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A RUSTIC VIEW OF WAR AND PEACE.[1]

PROLOGUE.

IT is possible to draw on a globe a map of the land surfaces so arranged that Great Britain is in the centre. (1). That is one of the ways in which the world is commonly presented to us. Some people read into it the Creator's intention as regards the British Empire. Another view of the world commonly presented to us is that there happened long ago events in Palestine which made that part of the earth its spiritual centre for all time to come. And if we really believe this, we act upon it and make pilgrimages to Jerusalem accordingly. Hence another kind of world-map may be drawn which has this Holy City at its centre. Possibly the Russian pilgrim maps are of this kind. Certainly the mediæval geographers so made their maps. One of the best preserved specimens is on the walls of Hereford Cathedral. (2).

Here then are two characteristic out-looks upon the world. According to the days when they are most emphasized we might call the one the weekday outlook, and the other the Sunday outlook. They represent respectively the view-points of the geographer and the humanist. Economist and politician see things mostly from the former angle, woman and poet from the latter. In life we alternate and mingle them. The south-east coast of England, for

1. The numbers in brackets throughout the text refer to illustrations enumerated in the Appendix. These illustrations exist in the form of lantern slides. They have been chosen and arranged to show objectively, the thesis presented subjectively in the text. These 94 illustrations make a cinematograph-like representation. It is hoped that reading-circles, clubs and societies given to social, economic and political discussion may see their way to participate in this scheme. Those intending to take part in the discussion following the lantern display could study this text beforehand. A condensed and simplified version of this text has been prepared for popular presentation. Type-written copies of this can be had on application to the Assistant Secretary of the Cities Committee. This version would be read as descriptive letterpress to the slides. Arrangements are being made for duplicating the lantern slides, and offering sets on loan or hire. Other illustrated lectures dealing similarly with the sociological aspects of current problems are under preparation. The next two lectures will be called respectively "The drift to Revolution" and "Masters of our Fate."

instance, may be regarded as simply a piece of the national frontier marking us off from "the foreigner." Similarly for the opposite coasts of France, Belgium and Holland. But bring these two coasts into one map such as that of Mackinder's "Ferry Towns of

THE FERRY TOWNS (3).

the Narrow Seas." (3). Here you see two land surfaces almost touching at Calais-Dover, and there diverging a little, but yet running more or less parallel for a long distance. And every few miles on each side of the narrow isthmus there is a pair of Ferry Towns, between which runs a continuous passage of people and goods in every kind of intercourse. A new unity thus appears. The common regional life of the Ferry Towns on the two sides of the channel is a very real thing; and would count for more in the ordering of the world's affairs if we had fuller vision. And the way to get fuller vision is to humanize our outlooks.

Starting at one of the Ferry Towns on the English side, let us set out on foot for a journey of exploration across England and Wales, resolved to use alternatively the geographical and humanist eye. We progress physically by putting forward first one foot and then another. So, in the intellectual exploration of the visible world, we may advance by methodic alternation of our two outlooks.

Rustic Labour.

Our Ferry Town is also a fishing place. A vessel of the fishing fleet is perhaps the first thing to be seen. Next might follow a visit to the fish market. (4) We go to see the homes of the fisher folk, we note the kind of houses they live in, their quarter of the town, the character of its streets, the appearance of its public buildings (if any). We study as far as may be the family life and confirm by observation the common idea that the wives of fishermen are women of high individuality. We follow the bread-winner to the fishing boat, and from the study of Folk proceed to that of Work. The fishing boat is a workshop with a definite organisation of discoverable relationship to the family life on one

side, and on the other to the Place of work—*i.e.*, the fishing grounds. In general terms, we are "out for" this, amongst other things, to see Labour not with a big L, but in flesh and blood, face to face and always on the spot.

Of the kind of man that the fishing occupation breeds you may know something by reflecting on the minesweeper's part in the war. Deeds combining more danger and less glory it would be hard to imagine. Yet these deeds are the daily task of great numbers of our fishermen. Word comes that submarines have sown the Channel with mines. All channel traffic is suspended. Five trawlers are sent out to sweep the fairway clear. All day they are at it, risking instantaneous and horrible death in a sea,

Jumbled and short and steep—
Black in the hollows and bright where its breaking—
Awkward water to sweep.

By evening the trawlers have done their perilous work. Back comes the signal "sweep completed in the fairway." Thereupon is resumed that mighty procession of merchant ships which the war shows us as a continuing naval review carried out under fighting conditions. Then ensues a momentary touch of war's pomp and glory enhancing the trawler's life:

Dusk off the Foreland—the last light going
And the traffic crowding through,
And five damned trawlers, with their syrens blowing,
Heading the whole review.

Omitting for the moment all else that we observe in the Ferry Town itself, let us pass on to the open country. The first rustic occupation to be seen is doubtless that of the market gardener. (5). The town itself is the gardener's market, so it is clear how the Place determines the Work; and for an example of work influencing Folk, we recall that almost all gardeners wear a look of tranquil sagacity; and we may connect that with the fact that the gardener stands almost, if not quite, at the head of the longevity table.

His rare combination of sanity and health issues from a nice balance of art and nature, of labour, thought and purpose. So it happens that his craft genuflexions have a certain spiritual value, of which the incomparable Kipling makes witty use in his exhortation to the amateur:

Oh, Adam was a gardener, and God who made him sees
That half a proper gardener's work is done upon his knees,
So when your work is finished, you can wash your hands and pray
For the Glory of the Garden that it may not pass away!
And the Glory of the Garden it shall never pass away!

Still wandering westwards, we come to fields where, perhaps, the farmers' teams are at work ploughing, sowing, reaping, according to the season of the year. (6). Without pausing on the broad

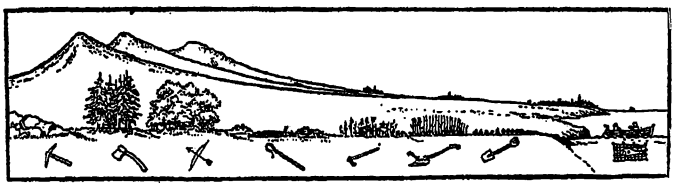
expanse of the English plain, we press on towards the foothills of the western rise. Here we come to a region of more typical valleys. We find ourselves in one that narrows sufficiently for us to see low hills on either side, and perhaps in the far distance up stream we catch a glimpse of higher hills towards the head waters. (7). Ascending the low slopes of the foot-hills, we shall come perhaps upon smaller peasant-like farmers, or crofters. Further up we may see flocks of grazing sheep. (8). Passing upwards towards the valley head, we might perchance observe droves of sheep moving from one pasture to another in charge of a mountain shepherd; for we are now in mid Wales. In the good shepherd as we see him tenderly bearing the wounded lamb, we recognise a perennial fount of idealism, rising direct from the wells of pastoral life. (9-10). Next we enter a region of bracken, heather and scrub, with here and there sparsely wooded bits of country. Here the only wayfarers likely to be met are the vigilant game-keeper, or some remote hill shepherd struggling back to his sheiling after foraging for sticks. (11).

We cross some pass of the higher mountains, preparatory to a descent to the west coast, steep and short compared with the long gradual ascent from the east. A little way down the western slope we might look back and see the higher peaks covered with snow, if the time be winter or spring. (12). Next we notice that the greater rainfall of the west stimulates and sustains a more luxuriant growth of timber. Under the urgent demands of war, lumber-men are everywhere busy felling and carting in these western woods. (13). Hereabouts, too, we might find ourselves in a region of slate quarrying, coal hewing, lead mining, or other work determined by the richer mineral strata of the western slopes. (14).

The general impression of our journey is doubtless above all one of delight in the beauties and varieties of scenery. Our outlooks on Folk and Work and our study of these in their interrelationships to one another and to Place have on the whole been secondary to the scenic appeal. But the mood of analysis returns, and summing up our journey let us make what geographers call a section across the country. (15). It vividly shows the long, slow climb up to the Welsh mountains from the east coast, and the rapid run down on the west.

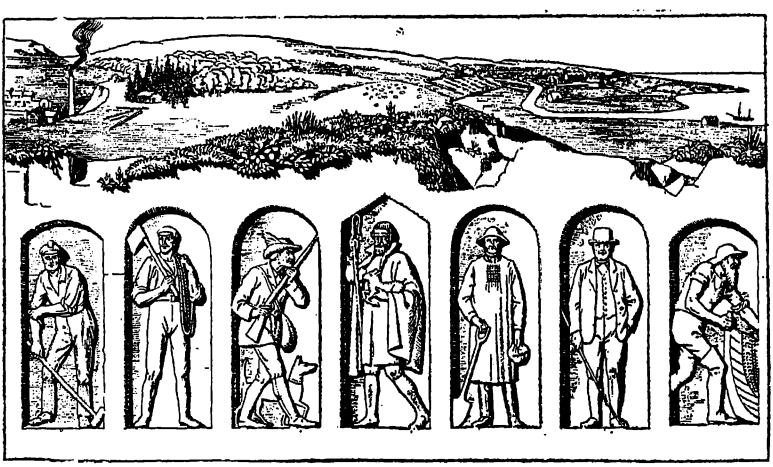
SECTION ACROSS WALES AND THE ENGLISH PLAIN (15).

