of that complex of financiering apparatus, which in its entirety may be termed the Metropolitan Market. A brief survey of this system with its framework of politics and its basis of education must therefore be attempted. In the Metropolitan Market, the malignant growth of the Absolute State may, as it were, be dissected out from intermingling tissue and exposed as a ferment of putrefaction making visible the morbid social process,

for which we are seeking the remedy. At this point (we shall contend) a bridge may be thrown across the difficult passage that separates diagnosis from treatment. And it may well be that the ending of the Old State and the beginning of the New will appear at one of those places where the stream of political evils runs deepest. For (as the perennial conversion of sinners into saints would seem to prove), the compensating trend in Nature which biologists call "the optimism of pathology," holds in social no less than organic life.

Can there be a doubt as to which of all institutions was, before the war, most in the daily focus of attention amongst the well-to-do inhabitants of London, or any other metropolitan city of the western world? The financial page of the newspaper, after suffering a temporary eclipse in the early phase of the war, was not long in recovering its prestige and re-establishing its urgency of interest. But the financial page is only one aspect of the Market presented by the daily press.

Another is given by the advertisements. Do not these two aspects of the Market exercise a certain dominating influence on too many newspaper readers, and so go towards determining mental outlook more than is realized? As men so often yield to the lure of the financial page, so women, perhaps not less frequently, succumb to that of the advertisement columns. Touched by these two engrossing interests, the mind is apt to lend but a listless ear to news of State, Church, Labour, Literature, Art, Law. Is not this a main reason why the harassed journalist is driven to sensation-mongering in order to whip up an interest in these other items, the Cinderellas of the news-sheet? Of a certainty it follows that we should blame, for the admitted deterioration of the contemporary press, not the distracted journalist, but his reader, dulled by addiction to the unholy thrills of mammonolatry. Beginning, may be, in the seeming innocence of bargain-hunting, these excitements of the day's "news" continue through an infinitude of variation such as the mildly speculative flutter in mines or rubber, occasional indulgence in racing tips and start-

ing prices, participation in the disguised lottery competitions of the snippety press. Of like order are the clamours of Cleon to-day to take toll of tax from the foreigner; to-morrow to extend the frontiers of imperial exploitation. The ethic of all this mental habituation becomes generalized and expressed in the half-ironic, half-serious precept of popular utterance, "Something for nothing!" The instinctive efforts of a society in which these subversive forces operate, will work for a corresponding modification in the whole scheme of cultural values. Given, amongst those who set the social tone, many persons preoccupied by the game of getting something for nothing, imagine the all-round repercussion. Other values, political, moral, æsthetic, educational, even religious, will become insensibly lowered. And worse; they will undergo a subtle adaptation to the pecuniary standard. Examples of this tendency to debasement of our spiritual coinage abound on all sides. But surely the financier touched the summit of his moral prestige when choice specimens of this type were put at the head of a ministry specially created to present the

case of the Allies to Neutrals. That flagrant breach of spiritual law provoked little or no public criticism, and what there was seemed to turn largely on the allegations that financiers of tariff reform views had been selected : as if free trade financiers were ideal guides and perfect counsellors in the working of the human spirit !

Assuredly our adoration of the millionaire has proved an irresistible spur to the amassing of wealth by no matter what means. Speculative prowess, predatory trading, trickery of monopoly prices, secular growth of unearned increment, manipulation of the company laws, lure of advertisement : all these constitute a machinery that turns the wheel of fortune into a Jacob's ladder for the few and a treadmill for the many.

For this whole social process that pivots on the urban market, and exalts the princes of profiteering, a convenient term is lacking. In order to show forth its implied negation of rustic elements on one side and civic verities on the other, we propose to describe this social process by the term *Marketeering*. The contemporary body of marketeers, if its census

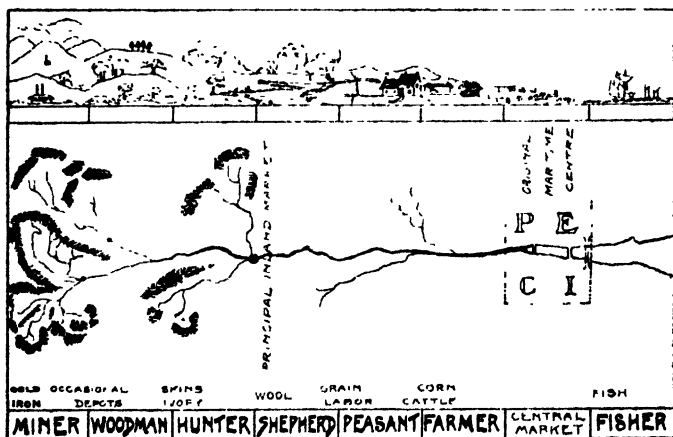
could be taken, would probably be found in gross total to fall somewhat short of the Investing Public and those who serve it in Banks and Exchanges, in Business Offices and the Administration of Joint Stock Companies. Nevertheless, it might be argued that the marketeers exceed this estimate; and it must be confessed that at certain points they are not circumscribed by the great circle indicated.