Try now to adjust to this section, a generalised picture of the significant things we have seen from the alternating outlook of



VALLEY SECTION, WITH TYPICAL VEGETATION AND CHARACTERISTIC REGIONAL OCCUPATIONS (16).

geographer and humanist. (16)). Our picture is first that of fishermen with their boat and net; then gardener with his spade; peasant with his wheat and plough on the rich soils of the lower levels; next poorer peasant or crofter, with his oats and potatoes on the thin soil next to the permanent pasture; next shepherd, on this pasture. Then hunter on the moorland and in the deciduous woods; finally on the timbered and mineralized western slope, woodman and miner with their respective implements of occupation, the axe and the pick. Here, then, is the key diagram, the constructive formula of the Regional Survey. This is our "Valley Section" with its rustic types of Fisher, Peasant, Shepherd, Hunter, Woodman, Miner. (17). It is, of course, an idealized conception compounded from the many valleys we have traversed in our long journey from the North Sea to the Irish Channel. Its practical use is like that of other scientific units, *i.e.*, for comparison. To com-



THE NATURE OCCUPATIONS (17).

pare one actual valley with another, we set each side by side with the ideal "Valley Section," and note the points of similarity and difference. And we interpret our observations by alternate use of

two formulæ. The geographer's formula is that *Place* determines *Work* and *Work* determines *Folk*. But the humanist observes that Folk may choose their own work and shape the place accordingly; hence his formula reverses the geographer's and reads Folk —Work—Place.

Our regional unit rests on two large claims. First, that it conforms to an actual tendency in the configuration and clothing of the earth's crust. Secondly, that its occupational types are at once natural and human. In a sense these six rustic types—Miner, Woodman, Hunter, Shepherd, Peasant, Fisher—are the long-sought missing links of evolution. They are the raw material of all social communities. They are the six human pieces on the chess board of nature. It is they who play the game of war and peace up and down the valley and out into the world. In other words, they are the prime-movers of civilization. So let us now consider those products of civilization which we have omitted so far from our survey, the villages, towns and cities.

The Country Gentleman.

But first recall an object of even more frequent occurrence, that is the great country house. Wherever you see a high-lying piece of land, with a fine open vista to south and west and the shelter of wooded or higher land to the north and east, there, more often than not, you find the stately mansion and spacious park of some county family or nobleman. It may be a great castellated building surviving from some historic pile (18); or it may be a modern piece of architecture, designed for comfort inside and appearance outside. (19). Penetrate the entrance hall of one of the larger of these mansions, and you are impressed, not only with the sense of comfort, but even more with that of magnificence. (20). Trophies, flags, armour, pictures, statues on all sides add to the splendour of the scene. But may be the glory of the hall is in its oak-carved roof, whose timbers combine beauty with endurance (21). Walking out on to the terrace one is enchanted by the glowing beauty of the gardens in the foreground and the superb vista in the distance. (22-23). But the charm of the gardens draws you insistently back to enjoy their rich colouring and tranquil greenery. (24-26). On your return to the halls and galleries of the mansion, after these feasts of nature, the human voice of classic statues speaks with renewed appeal (26 *a, b.*)

Now it is clear we are in presence of a phenomenon entirely worthy of careful study, both by the weekday and the Sunday outlook. These country seats are each of them a veritable paradise of art and natural beauty. The inhabitants of this earthly Elysium, who are they? Well, let us follow them during one of their seasonal migrations to "town," as they call it, meaning of course

London. There they repeat, as far as may be, the outdoor equestrian life and the sylvan setting of their country home. In confirmation, pay a visit, at a suitable time of day, to Rotten Row, in Hyde Park. (27). But the narrow circumstances of town life entail a corresponding adaptation. The Olympian family may have to content itself with a town mansion which is but a single house in the side of a Square, designed, it is true, to look like the façade of a palace. (28). And for the great private park, there is but the modest substitute of a small collective park occupying the centre of the square. Yet within, these town mansions are made all glorious by works of art. The drawing-room, for instance, is a museum of treasures. (29-30). From the back windows of one of these superb chambers you look out on an exiguous space of perhaps only a few square yards, but it may be a gem of a garden. (31). Examine one or two of the historic pictures which adorn the drawing-room walls. (32). Here is a painting of the great Emperor Charles V., spending his leisure in the company of ministrant artists and musicians, who vie with each other in their efforts to please and gratify him. The scene is historic, but is it not also symbolic? For does not every single one of the heads of these favoured families find himself in the position of artistic privilege held by the Renaissance Prince? This picture, indeed, defines the historic status of our country gentlemen. They are renaissance princes all. Again, here is a famous picture of the Nine Muses dancing to the lyre of Apollo. (33). There are many interpretations of the Muses. One places them on a pinnacle above the Gods of Olympus. Another sees in them the consecration of combat and the garnishings of amorous adventure. It is the latter which is here adopted by the artist. He gives us a presentment in which the musal performance is for the benefit of Mars and Venus, in leisurely contemplation of the spectacle. This also is a social symptom. The sincerity of the artist is never to be doubted. He naturally (though not necessarily) imbibes the doctrine of life elaborated and maintained in old-established seats of learning and disseminated by schools of repute. Do not our ancient universities, and still more our historic Public Schools, elevate athletic prowess above the high aspirations of the mind and the deep desires of the heart? The corresponding conception of labour is easily deduced. It is the pre-ordained part of artisans to execute the plans conceived by genius for palaces of art and gardens of delight. And to perform the daily services needed for the maintenance of these Temples of the Beautiful is the privilege of labourers, attendants and domestics.

So much for the private life of these modern Olympians. Turn now to their public life. The Juniors cultivate the prestige of a "man-about-town." The Seniors are the political leaders of the com-

munity and the executive heads of the Government. Their leadership is signalized to the world by impressive edifices. For one example, take that of which the official title is Westminster Palace, commonly called the Houses of Parliament—(34)—and for another a single one of those recent piles of bureaucratic government which outrange in size the great palaces of the Renaissance. (35). Or again, you may find these Olympians in honorific and lucrative charge of old surviving institutions such as the Tower of London. And sometimes they play, expensively if not efficiently, at control over the scientific apparatus of technical institutions like the Mint and Trinity House. (36). There is a special quarter of the metropolis devoted to the activities of their public leadership. It is called Whitehall, and runs from the Nelson Monument to the Abbey. (37). Then when their brilliantly successful members pass from this mundane world, they are laid to rest in the most sacred spot of our land, and inside the Abbey you see their monuments crowding the chancel and north transept. (38).

Now who are these wondrous creatures whose private life is surrounded and enhanced by the delights of art and the glories of nature; and whose public life is so generously given to government and leadership? Can we relate them to our rustic types? Consider the rural occupations of these modern Olympians. (39—42). In their own part of the countryside they are preservers of game, and their main occupation is, in their own words, that of "sportsmen." This sport of theirs they pursue, not only at home, but in all parts of the world where game is to be found. And there is a regular sequence from the killing of small birds at home, to the pursuit of the great carnivora in the wilds of the earth. But the sequence that runs from sport to big game hunting does not stop there. There remains, by universal admission the noblest hunt—the hunt of man. Hence the culminating aim of these sportsmen is to be warriors. They are everywhere the officers of armies and navies; they man the diplomatic services whose standing principle it is to threaten war, as that of their Governments is to prepare war. The conditional assertion, "if you want peace," may be taken as the diplomatic version of what is vulgarly called "bluff."* The great game of war thus emerges, as supreme occupation of that most developed form of hunter, the country gentleman. And Whitehall, we see, is like the god Janus, two-faced. The face that looks to Parliament, to the City and the manufacturing East End, says "Peace." The other looks to the pleasure park of St. James, and the monuments, palaces and mansions of the spending West End. It says "War." (43). Now deep in the heart of all the other rustic types is the sporting instinct, implanted there by countless generations of hunting ancestry before the rustic

types became differentiated. They are all of them, therefore, potential warriors, and readily accept the leadership of the country gentleman as the best practised man at this game. They submit to the preliminary drudgery of drill, some with more, others with less resistance. The peasant is the most docile of the rustic types, and so his mentality, as well as his numbers, make him the body of the modern conscript army. (44—45).