Now a critical survey must be very sure that its own premises are grounded in reality. Let us therefore begin our probing of the marketeers by submitting them to the touch-stone of our valley section.

Set down on the ground-plan of our typical valley the junction points of the series, Miner, Woodman, Hunter, Shepherd, Peasant and Fisher. The accompanying illustrative sketch, which we owe to the ingenious pencil of Mr. H. F. Fermor, is self-explanatory. It shows how at each place where these rustics exchange their respective products, there arise a series of interlinked markets. And of these local markets one here and there expands into the Fair that serves a larger region. But Fair and Market are to the rustics nothing

more than periodic incidents in their round of seasonal labours. Market and Fair remain entirely subordinate to the serious occupations of herding, sowing, reaping and all the other productive co-partnerships with mother

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE VALLEY PLAN WITH THE VALLEY SECTION



RURAL OCCUPATION & MARKET TOWN

earth. Now it is undeniable that from this root of productive efficiency, with its human reactions, its social flowerings, its civic fruitings, grew up the great philosophies of life and work and education which, antecedent to the Industrial Revolution, inspired morality and

illuminated thought. Throughout the two millennia of civilisation which separate that old world of Confucius, Hesiod and Xenophon from the era of Adam Smith and his successors whose doctrines generalize into the utilitarian philosophy, the foundations of rustic economy stood firm. But now during a century and more this rock of ages has been overturned. In place of the rustic and vital factor underlying popular philosophy there has been substituted an urban and mechanical one. In the older view production was for use and hence for life, individual, domestic and civic. In the newer view production has been increasingly for profit and hence for a Market, which in turn becomes a Fortunatus purse for the individual who can master its secret.

The modern industrial town has more and more tended to reverse the rustic attitude towards the market. The means have increasingly usurped the end. And this tendency has been emphasized, completed and crowned by each great metropolis with its overpowering system of interlocking banks and exchanges. The process has reached its

climax in London, which justifiably boasts its financial supremacy over all other cities. The traditional content of the once sacred word "city" has been so completely shed by Londoners, that they have long used the term as a synonym for the market. The square mile of streets and buildings that calls itself "the city" accommodates a round million of individuals during business hours. In point of numbers it is, therefore, no mean city. And to estimate its cultural rank there is a simple test. In this "city" there survives one historic institution of university rank. Gresham College is a renaissance foundation which, till the eighteenth century, preserved its spacious buildings, its cloistered quadrangle, its tranquil shade of greenery, and even a certain dignity of collegiate life. To-day you see Gresham College sunk and dwindled to a single chamber, dark and tenantless throughout the day, lost in the labyrinth of buildings spawned by the superabounding activities of the market. This hypertrophy and that atrophy add one more to the many recent and contemporary examples we have examined of upset in the balance of temporal

and spiritual powers. The overgrowth of the market implies a corresponding decay of the university, for the two are parts of a single whole. Without the constant tuning of its youth and dignifying of its intellectuals, which is, or should be, the service of a living university to its city, the latter not only lapses to the level of mere town, but a worse fate befalls it. Attendant furies consume its vitality and mortify its spirit. The art of the city decays into vulgar display and meretricious appeal, its culture is perverted into confused opinion, its ideals are debased to ignoble desires and secret cravings.

The overpowering of Gresham College by the Metropolitan Market is symptomatic. It is an extreme instance of the general arrestment of our whole university system. How this arrestment and decay of "higher education" is the spiritual reflex of the old or paleotechnic State, we have already indicated. It remains now to chart the course of the marketeering process within the orbit of the State, and then outline the consequent reactions on education, on thought and conduct. With such further aid to our studies in diag-

nosis we should be the better prepared for a concluding discussion of treatment.

Recall, in brief outline, the leading stages in the growth of the modern market. Profit being their aim, the early marketeers were driven into a heedless devouring of natural resources and a ruthless exploitation of human workers, men, women and children. This brought the marketeers into conflict, on the one hand, with the landlords as owners of these natural resources, and on the other with the clergy and other spiritual guardians of the people. But landlords and even ecclesiastics soon acquired the language of the new apologetics. Unrestrained by their clergy, the landlords rapidly became absorbed in the game of get-rich-quick, by sale or rent of mineral rights, way-leaves, and sites for expanding industrial towns. As to the attitude of the Anglican priesthood, it would doubtless somewhat overshoot the mark to take as representative the title of a manual prepared for the junior members of his flock by an Archbishop of the early nineteenth century. The archiepiscopal volume of counsel was called "Easy Lessons in Money for the Young."