War is thus a wholesale reversion. But that means a renewal of primitive qualities as well as defects. The qualities are endurance, loyalty, simplicity, and sacrifice. These are the fine flowers of war in personal life; and with individuals so ennobled, there goes of course a corresponding transformation of social life. A community wholeheartedly at war is like a giant refreshed. It becomes capable of Titanic efforts undreamed in the "peace" of commercial societies. A community impassioned by war is like a poet in the ecstasy of composition. Its whole being is unified, intensified and raised in spiritual potential. A community through war may come to know and realize the meaning of the word enthusiasm. The indwelling god comes forth into active manifestation.

As for the defects, well, the social ones usually come more into evidence when the fighting is over. The individual defects, on the other hand, may best be studied while the war goes on, by observing the conduct of the aggressive party. A clue may be discovered in the kind of material reward which the aggressive combatant snatches when he gets the chance. To see this more clearly, invoke the aid of the caricaturist with his penetrating insight. Regard, for a moment, the German army and navy through the eyes of Raemaekers. After the successful invasion of neighbouring territory the fruits of war are gathered. Each elemental occupation seizes the particular reward which most appeals to its instinct and tradition. For instance, the peasant, with his instinct for property, gets the recompense of loot. (46). The miner has the joy of terrific explosions, and corresponding material destruction. (47). The shepherd cares not over much for property, and prefers his recompense in more human shape. As bandit he carries off men prisoners for one purpose and women for another. (48). Again, take the fisherman, he, very readily, is transformed into the pirate, and perhaps never was a time when the pirates had their day so fully as with these U. boats. (49). The impulse to loot stirs the young peasant into orgies of robbery. What of the old peasant left at home? Well his reward is to pay the bill when it is all over. (50).

How can we show simply and vividly the net result of this vast transformation of young peasants into robbers, of shepherds into bandits and ravishers, fishermen into pirates, miners into maniacs of destruction, and of old peasants into paupers? (51).

Mr. Mairet's presentation is symbolic but easily read. In front the War Lords, under mask of their heraldic birds and beasts, are enjoying their Valhalla of combat. In the background the villages, the towns and the cities are burning. The scene suggests as the main recompense of the War Lords themselves, the joy of

ARMAGEDDON. (A.D. 1914-16).

battle. But there are also more material rewards. The War Lords get the first choice of loot. Recall that from the Reformation to the French Revolution, there was almost continuous war in Europe. Think of the opportunities in two to three centuries of skilled and tasteful pillage from the accumulated wealth of monas-

tery, church, guildry, of city, town and village. You begin to realize how it is that everywhere the mansions of the European aristocracies are museums of historic art treasures.

Moreover, to the victors goes usually an addition of territory. Suppose we had access to a plan of one of the great territorial estates, with the dates when its different parts were acquired. We should see that it did not descend from Heaven, but that it grew like a working woman's patchwork quilt, bit added to bit, until one great whole was made. And this process is of the very nature of the hunter and his mode of life. An inevitable economic destiny implants in him the ideal of Expansion; which some would call not an ideal but a temptation. His ever-growing need of game drives him inexorably to push forward his boundaries, on pain of starvation. The growth of the country estate is thus but the civilized equivalent of the primitive hunter's instinct and tradition to extend the area of his food supply. On the plane of world policy that tradition is called Imperial Expansion. And when this imperial stage of political progress is reached, the hunting boundary emerges into dazzling light as the frontier. If you would discard the conventional and rhetorical use of the word frontier and grasp the underlying reality, look at Mr. Arnold Toynbee's map of the invading armies in the autumn of 1914. (52). That map suggests to the anthropologist a familiar picture. It is a picture of hungry tribesmen first war-dancing themselves into a frenzy of exaltation, then hurling themselves with all the terrifying clatter of metallic weapons, upon the neighbouring tribe, taken unawares if possible. What they are "out for" is, of course, removal of boundary marks, and extension of their hunting ground. Similarly all round the globe the anthropologist sees frontiers as, at bottom, the same thing. He sees them as a phenomenon imposed by the hunting and military culture upon the other social formations, who, if left to themselves, get on fairly well without frontiers. Reflect on the new system of frontiers which Imperial Germany is trying to set up in eastern regions, where previously but adjustable boundaries and limits existed.

Now it may seem that we have devoted an undue amount of space to this survey of the country house and its inmates. But is it more proportionately than the public and private doings of these modern Olympians occupy in the daily life of our community?

Rustics in Town.

Clear in the background of Mr. Mairet's drawing is visible the Phœnix rising from its ashes. That resurrection of civic life suggests how inadequate has been our regional outlook on warfare. There are noble wars of defence, such as that of the Allies in Armageddon. Our analysis has but disclosed the foundations of

those ignoble wars of aggression, which have become the national industry of Prussia, and the occasional outbreak of some other peoples nearer home. What inspires men to the nobler war of defence is having something noble to defend in village, town and city. Just as the patricians close their ranks in defence of their beautiful homes and the revenues that maintain them, so all classes of the community unite for protection of the most cherished elements in public and private life. What these are we all know, but regarded from the regional outlook they gain in freshness.

Return to the urban observations of our journey, and supplement the rustic by the civic survey. To begin with, let us ask some simple questions. What happens to the rustic folk when they go to town? Well, do they not just continue the old activities adapted as far as may be to the new urban setting? In other words the rustic folk become "townsmen" just as their patrician fellows do. For instance, the shepherd and peasant settling in town send their daughters into spinning or weaving factories. (53–4). The miner may follow his coal truck to town, and become blacksmith, iron-smelter, forge-master, metallurgist. (55). The forester, with his skill in mechanical manipulation may be able, with ingenious experiments, to invent more complicated machines in the city. Sometimes miner and forester combine their urban aptitudes and talents. The stored wealth of rich peasants, called capital, is at their disposal. Multitudes of uprooted peasants called "cheap labour" are at their service. The resulting product is the Factory Town. (56). But it is in America that the perfect specimen of the Factory Town has appeared. To do justice to its monumental range of chimney stacks a triple picture is needed. The whole work of art is the creation of a complex personality, who, if not himself a miner, or an engineer, was a great organizer of miners and engineers. This factory town is called Homestead. (57).

We might go on tracing the rustic types into their urban variants in endless detail. But what we are seeking is a principle of transformation from rustic to civic, and from townsman to citizen. We may find a clue to this principle in the more simple life of the village, and the small country town. (58). Contemplate the quiet beauty of a representative English village. Its conspicuous feature is the gray spire or tower of a church, rising out of green foliage, and often running water in the foreground: surely one of the most delectable of sights, soothing to the mind, and haunting to the imagination. Notable also perhaps, is the local grammar school. (59). In many a Cotswold town and even village (if you march that way towards Wales), you will see a main street of old gabled houses, a pleasant green centrally situated, and much architecture of civic dignity and beauty. (60). The market hall is a fine

old building which adorns the place only less than church and even more than grammar school. As we observe all this, the sense of a new social unity, with new types of human activity pervades us. A deeper analysis than that of the simple rustic outlook is needed. For here, during centuries, even millenia, all the rustic types have mingled and fused into co-operant life of new and enriched potentiality. Watch the men, for instance, at work in the fields. (61). Watch them together in a village workshop, not yet a factory. Watch them in the streets and in their homes. You cannot but feel that here you have individuals, personalities, but who are also of the People. Thus arises a conception of the People, not as a mere proletariat, but as the body of a community which maintains itself by worthy and dignified labour of many kinds. Specialized off from this community of the People, but still members of it, are the parson and the schoolmaster, with their respective institutions of church and school, each a real functional element in the life of the People. Now suppose we generalise these types. Generalise the school master as the " Intellectual " and the parson as the " Emotional" of the community. To these add the " People" as the undifferentiated body of the community, and we have three types that are complex, quasi-civic, let us say, as opposed to the more simple rustic ones. But our tale of new types is incomplete. Sometimes the squire's house, instead of being a great mansion standing aloof in a vast park, is a modest home which fits into the framework of the town or village. (62). It is, in fact, but an enlarged house of the place; and its garden but a larger and finer garden, and its library the actual working room of the squire, who thus may be a genuine leader in the every-day life of the community. Let us generalise his role as that of " Chief." Here then is the fourth to complete our set of quasi-civic types, as they emerge in the village or small country town seen as an embryo city.

Our civic survey seeks out the People, Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals of a higher, more creative social situation. These are no longer townsmen. They have transformed and transcend that part. Combining they are able to establish the conditions of what Aristotle called "the good life." Thus they become citizens. But that noble rôle has its perils and temptations, with consequent risk of lapse and degradation. The study of the resulting defects and evils occupies no small part of that survey of the civic types which describes their avocations and activities, their public and private life; and above all tries to understand and interpret the city itself which is the living product of their interaction now and in the past.