Observe the terminology elaborated by the Political Economy of this marketeering process, and mark how it developed a subtle, unexpressed apologetics. The occupational types of Miner, Woodman, Hunter, Shepherd, Peasant, Fisher, with all their rich varieties, rustic and urban, were generalized as LABOUR. And this abstract term was then spread like a pall over this whole collectivity of human workers, their families and houses. Similarly, property owners and all the means of exploitation were wrapt in a cloud of mystery under the impressive term CAPITAL. And the infinitely varied products of field, fold and forest, of factory, mine and sea, were generalized as SUPPLY and investigated, if at all, by the lifeless formula of pre-Galtonian statistics. The voracious maw of the market (that is to say the appetites, desires, whims of the exploiting class and their satellites, servitors and imitators) were decently veiled under the colourless generalisation of DEMAND.

Next, these mystical entities, Labour, Capital, Supply, Demand and the like, were, as we have already said, set up as Divinities in a new Pantheon. The prophets of this

hierarchy were supplied by the Apostolate of political economy. And the modern lawyer, with his abstract mind, dialectical methods and archaic nomenclature, was admirably adapted for the corresponding priesthood. To round off and complete this system of mythology there emerged, about the middle of the nineteenth century, a cheap press which popularized the conviction that the "Laws" of political economy must be obeyed on pain of the nation going to perdition.

We come now to the specific politics of this dispensation. Its early phases were marked by the demands of the marketeers for fullest liberty to exploit at will the natural resources of the country and the energies of the labouring population, men, women and children. But as the inevitable train of devastation in the countryside, havoc in the cities, and deterioration of the people became apparent, there followed a period of restraint, regulation, control. In both phases the barrister gave valiant aid in fitting political practice to the requirements of the economic mythology. Skilled in sophistication, trained for plausibility, he became the very model of an M.P.,

equally adaptable to the needs of the Conservative or Liberal order, as one or other of these rotativist parties happened to be in power. He was equally ready to be the chameleon of Imperialism or Finance, as these phases in turn became dominant. And deep beyond measure was the indirect influence of the barrister in statecraft, for the budding politician, if not a professed barrister, was an amateur one, and so passibly efficient in reciting the current myths and deducing their "practical" applications.

The corresponding education, whatever its historic sources and its declared purpose, would necessarily have for instinctive aim the effacement of reality from the mind of youth. Universities, secondary and elementary schools, were forced by the undefined, silent, subtle pressures of the social process into a tacit and almost entirely unconscious conspiracy to lay the mental foundations of a verbalism on which might be built the superstructure of economic and political illusions. We have, therefore, all of us, in degree and kind, from Prime Minister to Message Boy, from Archbishop to Artisan, enjoyed the

blessing of a general education which has prepared each of us, with fine impartiality, to be master or menial in State and Market.

Reinforced by these devices of cultural mimicry, the body of urban marketeers, manœuvring with the sure instincts of the social insects, and almost as unconsciously, built up for the exploitation of rustic communities a technique of marvellous complexity. They even succeeded in inserting a knowledge of its supposedly beneficial working into the accredited minimum of a liberal education. For do not the laws of Supply and Demand, the antithesis of Capital and Labour, the theory of Gold Reserves and other shibboleths of Political Economy, sway the minds, not only of the cultivated classes, but also of working men who have climbed the educational ladder, from Board School to University Extension Course? No wonder the old scholastic canon of absurdity reappeared as a test of this faith. Even in rustic minds there was engendered a certain belief in the market as a self-renewing cheese at which the town mouse could nibble indefinitely and still leave something for the country mouse.

A close-knit body of temporal power gradually grew up by instinctive and therefore almost unrecognized co-operation among marketeers, profiteers and the old territorial aristocracy, as these latter acquired by practice a finer skill in the new arts of financial exploitation. This system of high politics, as it developed, called for a corresponding amplification of spiritual authority. It was doubtless in more or less instinctive response, that our newer or keener universities imported from those of Germany their "Science" of "Finance and Administration," itself developed by crossing English Political Economy with the Hegelian theory of the State. Condensed into text-books of "Civics," the tenets of German "administrative science" made their way into English school curricula, where the circle of mystification was completed by "official recognition" of the new "subject" which thus won the authenticity of established truth. Innocent of anything with genuine claim to be civic, these text-books of "citizenship" were and are nothing but manuals of state catechism, and so serve as a further spiritual defence of

marketeers by thickening their protective web of illusion.

Thus to the old Liberal temporality of *laissez-faire* and its equipment of such spiritual authority as was afforded by the doctrine of political economy, and supported by the constitutionalism of legal theorists, another dispensation succeeded. A new "political philosophy" developed, around the myth of "the Governing and Administrative Classes." These classes increasingly exercise their talents on ingenious applications of the new "science of administration" towards an ever-increasing centralization of Government. Manifold social ameliorations under this regime further advanced the growing idea of the State as an Absolute, endowed with its own unique outfit of attributes, rites, services. The ukases of this Absolute State its "Governing and Administrative Classes" emitted as "Laws," or again they administered its "Laws" as ukases.

Given a cultural apparatus working almost unhindered in support of the Absolute Centralized State, the paleotechnic politics moved with accelerating speed towards the climax of its final enrichment. But, be it noted

that long ere this, the partisan strife of Conservatives and Liberals had been practically composed on the common ground of financial exploitation. Now, with the onrush of consummating fervour, Liberals, Tories, Financiers, indeed, not a few Radicals and Socialists, all became absorbed and incorporated into the greater cult. Profiteers, along with the "Governing and Administrative Classes," from control of Society, Nation and State, passed on to the larger adventure. The expansion of the market has terrestrial limits, but seemingly no others. The finger of fate pointed the upward and onward path of finance from home and colonial to world markets. Under this impulse of "manifest destiny" it came about that the twin myths of Metropolitan Market and Absolute State compounded into the Great State Myth called Empire, whose idol was and is a composite Mammon-Moloch.

"The Black Colossus that has filled the skies
With a great cloud of evil sacrifice."

By prestige as well as profit, the imperial outlook and activity were progressively re-

commended to the manufacturing, mercantile and speculative classes by the advantages of over-seas markets beyond home ones. The legal, administrative and educational interests being correspondingly advanced, the progress of Empire became a main purpose of each of the "Great Powers." A veritable religion of Empire was in the making, not to say on the make.

Into this happy family of Empires contending inevitably, if not ostensibly, for world markets, burst the disturbance of war. Now the war has hardly as yet exploded the myth of the metropolitan Market, but it has at least taught us a good many essential things about Labour, Capital, Supply and Demand. Townsmen, for instance, have been sharply reminded that the larder of the city is in the countryside. And soon it dawned even on the clubman sipping his nectar in olympian chambers, that armies can fight and civilians munition them just so long as Miner, Forester, Shepherd, Peasant and Fisher maintain their immemorial co-operation for supply of food and raw material.

Again, take the mystic question of finance

and observe how the war has reduced it to elemental simplicity. Bankers, it is true, continue to babble of Gold Reserves (a clumsy survival), and Economists chatter of Currency Inflation (a real evil). But if neither Banker nor Economist, neither Chancellor of the Exchequer nor Monetary Expert, has so far explicitly set forth the financial lesson of the war, it is nevertheless becoming increasingly plain to simpler folk. For, in a society definitely oriented to a common purpose (as by the war), is it not clear that the financier, if he is not a social parasite, is nothing but the man with a grease pot who stands by to ease the friction of industrial wheels? And the future bearing of this financial revelation is not less manifest. There is, the war has shown unmistakably, a periodic circulation of goods and services which continues with the self-impelling momentum of a fly-wheel, so long as the habits of the workers and the customs of the community are maintained. Now, the financier of the passing paleotechnic era was a Hercules *manqué* engaged in the impossible task of accelerating or retarding the fly-wheel, whilst simultaneously trying to

maintain unchanged the habits of the workers and the customs of the community. In the result his operations have generated in the body economic a mass of morbid tissue now awaiting a touch of the surgeon's knife. Such treatment by conservative surgery will be the negative aspect of finance under the coming polity. That finance will, of course, have also its positive and constructive side. Here it will be directed first to modifying certain customs of the community, then to corresponding adaptations in the habits of the workers; and as these two changes proceed there will follow, as a matter of course, and of detail, the required readjustments in monetary and banking machinery. In short, the New State will substitute for an economy of money an economy of life.