The science of sociology was born when, in a moment of inspiration, Auguste Comte, the philosopher, saw the long record

of human history as a conflict and co-operation of these four social types—People, Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals. At about the same time, another Frenchman, Frédéric Le Play, a mining engineer and a great traveller, was revealing the importance of the rustic types for geography and economics. Long overdue is the problem of uniting these two standpoints by developing each to the stage where they combine and reinforce each other. That is the scientific purpose of the Regional Survey, at once rustic and civic. There is also a practical purpose which is Regional Service, rustic and civic, but with that we are not for the moment concerned.

The Making of Citizens.

With the foregoing clues let us pass now to the cities, and try to understand something, even of the great metropolis itself. Take your stand at any busy junction of cross roads, such as between the Bank of England and the Mansion House. (63). The impression of pedestrians and vehicles flitting hither and thither is much what you receive on looking at the movements of ants. The course of all these individuals seems utterly confused and meaningless. But each has his appointed destination and seeks and finds it regardless of the others. There is evidently a deeper order in the seeming chaos than appears on the surface. There must be something in the nature of the urban crowd governing its assembling and disappearing, something in the nature of laws. How far, for instance, are these individuals but rustics in disguise, urged and prompted by the old habits formed from many generations of rustic life? How far, again, can we apply our classification of People, Chiefs, Intellectuals, Emotionals, and sort out from the crowd examples of these civic types?

As to the first question, we have already given a hint of the answer. As to the second, try the method of observation. Follow some of the workers to their homes. You will find yourself in a quarter of the city of which Lambeth may be taken as a type. A walk through the streets of Lambeth should be supplemented by viewing the town as it appears on the 25 inch Ordnance Map. (64). The general view thus presented is that of a network of railways and tramways with the interstices filled up by monotonous streets of mean dwellings. Whatever else it may be, Lambeth is clearly a town of the People, but one deteriorated by isolation from its complement of civic co-partners. Where are these? You will find some of them on the north side of the river. Cross by Westminster Bridge, walk through St. James' Park and the Green Park to Hyde Park Corner, and thence penetrate that mansion suburb called Mayfair. And to confirm the general impression look at Westminster on the 25 inch Ordnance Map. (65). It is a mingling of palaces and great houses built round the margins of

royal Parks and along the river front. (66). It is clearly a city of Chiefs, hypertrophied by specialization in detachment from its civic fellows.

Are there such things as cities of Intellectuals and of Emotionals? Well, are not Oxford and Cambridge cities of Intellectuals, but again largely frustrate by growth in civic isolation? If we saw a city of Emotionals how should we know it? By what features recognise it? First of all the homes of the People would be pleasant and cheerful to look at, healthy and comfortable to live in, and on all sides tokens of the gardeners' art. So far it would be very like a Garden Suburb, expressing all that placid and tender beauty which the home stands for. (67-70). Letchworth, Hampstead and many other beginnings are well started on this road. Port Sunlight, Bournville, Earswick are the creations of neotechnic chiefs co-operating with their people, and calling in aid the services of those intellectual-emotionals, the town-planning architects. The mingled charm and prosperity of these incipient cities of the coming social order proclaim the difference which separates our neotechnic chiefs from their paleotechnic predecessors, who contributed Homesteads to the Victorian era.

In full realization the neotechnic city will shine and glitter with spires, domes and towers, expressing that passion of life which creates its own environment, and moulds it to the pattern of the ideal. Those individuals who in degree attain this, Comte called "Emotionals." He was thinking especially of women and priests, artists and poets. It has been well said that a better, or at least a less ambiguous word, would have been "Expressionals." Now a picture has been made of all the Wren spires and steeples grouped around his masterpiece of St. Paul's. (71). Looking at this picture one cannot but say, "here is a city of the Expressionals." The great outburst of building which followed the Plague and the Fire, found its architectural genius in Wren. (72). But he, we must remember, was only first amongst a company of equals, and alongside his portrait we should place his friends and colleagues of the Oxford-London group which founded the Royal Society and thereby established the experimental sciences in this country. Wren's plan for the re-building of London (73), should be put alongside that of Evelyn, and doubtless these two were but supreme examples of many plans by many minds which the great catastrophe stirred into an energy of creative imagination.

But such outbursts of creative genius do, in point of fact, occur periodically. To discover the secret of their coming and going is perhaps the grand aim of sociology. A couple of generations before Wren and his group, we can match them in another group, certainly not less creative. Indeed, with Shakespeare, Ben Jonson and their fellows, who met at the Mermaid Tavern, we had an

ebullition of genius which transformed the life of London and even the nation. (74). But now the creative effort went, not so much to the making of churches, mansions and palaces, though many and beautiful speciments of these were built. The deeply characteristic institution of that age was the theatre. So that when we look at Mr. Godfrey's reconstruction of the Fortune Theatre (75) it reminds us that the London of those days was in a very distinct way becoming a city of Expressionals. It was an age in which everyone expressed themselves in a prose that was uncommonly like poetry. A plain seaman, in a petition to the Government asking for ships to fight the Spaniards, remarked that "the wings of man's life are plumed with the feathers of death." There spoke the spirit of the theatre that was striving to make London a city of Expressionals.

Again, think of a still earlier outburst of genius expressed in architecture. Stand in the nave of Westminster Abbey, lift up your eyes and look west along the choir (76), and you may come to know the meaning of the sacramental phrase *Sursum Corda*. Under such stimulus one may realize a little the striving of the spirit of man in its perennial labour to build a city of the ideal. From the researches of historians and archæologists, it is possible to reconstruct the mediæval city of Westminster at its zenith in the thirteenth century. (77). It shows an artistry in colour and form such as we moderns of the chilly north have for the moment lost, but may recover (and why not surpass?) when all four civic types, all social classes, again freely co-operate in the joyous art of city design. That wonderful thirteenth century was also the time of the preaching Friars, who may be taken as type of the ever-renewing impulse called Pastoral. When the good shepherd we saw on the Welsh hills comes to town he may do so in one age as arousing evangel, in another as pioneer and idealist of co-operation and of socialism, in another as Tribune of the People. (78-80). One final example of the periodic attempt to make a city of Expressionals. (81). The Athenian Acropolis with the Temple of Jerusalem stand, of course, as the two supreme instances.

Thus the Patriarchical City, the Classical City, the Mediæval City, the Renaissance City, even the Industrial City are all endeavours to make an environment expressive of the ideals of their time. As we see it to-day, the city is a mingling and survival of all these historic endeavours. We can portray this diagrammatically by that Arbor Sæculorum whose branchings represent the civic survivals of our social heritage. (82).

Now on the surface of things we may see nothing but confusion in the modern city. But, look for the survivals of those earlier branchings. You will soon recognise in the continuing life of this strange and wonderful Being some instinctive yet fitful endeavour

to attain a co-operation of all the civic types in one supreme achievement. To make a worthy home for the creative spirit of man; just that and nothing less is the aim of this civic co-operation. The resulting record of triumphs and failures, of marvels and lapses, of aspirations and degradations is visible on the face of every historic city. And if we ask how these People, Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals—this quadruple alliance of the ebbing and flowing civic campaign—are related to the simpler rustic types, the question is certainly difficult to answer, and awaits further research. But already there are clues and suggestions. How rustics, alike plebeian and patrician, become townsmen we have seen. What we seek to discover is how they awaken into citizenship. Well, suppose, for instance, that the known instinct of the peasant to build be a primary motive in the origin and maintenance of cities. In the German word *bauer* is crystallized this association, for it means at once peasant and builder. Now mate this constructive impulse of the peasant with the quickening idealism of the shepherd. He, as we have seen, brings into the social copartnery a veritable passion of righteousness. Assume this two-fold leadership in the things of the constructive hand and the inspiring heart; and imagine a prolonged avoidance of war. It is not difficult to conceive under these circumstances the concentration of all rustic energies needed for the colossal task of city building. As hammering makes the blacksmith's biceps, so city building makes the citizen. In such ways you may construct out of the known psychology of rustic types a hypothesis of civic origins and aspirations. It is a hypothesis of co-operation between all the rustic types under combined leadership of peasant and shepherd. Its value can be tested in interpreting many puzzles of contemporary life. It stands over against

ARBOR SAECULORUM.

that hypothesis already examined, of a co-operation for war under leadership of the hunter-warrior.[1] Grant the underlying ideas and what reading of history could be more charged with dramatic issue, what outlook on the world of politics now and in the future, more suggestive, at once menacing and hopeful? We mourn Louvain, not only because historic culture cities are few in the world, and the loss of one is a serious blow to civilization. (82a). But also because the ruins of Louvain are a reminder of what the hunter-warrior has been doing through the recorded past. And even more are they a foretaste of his deadlier devastations in the future, if the titanic forces of science are allowed to remain on his side, in the civic duel. This ever-renewing combat is the central interest of the human drama as we read it. Rustics assemble, now to build the City of God, and again lured by other impulses, these same rustics disperse, abandon the work, even destroy wantonly what their hands have built. In recurrent tragedy the City of God nears attainment, and anon the builders lapse into the service of Satan.