The most dramatic lesson of the war is, perhaps, also the profoundest. We have seen again and again how the synergy of a regiment in action exceeds the apparent total of its individual energies. The secret lies in those thaumaturgic qualities liberated in the individual by "team play" and by instincts towards sacrifice of self for all, and of all for

honour. To feel oneself a member of an impassioned company engaged in heroic adventure is to be exalted by awakening of the soul and energizing of the body, with concurrent enhancement of personality. Why, then, not similarly dispel the deadening repressions of profiteering companies, and the dull inhibitions of trade unions, by seeking to unite master and man in the splendid adventure of making the future ! We hear of Reconstruction Committees by the score, even by the hundred, and all of them strenuously at work on necessary problems. But of the one supremely needed committee there is so far no mention. The missing committee is one that would vitalize, energize, spiritualize all the others. How ? By using the psychology of war to quicken the sociology of peace. It would get to work upon plans for a " great push " in making beautiful, healthy and efficient the ugly towns, wasteful cities and dreary villages which are the legacy of our paleotechnic peace. And this planning our missing committee would do in the spirit of an army preparing for battle and with like command of national resources. Here would come into

play the civic verities guiding into action the military virtues and the rustic energies. For in execution the vital committee, passing from synthesis to synergy, would become the General Staff Office, serving analogous groups of Regional Initiative by clearing of documents, apportioning of resources, co-ordinating of activities. Why, for instance, in level of aim and achievement, should a Ministry of Peace fall behind the Ministry of War that organized so effectively the supply of munitions as to justify its boast, "no gun unemployed." The energy of 12,000 tons of shot and shell directed daily to destroying an enemy camped on allied soil, if re-directed to the making of the future, would leave no willing worker unemployed.

The experience of the war has restored many lost contacts with the elementary realities of earth, air and water : it has disclosed many latent possibilities of body, soul, and spirit. But many windows still remain to be opened and curtains to be withdrawn, with consequent admission of sunlight to dark corners. Who and what, for instance, in terms of our valley

section, and its elemental types, are the "Governing and Administrative Classes"? Well, the political tradition to which they have attached themselves, as a limpet to a rock, has its speculative champion in the philosopher Hobbes. In a famous passage the author of *The Leviathan* depicts the life of man in his original and natural state as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." And how has man escaped from this primitive savagery and advanced to civilization? By that wonderful social invention, the State, is the answer of Hobbes. Here in a nutshell is the theory of social evolution on which our "Governing and Administrative Classes" are reared. It is taught in their schools of political philosophy, popularized in their Press, applied at home, carried overseas and adapted to exploitation of "natives" and "backward races" all round the globe. The truth in this view of human life and social evolution is manifest to students of Le Play. It is the anthropology of the hunter. It is also an apology for the morals of the hunter.

Now, in the time of Hobbes and for many generations thereafter, the dominating figure

in English politics was the country gentleman. And the country gentleman, in the purview of a science that outranges political philosophy, is but a developed form of hunter, a super-hunter, schooled by the military virtues, finished and refined in a circle of arts, in appearance pacific, but in reality ancillary to war. Hence it is evident that if Hobbes had not existed, he would have to be invented as the philosopher of country house politics.

But how explain the continued acceptance of the Hobbesian theory in the later days of a complex politics in which the country gentleman had yielded foremost place to other types, such as lawyer and banker? Persistence of a hunting theory of the State is hardly explained on the mere ground of social momentum, for, to say nothing of other divergent politicians, these lawyers and bankers belong by craft filiation to the peasant culture. If this affirmation is not self-evident, then a little reflection on the mentality and consequent traditions of peasant life will make it so.

The instincts of his craft generate in the peasant a set of mental habits that make for

order and justice. And growing in volume from immemorial origins, these tendencies expanded in the course of ages into one of the most majestic of human traditions, that of the Roman law. Behind the modern barrister stands the commanding figure of the Roman jurist, and behind him the eternal and indestructible peasant of Italy, land of long continuity in the mingling and marriage of rustic and urban culture. Thus there persists a rustic element in the social inheritance of the modern lawyer, be he never so urbanized. There necessarily survive certain rustic contacts in the working of a mind trained in the great traditions of Law, even though the fingers have never touched a plough handle. And so for the banker. Underlying his craft instincts and occupational tradition is the peasant's habit of amassing wealth by economy of saving in sharpest contrast to the hunter's mode of looting. And yet both lawyer and banker have been and are foremost practitioners in that politics of parasitism which we now recognize as a manifestation of hunting *kultur*. The explanation we seek is manifestly in terms of reversion. The paleotechnic

industry, with its associated politics and education, was a veiled form of predatory life; it was war, latent, disguised, elusive, and because suppressed more prolific of martial defects than qualities. Under these social conditions, tantamount to a recrudescence of barbarism, lawyer and banker, along with other types, especially those of pastoral and maritime filiation, suffered reversion to the mentality and morality of the hunt. The process of marketeering we may therefore interpret as the instinctive adaptation of individuals struggling for survival in a regime, ostensibly of peace, but nearer in reality to war.

From the generalization we have thus reached, two inferences may be drawn. One is that marketeering, profiteering, financiering are fields of militarism rivalling in martial fertility the arenaceous plain of Prussia. The other inference is as to the mode of treating these tendencies to reversion; and so it may be stated as an injunction. Sow the soil of youth with well-tested seeds of all the rustic cultures, not excluding, perhaps even emphasizing, that of the hunt. Satisfy legitimate

instincts of hunting prowess in due season of juvenile growth, but supplement and correct that training by a sufficiency of peasant and pastoral experience. So may the crop of hunting reversions be reduced in the next generation; and even conversions be substituted for reversions.

This, the educational approach, is, to be sure, but one of many avenues to the exploration of a vast and complex issue. But by the educational track one may tread securely, for the going is good and the goal is in sight. That goal is the providing for each individual, independently of class, wealth or sex, the requisites and conditions of what we have called integral growth. By a happy ordering of nature the chart of this growth follows the Play Way of Childhood and Youth. Given unhindered scope for natural impulse, the child will play its way up and down the valley section. By turn it will sample the characteristic life of each and all the rustic series. And something of occupational habit and cultural outfit of story, song and dance, it will absorb, passing in easy sequence of Edenic innocence, from gentle shepherd to fearsome hunter,

from patient peasant and forelooking gardener to exploring sailor, ingenious woodman and dreaming miner. Next awakening to deeper issues, and obeying the call of mysterious promptings, the youth follows his racial path into the labyrinth of the city. But there he wanders, no lost soul enmeshed in its maze, prospective victim of its ever-renewing Minotaur. Young Theseus has his Ariadne thread. For the clues to civilization are in those rustic aptitudes which come to fruition in the building and maintenance of cities. Thus the Play Way of childhood leads on for youth to the Great Game of Civics. And to the mimic apprenticeship of the countryside succeeds a serious initiation into the Art and Mystery of Citizenship.

To resume the educational thesis. A certain opulence of realistic experience, rustic and urban, is the fundamental condition of integral growth. But supremely is needed opportunity for creative expression in modes that unfold from the simple and rustic to the complex and civic, from the making of a box and the digging of potatoes, to the designing of that paradise of beauty which the family

home and garden should be, and so adding another cell to the great human hive. Necessary also for fulfilment of personality is a due alternation of work and leisure. The self must have periodic occasion for retirement into that inner chamber of seclusion which is the cloister of spiritual development.

Here are definite objectives for the statesman-educationist, and the educationist-statesman of the coming polity. To work for their attainment implies deep social and economic changes, and is therefore a way, perhaps the main way, towards bringing into existence the New State. For the citizens of this happier future state, impulses and activities hitherto divergent will become increasingly convergent. After-war policy must aim at nothing less ambitious than to harmonize the discordances of education and livelihood, of private career and public service, of local and national interests, and these with international and world-wide interests. The more the complexities of these immense issues are explored, the more it is discovered that many and varied approaches open out. What hinders progress along these pathways is not the laws of life,

but the mortifying burden of man-made evil, ever distilling its poison of decay. The antidote is life more abundant. But gained by no mere pious exhortation to recur to venerable formulæ. Crystalline clear, clamant for practical application, is the vital message. It is to be read in the conception of Life as growing, evolving, ascending, by interaction between organism and environment. So for human life. Rooted in the soil and in tradition, it rises to its triumph by their mastery. The infinitely varied Places of the world must be freely, generously, consciously used to train the body by Work, and store the mind with Experience. And as youth rises to maturity by claiming a measure of communitary liabilities and transforming them into personal assets; so everywhere the Folk may develop into a Polity by reacting on its Place, shaping it by Art to express the regional Culture. Here are no vague abstractions of dubious authenticity, but veritable truths of tested doctrine. They are of value in proportion as they can be applied and brought into operation place by place, individual by individual, family by family, folk by folk, com-

munity by community. In an unbroken sequence the line of development and education must run from Rustic and Region through City and Citizen, Statesman and State, up to Man and the World. We need a vision of the Region renewed, the City renewed, the State renewed, the World renewed. But the impulse for these great and continuing works must spring from the People, and their planning, designing and execution must return unto the People; and, moreover, by no artifice and indirection of Representative Government. Neotechnic politics must establish and maintain a relation to life and labour, direct, individual, personal. For always the final test of social efficacy is an individual one. Hence the need of opportunity for each life cycle to run the full human course open to personality unfolding in a rich and varied *milieu*. Home, locality, city, region, nation and humanity are the ascending environments by interplay with which personality progressively enlarges its outlook, refines its being, and realizes the evolutionary potentiality of the spirit. Arrestment at any lower level of the expanding series carries its

penalty, not only for the individual whose spiritual growth is thus checked (and his capacity for citizenship correspondingly limited or debased), but for the community as well, since we are all members one of another. Every rung in the ladder of integration must be climbed by those who would rise to full citizenship in a League of Nations.