No single formula can cover this tragedy; but our two hypotheses help to explain it. In support of the one hypothesis we have adduced certain evidence. Towards verification of the other go back to our pictures of the Cotswold villages. Who were the architects of those splendid churches, those fine grammar schools, those stately market houses, those dignified homes? They were constructed by Cotswold masons, using the local stone and building like bees. A little further down the valley is the city of Oxford. Its famous High Street (83), also built from Cotswold stone, is manifestly but an enlarged and glorified version of the main street of the Cotswold village. It is surely manifest where lies the secret of Oxford's superb architecture. Further let us mark certain everyday facts of rustic life and labour which the textbooks of economics regard perhaps as too commonplace for mention. Shepherd and peasant live and prosper by growth and increase of flocks and herds with pasture to feed them, of crops, with barns to store the harvests. For shepherd and peasant success is therefore in terms of quantity and quality of life, as for hunter and warrior success is in terms of hecatombs of the dead, whether at covert-side battue or at Armageddon. To illustrate the latter, appeal again to the pencil of Raemaekers. (84). But dead men tell no tales. And after a successful campaign the hunter-warrior returns amid the plaudits of the multitude and adorns his capital with works of monumental magnificence. Sunning himself in the Garden of the Tuillieries, the greatest of the modern Cæsars looked to the right,

1. For fuller examination of these two interpretations of history and social evolution see "The Coming Polity" (Branford and Geddes), Chapters II, III, IV, V.

and his eye feasted on his Temple of Glory (now the Madeleine); in front he contemplated the setting sun, which on his august birthday was precisely framed by his Arch of Triumph (weather permitting). (85—86). Sometimes the conquering hero falls in battle. In that case his grateful countrymen erect in his honour the column that masks a cairn. (87).

But the civic monuments of Shepherd and Peasant, what are they? They are shrines to the sanctity of life. (88). In the pastoral and the peasant community there thus naturally arise village church and city cathedral. And in their building the rustics unite and become citizens. True it is, that ecclesiastical ministrants,

THE WAY OF RECONSTRUCTION (89).

in their over-anxious care for historic forms, are apt to forget these elemental origins, at once reality and an ideal. But the foundations of their faith are in the simple rustic story of the Nativity. Mr. Mairet's sketch (89), recalls these rustic elements as vital to civic renewal, no less than to personal faith.

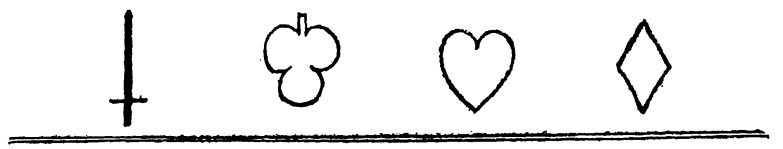
The effort to build a city of the ideal has perhaps in the past been more instinctive than organised. But many are the historic attempts to make it explicit and to proceed according to plan. One of the best known is More's "Utopia." He tells us, you remember, that the story was given him by a sailor friend called Hythloday. With these two naturally go More's intimate friends and frequent guests, Holbein the artist, and Erasmus the scholar. Mr. Mairet's sketch shows More, the "Chief," steering, Hythloday, man of the "People," telling his story, Holbein, the "Expressional," sketching him, and Erasmus, the wise "Intellectual," meditating in the prow. (90).

THE UTOPIAN GROUP.

The four civic types are perhaps more assumed than explicit in More's "Utopia." They are certainly explicit in other historic Utopias, such as Plato's "Republic," and Aristotle's real-idealistic treatise called "Politics." They are present in Mr. H. G. Wells' "Modern Utopia," and in the social descriptions of Mr. Arnold Bennett. The parallelism of these is very striking when put together. (91). How deep laid must be this fourfold social classification, for it supports the fabric of our playing cards. If you think of it, "clubs" are assuredly the symbol of the People, "hearts" of the Emotionals, "diamonds" of the Intellectuals and "spades," which is a mis-reading of the Spanish espada, a sword, stands for the Chiefs.

We have seen this social quartet differentiating in the village; segregating in the city. We have seen it crystallized in convention

and again re-forming in the plastic hands of the utopia-makers. But the artist sees its four members as the active figures of every situation that is charged with the drama of life. Governments have done well to send artists to the front, in order to show us what war is like. Look at the picture called "The Three Consolers," by M. Lucien Jonas, official painter to the military museum of the French Republic. (92). A wounded soldier lies propped on his sick-bed, perhaps his death-bed. Over him leans, on one side, a general officer, pinning to the patient's breast a medal; on the other side a priest, whispering words of comfort and consolation. In the background stands the physician waiting to resume his charge when the other two consolers leave. The situation is dramatic because it is socially complete; all the four types being present, and in characteristic rôle.



ORGANISERS WORKERS ENERGISERS INITIATORS

ARNOLD BENNETT

KINETICS POIETICS

ACTIVE PASSIVE ACTIVE PASSIVE

H.G Well's "Modern Utopia"

CITIZENS LABOURERS TEACHERS PHILOSOPHERS

Aristotle's "Politics"

GUARDIANS ARTISANS POETS PHILOSOPHERS

Plato's "Republic"

CHIEFS PEOPLE EMOTIONALS INTELLECTUALS

TEMPORAL POWERS SPIRITUAL POWERS

Comte's "Positive Philosophy" (Sociology)

BARONS SERFS SECULARS REGULARS

Feudal Society (State & Church)

THE CIVIC TYPES.

The Rival Utopias.

Why this long insistence on the hard facts of social analysis? What their bearing on the rustic view of war and peace? Well, our thesis is, in a nutshell, that war and peace are rustic utopias. War is the ideal social state of the hunter; peace that of the shepherd, and even more so that of the peasant. War unites all the rustics under the hunter, not only because it appeals to deep-seated instincts, but also because it has supreme qualities. It is clear in conception and realizable in deeds of high emotional intensity. For the more complex utopia of peace—real peace, constructive and militant—profounder thought is needed to reach clarity, more skilful planning to achieve realization, and withal a whiter glow of emotion. Consciously to attain to these ends is the aim of the literary utopias. And they have this amongst other uses: they supply the acid test for each and every reforming project. Does the project tend to create a situation in which all the four civic types can join and play their characteristic parts? If not, then the reform is condemned to barrenness.

Mr. Wells, who has seen so many of his predictions come true, foretells that the making of utopias will be the social art of the future, repeating in that, the saying of Comte.[1] But if our rustic view of war and peace be sound, it has also been the social art of the past. The marks of the hunting utopia are some of them scattered through the countryside for all that run to read. Others are buried in the ruins of dead cities. Others can be deciphered alike in the scars and the monuments of living cities. As for the pastoral and peasant utopia, its record is discoverable in the origin, rise, and development of cities. Historians; it is true, read this record in a different sense. They attribute the triumphs of architecture to kings, emperors, potentates, and princes. But we know how to answer these historians, and moreover in a way which recognises the truth that is in their narrative. We merely classify them. We put them in their proper and natural category. They are the lineal successors to, and the contemporary manifestations of, the ancient bards who sang the glory of war and the ecstasy of battle in honour of their chiefs. Is not most current history of popular appeal a kind of national minstrelsy composed in indifferent prose by somewhat unimaginative romancists?

Reconciliation.

To conclude. We may conceive the drama of social evolution as turning on the perennial struggle of the shepherd-peasant impulse and ideal against those of the hunter-warrior. The latter type, as we have seen, achieves a real attainment. He succeeds in

1. "Systematic formation of Utopias will become habitual," p. 351. General view of Positivism. Trans. Bridges (Routledge, 1/-).

making for himself, his family and his group a domestic utopia. And his political utopia of war he also realizes with periodic frequency. The drawback to his Temple of the Beautiful is that its construction is apt to leave but a kakotopia for the others, whose deprivation is hardly compensated by the glories of war and remnants of booty. Mediating between these rival utopias is the religious ideal of Personal Conversion. It springs essentially from a pastoral tradition, but one by no means confined to the shepherd. And the hunter above all, is transformed by his vision. Having seen kinship with humanity in the appealing eyes of the hunted stag, he falls on his knees in penitence; and with due sequel of prayer and discipline of good works, he may become a St. Hubert or St. Eustace. (93). There are many, to be sure, unable to scale the heights of sanctity, or even averse to trying. But for these, too, there are "moral equivalents of war," efficacious even to convert the hunter to the pastoral and peasant ideals without loss of the hunting qualities. Are not the Boy Scouts setting up the sign-posts for this road?

Any exploration, whether by Regional Survey or other method, of this vast field of war and peace, as yet but slightly touched by the scientific spirit, may fittingly end on a note of interrogation.

1. Globe—land surfaces.
2. Mediæval map of the world.
3. The ferry towns.
4. Fishing scenes.
5. Gardeners at work.
6. Ploughing.
7. Upper valley.
8. Sheep grazing.
9. Drove of sheep in the hills.
10. The good shepherd.
11. Moorland scene.
12. Snowy mountain peaks.
13. Forest scenes.
14. Mining scenes.
15. Section across England and Wales.
16. "Valley Section."
17. The rustic types.
18. Castellated mansion.
19. Modern mansion.
20. Interior of entrance hall.
21. Carved oak roof.
22. Park vistas.
23. „ „
24-6. Garden scenes.
26 *a*, *b*. Greek statues.
27. Scene in Rotton Row.
28. Belgrave Square (circa 1830).
29. Drawing room.
30. Drawing room.
31. Town garden.
32. Picture—Charles V. in retirement.
33. The Muses.
34. Houses of Parliament.
35. Ministry.
36. London Tower (with the Mint and Trinity House in the distance).
37. Bird's-eye view of Whitehall.
38. Monuments in Westminster Abbey
39-42. Hunting scenes.
43. Horse Guards' Parade.
44-5. German conscripts (*a*) in undress in barrack yard, (*b*) doing goose-step on parade.
46. German soldiers looting.
47. Great gun firing.
48. German soldiers & gagged woman.
49. U Boat.
50. Old peasant scrutinizing tax paper.
51. Armageddon.
52. Map of invaded country, 1914.
53-4. Scenes in spinning & weaving factories.
55. Coal trucks at urban terminus.
56. Factory town.
57. "Homestead."
58. Village church.

59. Grammar school.
60. Four village scenes.
61. Village workers—4 scenes.
62. Squire's house, garden & library.
63. Scene at London Mansion House.
64. Lambeth—ordnance map.
65. Westminster—ordnance map.
66. River front.
67-70. Garden suburb views.
71. Wren's steeples.
72. Wren.
73. Wren's plan for London.
74. The Mermaid Tavern Group.
75. Shakespearian Theatre.
76. Interior—Westminster Abbey.
77. Mediæval Westminster.
78. Preaching Friar.
79. Robert Owen.
80. Lloyd George.
81. Athenian Acropolis.
82. Arbor Sæculorum.
82a. Scenes in Louvain.
83. High Street of Oxford.
84. Corpses on the battlefield.
85-86. Arc de Triomphe & Madelaine (Paris).
87. Night-time in Trafalgar Square.
88. Van Eyck's "Adoration of the Lamb" painted for a church in Ghent, now in the Royal Gallery. Berlin.
89. Madonna & Child, with idealized city.
90. More and his friends.
91. The four civic types.
92. "The three Consolers."
93. Dürer's Vision of St. Eustace (sometimes called St Hubert).

THE RE-EDUCATION OF THE ADULT.

I.

The Neurasthenic in War and Peace.

By

Arthur J. Brock, M.D., Edin., *Temp. Capt. R.A.M.C.*

During the War a vast number of novel observations have been made on the subject of abnormal psychology. Systematic collection of the material has naturally been chiefly carried out by members of the medical profession, but, in view of the obvious bearing which much of it has on normal mentality and consequent influence on education, it seems to me fully time that some at least of the more striking of these observations should be brought before a wider public.

It has been the writer's fortune to have been serving for the past eighteen months in a medical capacity at one of our home hospitals for officers affected with shell-shock and allied war-neuroses. In the light of the experience there gained, I shall try here to indicate certain lines along which, in my opinion, the future studies of the psychologist and sociologist might be profitably directed, as well as to mention some of the therapeutical or re-educative methods which, having actually proved successful in my experience, may be at least commended to the attention of the educationist and those devoting themselves to the general problems of reconstruction.

Each of these shell-shock hospitals can be looked on as a microcosm of the modern world, showing the salient features of our society (and especially its weaknesses) intensified, and on a narrower stage.

A principle to which I shall in this essay constantly appeal is one well established in the organic sciences, viz., that from the abnormal may be learned deepest lessons about the normal. Furthermore, experience makes it very clear that war-psychology is but an "acute" exacerbation of a more or less chronic or "sub-acute" condition, from which our society had been suffering long before the flare-up of the present war.

Let me give one or two instances of what I mean.

One comes across patients in these hospitals—young men of good upbringing and irreproachable character—who confess to being sometimes so keyed up that they are seized with a desire to "smash something," even to "kill somebody." We cannot re-

flect upon these cases without at once gaining more understanding of, and sympathy with that product of modern city life, the hooligan. If the hooligan survives this war, we shall in the future recognise that he, no more than the war-neurasthenic, is to be cured by force.

Another example of the light which the intensified psychology of war throws on that of daily life. Never before have we seen such cogent proofs of the view that feeling determines thinking—that "the wish is father to the thought." Much of the dreams, waking and sleeping, of the neurasthenic are based upon this. Assuredly before the War we used to "shut our eyes" to things—to ugly and unpleasant facts—but never before could this process have been seen forming, as might almost now be said, the chief pre-occupation of daily life with a large body of our fellows.[1]

In its essence neurasthenia is a privation or relative absence of life. It presents us with a picture of life with its unity in space and time both gone—life broken up and dispersed into its constituent elements—what we may call, in fact, a *biolysis*. Thus, while in ordinary healthy life we see man utilizing and profiting by his environment, his circumstances, in neurasthenia we see him very definitely "up against" surrounding circumstance—refusing to face it. His experience of one kind of environment has been so terrific that he is inclined to evade for the future anything savouring of the "environmental" at all. To use the terms of modern psychology, it is not merely the war "constellation" or the khaki "complex" that he is wearied with; the whole battle of life in its widest and most normal sense has become—for the time at least—abhorrent to him. He is an extreme instance of the chronically fatigued person so common in our modern world—the *vaincu de la vie.*

Now, struggle and endeavour are normal conditions of life, and, when all the pleasing sophistries of modern Epicureanism have said their say, it is indisputable that man only feels his best when overcoming difficulties, when "rowing hard against the stream." Relaxation of effort is followed by loss of self confidence and of the sense of well-being which springs therefrom.

Diagnosis.

When the neurasthenic, therefore, ceases to make headway against his environment—or rather, shall I say? to utilize his environment—he has to find a substitute for this feeling of *bienêtre* which is lost to him. And this he finds in some form of what may be broadly called a *drug*. The symptoms of a genuine neurasthenic, especially at the stage before definite improvement has

1. On Forgetting as an active process, see W. H. R. Rivers, Temp. Capt. R.A.M.C., "Freud's Psychology of the Unconscious," *Lancet*, June 16, 1917.

begun, are largely to be explained as attempts to compromise with life—to gain its solaces without facing its tasks; they are indications that the patient is endeavouring to shirk his *milieu*.

"Drugging" is a customary method whereby the comforts of life are obtained while the life-process itself is more or less at a standstill, if not at its ebb.

The legitimate function of sedative and stimulating drugs is to reinforce the human will when it is faced by difficulties that seem overwhelming; it is abuse of drugs to employ them in order to reinforce the will under circumstances with which it is quite capable of dealing by itself.

To my mind, therefore, the drug problem (and in this I include that of alcohol) is much more a psychological than a physiological one. I say this with full recognition of the various harmful organic changes which alcoholism and other drug addictions can produce.

Looked at from a slightly different aspect, drug-taking in neurasthenia is a form of what are called the "protective neuroses" in which the patient commutes his debt to life by payment of a more easily rendered substitute or "surrogate." Where his dreams are not merely images of fear, they tend to be of this class—for example many of his weird imaginings, his "tall tales," and his boastings. Another instance from among many is the prominent symptom known as "grousing." Undoubtedly the criticising of other people does tend to raise one relatively in one's own self-esteem, and therefore can to some extent replace the self-satisfaction normally gained by actual positive function of one's own. Similarly, in considering other people's misfortunes, we are apt to feel that things are not so bad with us after all.[1] Hence "to have a good grumble" is a form of self-drugging, of preserving one's self-confidence; it is a protective neurosis, which, in war-time at least, must not be too harshly judged.

An allied condition is that known as "standing on one's dignity." Those who lack self-respect and who are too lazy to (who "will not") set about gaining it in the only legitimate way (*i.e.* by self-expression) instinctively attempt to bolster themselves up by supports which do not call for effort on their part. They "delude themselves into believing" that they are people "of consequence"; they actively suppress the suggestion that they are not, but at the same time they live in a constant condition of half-dread lest the submerged truth should out. They suffer terribly if a neighbour should, either by word or look, help to unshackle the "submerged complex." Realising the danger of this happening, they tend to withdraw themselves from their neighbours and assume a position of "proud isolation" (it is this which is

1. This is the German *Schadenfreude* (lit. "scathe-gladness," Swedish *skadeglädje*; cf. "scatheless," "unscathed"; Scotch *skaith* = damage, harm).

technically known as "standing on one's dignity.") With a minimum of exertion they secure themselves (at least temporarily) a maximum of ease. While they dread the truth that would pain them, they dread more the need for functioning; they are not merely hypersensitive and thin-skinned to the last degree; they are *ergophobic.*

This matter of so-called dignity, involving as it does questions of precedence and seniority, is the curse of institutions. It seems as if the life there led tends to become dominated by the machine, and so to fall itself to a mechanical level. Compelled to routine work, the inmates are robbed of their normal means of acquiring self-respect, and so practically forced into more equivocal means of "keeping themselves cheerful."