Yet, even under the most favouring circumstances, there will doubtless remain in each generation many lives that unfold to but moderate reach and compass. These, let us suppose, are Nature's recruitment to the People. But in a society genuinely canalized for talent, each generation would yield its natural crop of Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals. And most of these would probably rise afresh each generation from the homes of the People; so inscrutable are the laws of heredity. To set and keep the stage for free play of these organic and social conditions of democracy, or, say, rather, aristodemocracy, should perhaps be the central aim of the New State. A society so ordered would contrast sharply with the pre-war state, for

then the body of the People was in constant travail with stillborn Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals. Simultaneously the body politic was afflicted with innumerable Chiefs who did not lead, except to mischief, Intellectuals who did not think, and Emotionals who, instead of vitalizing and uplifting the People, were content to titillate their senses. In a society subjected to such internal strains it could only happen that developmental tendencies must meet obstruction at every point. To explosive pressures so generated, the war brought relief as the opening of a safety-valve in a super-heated boiler.

As to the war itself, one should sharply discriminate between its two contrasted phases, and so avoid an error that commonly distorts the arguments of pacifists and bellicists alike. As an orgy of competitive destruction, the war but resumed and brought to a head the evil tendencies of our paleotechnic peace. As a strenuous co-operation of all classes for heroic purpose, the war but disclosed and made manifest the social possibilities of a peace, real, constructive, militant,

in a word Eutopian. In the latter guise, the war is to be regarded as the vastest of social experiments in the problem of co-ordinating communitary and private interests. It opened a way for the identification of public service and personal career to plebeian and patrician, townsman, gownsman, and countryman, youth, maid and woman. Principles of social adaptation, hitherto scouted as impossibilist and "utopian," have been put to the test of action. In reference to the results achieved, the successes won and the failures observed, we shall doubtless witness a growing realignment of political parties. But meantime is not the present generation of paleotechnic politicians likely to run its course in terms of mental habits hardened to comparative fixation? Of this passing generation a remark already made may be repeated, but now with qualification. The presuppositions of its political leaders are strangely alike at bottom, for in whatever camp you apply the test, whether to adherents of the Old State, or to those in revolt against it, their guiding principles are seen to be drawn from the abstractions of a pre-sociological era. Even

socialists and anarchists of extremist views, when they achieve power, as with the Bolsheviks in Russia, reveal themselves as spiritual offspring of the paleotechnic order, but slightly touched with other leaven. In their long-promised Canaan again we see, as so often before throughout history, new presbyter is but old priest writ large.

Yet further thought may well modify the tendency towards a pessimistic view, even of the elders of the passing generation. For never, perhaps, since the Renaissance, has there been such a loosening and dispersion of what psychologists call "idea-systems." From empire and nation to parties and coteries, all social groups are held together by their idea-systems. And in this same principle of unity we are coming to recognize the spiritual chain that binds into one the members of a family and even integrates the elements of personality. How great, then, for good and evil, the possibilities of change and of consequent new integrations, social and individual, when the links of these invisible chains have, so many of them, been broken by the hammer of Thor. There is no need,

therefore, to despair of a new birth, even in the most reactionary of conventional groups, the most fixed of Elder Statesmen. Existing political types have doubtless become fluid as never before, and are undergoing modifications, often, may be, deteriorative, but often also evolutionary and progressive. Changes in outlook and intention are possible all along the series from crusted Tory and doctrinaire Liberal, to vociferous Imperialist and glittering Financier; from brooding Radical and assertive Socialist to embittered Anarchist. For the re-education of all these, as also of those of us who have stood timorous on the brink of politics, the times are ripe. Indeed, things are moving at express speed. It may be that the New State has already come to birth, and, moreover, just where, in accord with "the optimism of pathology" it might have been expected. The proper place of that political parturition, for which the world has long been in travail, would be one of those metropolitan cities where the Old State has run furthest in its evil seeding. In such mood of expectation the mind looks back to the Petrograd of 1917; though subsequent events

suggest Retrograd as the title of that city; but uncensored data may qualify this view.

The sure and certain hope for the fruition of the New State is in the coming of a generation endowed with a steady outlook towards the future, yet accustomed to turn to the past critically though affectionately. For the future can never be disconnected from the past, but must ever be continuous with it. By deliberate selection from past tendencies surviving into the present, and by judiciously planned re-combination of them, we may shape the future. Hence, the first requisite of foresight is true and clear ideas about the past. Yet sympathy with the cares and anxieties of fellow-beings struggling in the present is, and must remain, the driving force of noble action. The citizens of the New State will therefore be characterized by the gesture of alternately facing the present, the past and the future. From the past they will draw sustenance for the mind, from the present fuel for the heart, from the future resolution for the will. A generation trained in these mental habits will see the hell latent in the paleotechnic peace, patent in war, yet will foresee

the third alternative with realistic vision, and of set purpose plan and design its advent. To avoid the Scylla of paleotechnic peace, and the Charybdis of war, the leaders of this coming polity will steer a bold course for Eutopia. They will aim at the development of every region, its folk, work and place, in terms of the *gentus loct*, of every nation, according to the bent of its tradition and spirit, but in such wise that each region, each nation, makes its unique contribution to the rich pattern of our ever-evolving Western civilization. Of this civilization, common to Europe, the two Americas and the British Dominions, the universities of these several continents are (along with the churches), the appointed guardians, the historic trustees. The time surely has come for these custodians of the spiritual power to awake to their responsibilities from a recent past somewhat slumberous and slothful. Our pre- and sub-Germanic universities have done more than their share in the production of backward-looking Chiefs, and of Emotionalists who, because uninspired, were as timid as mice. And the corresponding Intellectuals, true progeny

of an over-sheltered cloister, were trained to compensate the materialisms of physical science by the idealisms of German philosophy. They were therefore no real intelligentsia, but Blondins of casuistry trying to balance with a pole, leaded at one end, feathered at the other. And as for the People, they were, with exceptions all but negligible, ignored by our universities until the rise of the Workers' Educational Association. What now we need from the post-Germanic university is illumination and guidance in passing through the tangled forest of transition into the open country beyond, and again across that to the city of Mansoul.

Let each one of us, man, woman and child, enlarge our mentality by expanding the common observations of everyday walks into a survey always growing more thorough and interpretative of our region in all its parts, our city in all its contacts. Such surveys of place, work, folk, in the measure that they fructify in regional and civic service, work towards the integration of personality and community. As each of us does and meditates these things we gain the eutopian vision.

And as that vision with its compelling urge translates itself into deeds, we aid the birth of the University Militant with its City Resurgent; and so hasten the coming polity of the New State.

Let the sceptic, inclined to scoff at all such predictive injunctions as illusory, try—hard though the effort be—to realize that the eutopian vision is no mere passive state of inner satisfaction. On the contrary, it is an active ferment energizing the whole being, body, mind and soul. It is a veritable possession of the spirit by a demon of recreative powers. In short, the eutopian vision is an elixir of life. But, to be sure, it can do its work only in an appropriate *milieu*. The external condition of its creative functioning is an environment that affords a progressively enlarging experience from home and neighbourhood, outwards, towards world citizenship.

Given these conditions of place, work and folk, then, under the eutopian habit of mind, there proceeds a concurrent growth and expansion both of personality and community. University Militant, City Resurgent, State Renewed, World Rebuilding are the commu-

nitary stages of an evolution, each with its corresponding development of personality. And the faith to which we are compelled by the very postulate of evolution is that this creative growth of personality is in some degree a latency of every individual life allowed to unfold to the full. In thus reaffirming the ancient wisdom that the kingdom of heaven is within each and every human soul, modern science may move forward confidently to its practical applications. And difficult as these are in detail, yet the principle of action is clear. Afford to each personality the conditions of a normal unfolding, and we must assume with the growth of years and experience a progressive tendency for the impulses of action to harmonize with the dictates of reason, and for both to diverge decreasingly from the vital needs of Region, City, Nation, State, and all the other items of a series culminating in a world-civilization.

What, then, is the political implication of this potential growth towards identity of self and society? What its bearing on the theory and practice of Government? Surely this,

that the mere extension of Government means the failure of education. For the very test of efficacy in education is a decreasing need for direction of conduct by external control. Education is truly vital in the degree to which it evokes an integral personality. Negatively that means in politics a Resorption of Government into the individual.¹ And this points to the distinguishing mark of the New State, as the educationist sees it, that it will be characterized by an ever-increasing Resorption of Government into the body of the community from which it has got separated by the evils of mankind and mistaken efforts to remedy them. Under a reconstituted politics, the injunction to cultivate one's garden will hold, but for the reason that it is the beginning of an apprenticeship to the cultivation of the eutopian habit of mind.

¹ For a fuller discussion of this concept—Resorption of Government—than is possible here, see Branford, *Interpretations and Forecasts* (Duckworth), Chap. VI. and especially pages 319-323.

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