Among current forms of drug-taking which are not generally recognised as such, may be reckoned the various ways of over-stimulating the senses (beyond the needs of function), as, for example, *in vino et venere;* by indulgence in "creature comforts" of all kinds; in "the pleasures of the table" (not only drinks, but sapid or spicy foods). Sometimes the appetite of the neurasthenic becomes a veritable *bulimia* (an "ox-hunger"). When tobacco or alcohol are given up, more sweetmeats are often consumed in their place. Sugar is probably to no small degree an alcohol-substitute.

A common form of drug-addiction is over-stimulation of the heat-sense by hot drinks, hot baths, extra clothing, over-heated rooms, and finally and characteristically, by hot bottles to the feet at night. (The term "cold feet" indeed is probably less purely metaphorical than is generally supposed; various anomalies of the circulation are quite usual in the condition of depressed vitality which is associated with chronic fear).

In the act of a normal individual functioning normally all the elements of time are involved. His present action bears relation not only to his actual circumstances, but is based on his past experience (individual and racial) and reaches forward into his future. The action of a neurasthenic does not show this equilibrium, this evenly-balanced flow. He may be for the time largely separated from his past (amnesia) or from his future (aboulia, improvidence, hopelessness). Or again, his relation to these time-elements may partake of the character of a *stammer;* that is to say, that just as a stammerer "sticks" at and over-emphasises some word or syllable, so the attention of the neurasthenic may become temporarily arrested upon some element of his past or future experience, and he develops a worry or definite *phobia.* Frequently he is driven back, as it were, upon his childhood (*e.g.* suffering from night-terrors, dreading the dark, calling for his mother), or he may show definitely atavistic trends; thus it is common to find reversions,

going back either to racial or personal memories and experiences.[1] Unlike the normal individual, the neurasthenic looks on time not *as a whole*, but as broken up, as particulate.

The failure of complete self-expression is illustrated typically by the speech-disabilities. The more or less complete *mutism* which so commonly follows shell-shock (and which ranges from slight inarticulateness, through stammering, to actual dumbness) I look upon as merely a special instance of a general condition—a defective faculty of "self-utterance." The various affections of speech tend to run into one another; moreover, along with the stammer of the tongue we not infrequently observe a distinct "mental stammer" (and what, after all, is the staggering and spastic walk of so many of these patients but a "stammer of the legs"?). The fact is that almost any and every natural function of the patients is liable to this ataxia or inco-ordination, and the far-seeing doctor will not allow the urgency of the local expression to blind him to the much more important general condition (otherwise—if he confines himself to dealing with symptoms—it will probably be as with the heads of the Hydra—"*uno avulso, non deficit alter*").

In practice it is rare to find a patient who is "simply pretending to be ill," who is "putting it on intentionally." A much more common case is what may be called sub-conscious malingering. Here although the patient *refuses to acknowledge it to himself*, his whole being revolts against having to go back to the horrors from which he has been released. He represses the idea that he does not want to return; but that the idea is nevertheless there, lying sub-consciously "at the back of his mind," is proved by the following fact: not till he either gets his discharge from the army, or definite promise of permanent employment at home, will his disqualifying symptoms disappear—his headaches, his "fatiguability," his dreams of helplessness, his stammering tongue, his ataxic gait, his "tics" or "fugues," his general lack of cohesion.

Treatment.

As regards treatment, the interest for social psychology is that the element of *separatism* or *dissociation* will be found to underlie all the symptoms. This separatism, moreover, is not merely of the individual from his circumstances; it is a breaking-up of the individual himself—into "dual" or "multiple" personalities, as the case may be, or into mere bundles of moods and passions.

1. Apropos of "genetic" explanations of the behaviour of the neurasthenic individual, I have elsewhere tried to demonstrate a similar principle in the "behaviour" of *parts* of the individual (*e.g.* of his body-cells in cancer, &c.). See "On Tumour-formation and Allied Pathological Processes," by A. J. Brock, *Edin. Med. Journ.*, Jan., 1913; "The Psychological Conception of Disease," *Ibid*, Aug., 1913).

For such dissociation the treatment must obviously be a reintegration of the individual, a replacement of him in his *milieu*.

Just as the condition of war-neurasthenia is seen to be merely an intensification of phenomena abundantly witnessed in modern society, so with current theories as to its treatment. Modern social and political practice has tended increasingly to treat man as willless and unable to help himself. and it hence goes on multiplying machinery to help him *ab extra*. But while in everyday life this way of handling things may slowly percolate a society without producing disaster, if applied to the immediate and serious problem of war-neurasthenia it will quickly prove fatal. In a neurasthenic of this class the problem is acute; he must make his choice at once, or he will go under at once. I have no hesitation in saying that, except in the very mildest grades of this disease, where a short spell of rest or change of scene leads quickly to recuperation—or, in the early stage, calling for "disciplinary" methods—the need of self-help takes precedence of every other form of therapy. And further, if the essential thing for the patient to do is to help himself, the essential thing for the doctor to do—indeed, the only thing he can profitably do—is to help him to help himself.

The various current psychological methods of dealing with the neurasthenia proper—the more or less chronic condition which follows the acute stages—resolve themselves roughly into three groups, being steps in a progressive series:—

(1) Psychoanalysis (Freud, &c.).

(2) Therapeutic conversations (Dubois, &c.).

(3) Ergotherapy.

In methods belonging to the first group the mental condition is analysed; in those of the second group the patient is encouraged to look sensibly and squarely at things; while the third term may be used to indicate methods in which he is prompted to follow up his thoughts by action—by real functioning in relation to his environment.

In psycho-analysis the various stages of the disease—of the *descensus Averno*—are traced. Freud's method of worming out of the patient's subconsciousness and bringing to light suppressed wishes are reminiscent of the "obstetric" (*maeutic*) procedure of Socrates, who taught men by "bringing their thoughts to birth." Freud's original emphasis upon repression of the carnal sex-life as the chief factor in neurasthenia (*Liebe=libido*), if at least true as far as it goes, has been proved to be hopelessly inadequate.[1] In the psychoneuroses of war, sex in the ordinary sense of the term

1. See "Disease as the Nemesis of Reproductive Inefficiency," by A. J. Brock, M.D. ("Practitioner," September, 1912).

plays very little part; these conditions are expressions of a thwarting or stagnation of the whole life-impulse, which is undoubtedly a movement far too vast to be included under the Freudian formula, even in its latest and most "sublimated" sense.

In the majority of cases of war-neurasthenia it does not need much psychoanalysis to enable us to recognise that the outstanding causes are (1) "environmental"—due to circumstances, and (2) "organismal"—personal, individual. The main environmental cause that is keeping up the condition is the prospect, represented subjectively by a dread, partly conscious, partly subconscious, of having to go back to the front and run the risk of being blown up, buried, &c., again. The essentially personal or organismal cause is a psyche which has been so cowed by its experience of one insoluble difficulty that it is disinclined to face difficulties of almost any sort again.

The "frightfulness" of war conditions has left in the soul of the patient a state of general "fearfulness," and of this psychical state, as often as not, the particular fear is merely the letter or symptom: thus the terrible Boche who, with blood-stained visage, or with bayonet uplifted to strike, haunts the sufferer's dreams, may have been suggested by an actual occurrence, but in essence he is only a temporary incarnation of the spirit of the battlefield, and, even if specifically exorcised, will be quickly replaced, as long as the underlying "fearfulness" remains untreated. Thus the first imperative indication in treatment is that the prospect of repetition of the experience should be removed from the patient's mind. The next stage is that of re-education.

The hopelessness of the patient's outlook being removed (Prometheus [1] being unbound), he may begin at once to live again. In many cases, however, there is left this residual psychasthenic condition, of which I have spoken—a reluctance to start functioning, an *ergophobia,* may we say?—and this demands energetic treatment.

"Therapeutic conversations" constitute the stage between analysis and re-synthesis—the point at which re-education proper begins.

But in any really severe case mere moral exhortation will be found little better than psychoanalysis. In short, ergophobia demands ergotherapy. The doctor must provide an environment for the patient to exercise his faculties upon, Ergotherapy (or better, *energitherapy*) [2] means, literally, the cure by functioning. Now,

1. Prometheus lit. = forethought.

2. *Ergon* in Greek means the *product* of functioning, *energeia* the functioning itself. See "Ergotherapy in Neurasthenia," by A. J. Brock, M.D., *Edin. Med. Journ.*, May, 1911, and for a further discussion of these two categories see introduction to my edition of Galen "On the Natural Faculties" (Greek text, with translation, commentary, and notes, London, Heinemann, 1916.)

function is not only work in which a man's real individuality is engaged, but it is also work done upon the realities of one's environment. Real function cannot take place *in vacuo*; the organism demands a *milieu* to work upon. (It is in these respects—that it bears relation to the essence of both organism and environment—that real functioning is distinguished from mere routine or mechanical toil).

Synoptic Seeing.

Before, however, we can act on our environment, we must see it, we must "sense" and understand it. This is the fundamental principle of science—*to see things with our own eyes*; just as that of the art corresponding to and following upon this seeing is *to do things in our own way.*

But when we see our surroundings with our own eyes—directly, and without prejudice—we see them as the child or primitive man sees them; not in the first place through the eye of the "scientist" at all, be he geologist, botanist, zoologist or any other—but through the eyes of all of these at once. It is of the first importance that we should know our environment *as it is*, and not as something broken up into the different "sciences." Nature is one, and the science or knowledge of it is one. Geology, botany, and the rest do not exist in nature; they are merely isolated aspects of nature, convenient provisional view-points from which to regard her successively.

It is a real world in which the neurasthenic, striving to get once more to grips with life, must live and move and have his being. It is (and I say it advisedly) at his peril that he loses sight of the unity of the world about him. His vision must be, therefore, as far as possible comprehensive or *synoptic*. That is to say, if he be a devotee of science, not only must he see his own special aspect of the world about him, but he must see it also in relation to the other aspects—the other so-called special sciences.

And just as his vision, his survey of his surroundings, must be not only personal—through his own eyes—but also synoptic, so too with his next step, that of function (*i.e.*, action upon these same surroundings); this must not merely be personal—not only must he do his own work in his own way—but it must be *synergic*; that is, it must be linked work (what the Americans call team-work), done in relation to, in co-operation with, not in defiance of, the legitimate activities of his fellow men.

My own personal practice in dealing with neurasthenic patients has been to induce in each of them as far as possible this individual yet synoptic vision, this individual yet co-operative functioning. At the hospital our "environment" is the actual concrete locality round about us (we are on the outskirts of an ancient historical capital, replete with cultural and industrial resources of every kind).

Each patient is set to see his surroundings through his own eyes. At the weekly meeting of our "Field Club" he brings in his report, expounds it to those who have seen the same surroundings from a different angle, and thus the synoptic vision grows; a detailed survey of our region is being built up, to which successive series of patients each add their quota. The geologist deals with the soil, the meteorologist with the weather, the zoologist and botanist with the resulting fauna and flora of the district, and all with the multitudinous interactions of these.

But if Bergson be right, vision, whether ocular or intellectual ("I see," in both senses; *j'apercois* and *je m'apercois*) is but the preliminary stage of action. "Celui qui n'agit pas d'après ce qu'il pense, pense incomplètement." Having "sensed" our surroundings in our Field Club, we then at once turn round, and get to work upon them. And as all our sciences ("knowledges") were seen to be but aspects of the one knowledge (of our world), so all our activities become co-ordinated as the various Arts, all subsidiary to, and all leading up to, the supreme Art of Life (which is the normal interaction between Man and his Dwelling-place).

Attempt is made to relate each Art as far as possible to its fundamental science—thus Engineering to Mathematics and Physics, Gardening and Agriculture to Botany; we link up the study of Zoology with such practical experience among animals as is available at or near the hospital (*e.g.* poultry rearing, live-stock breeding, &c.) due regard being of course paid to the influence of other factors such as weather, soil, and the rest.

Each officer is put to work for which he shows special aptitude, provided that this work be practicable in the district. Theoretical study by itself is discouraged.

It is desirable and natural that his work (as also his preliminary seeing) should as far as possible be based on his previous experience: his work, further, should bear relation to that which he is most likely to take up in future life. Thus the different time-elements are linked up.

Each man must work individually—like an artist—and further, he must strive to relate his work to those of his fellows. (As an example: our engineering section co-operates with our farmers to consider the applications, actual and possible, of machinery to agriculture, as in regard to motor-tractors, &c.)

But man's environment is not only one of soil, of faunas and floras. He is, as Aristotle says, a social or civic animal, and can only properly fulfil himself in a social *milieu*.

The family is the natural foundation of society, and my experience of neurasthenic officers during convalescence, is that they are often greatly helped when their wives and children (if any) come and live in the neighbourhood, and the patients are allowed to

spend part of their day with them. (In treating people thus in families, the Medical Officer resumes once more to some extent his natural function of "family doctor," snatched from him temporarily by the exigences of War).

And next to the family, come (in widening circles) neighbourhood and city. I have encouraged my officer patients to look on themselves as responsible inmates of the institution in which they are treated ("neighbourhood"). They must learn, for example, to be true *companions*—that is, *messmates* (companions meaning literally people who eat bread together—from *cum* and *panis*—and this matter of communal meals being just one of the functions which neurasthenics especially shrink from).

If each patient can be induced to constitute himself a doctor to at least one of his fellows who is in worse straits than himself, so much the better. It will "take him out of himself," and at the same time relieve immeasurably the task of the harassed M.O.

These patients tend to be very much "up against" each other, and to many the mere forcing themselves to keep the peace involves moral effort of the highest value. Mutual tolerance is the first step; but they should of course go further than this merely "negative," peacefulness, and develop a spirit of positive fraternity.

Correspondence with absent relatives and friends tends to be dropped; to maintain this should be part of the daily task which the neurasthenic imposes upon himself.

Next to family and neighbourhood in this graduated reintegration with the environment comes the City. Patients are invited to regard themselves not merely as temporary sojourners, like hotel-guests ("here to-day, and gone to-morrow") but as actual citizens of the city within whose borders our hospital stands. One characteristic and immediate outlet for the sense of civic responsibility is afforded by our Boys' Training Club, which provides from among our officers qualified teachers for the local Boy Scouts Association, as well as for classes in local Board Schools.

We are beholden to our fellow-townsmen (the permanent residents) in many ways. Apart from their generous hospitality which is always extended to us (and which is, alas! literally sometimes too much for us), we have had, in our pursuit of the Arts and Sciences, the doors of all the culture institutes opened freely to us. Thus for study we have the University classes, the libraries and museums of scientific societies; our carpenters and engineers go on from light occupations in our own hospital workshop to heavier tasks in the technical institutes of the city; our artists have the resources of the School of Art placed at their disposal; our farmers those of the College of Agriculture (at the same time that they are carrying out daily practical work on a local farm).

Among our numbers are not a few who, before the war, were

devotees, amateur or professional, of the fine arts. These officers have welcomed the opportunities to hand, in hospital and Art School, for taking up these hobbies again. I have noticed, however, a recurring tendency among some of them to use Art rather as a refuge from life than (what it ought to be) a portal to life; they are apt to retire into their studios, and, in pleasant dreams and contemplation, to give the world the go-by. Art in this way becomes itself a kind of drug, and the patient's nerves, soothed while he is at his hobby, undergo no permanent improvement.[1]

The Divorce of Art from Life.

The phenomenon mentioned is an example of the divorce between art and life. A further step in the disintegrating trend—namely, a breaking-up of the art-product itself—may be seen at almost any time in connection with the weekly dramatic performances at our hospital. Here there is an ever-recurring tendency away from unity of programme towards a mere succession of music-hall "turns." This feature, of course, only exemplifies, although perhaps in excessive degree, the general drift of the drama in our time.

In the divorce between art-product and the real needs of social life we have an analogy to—in fact, another symptom of—the divorce between organism and environment. The further step towards fragmentation of the art-product itself repeats the breaking-up of the organism into "multiple personalities."

A corrective to some of these non-vital (indeed, definitely death-ward) tendencies is afforded by our Arts and Crafts movement, in which the help of the artists is enlisted in the production of beautiful objects of immediate and practical utility; thus we carry on such industries as rug-making, pottery-painting, wood-carving and so forth; in these the artist patient gets an opportunity of expressing his æsthetic sense, and at the same time sees the application of his art-product to the "here and now." The ultimate idea would be to orchestrate the work of all our artists towards co-operative programmes of regional or civic scope.

In any scheme of character reconstruction such as the present one, Renunciation must of course play its part. But renunciation

1. Here probably is an indication of a general culture-tendency which will make itself more apparent as the War draws to a close. It is likely that we shall see a repetition of the Romantic Movement of a century ago, itself essentially a gesture of revolt against the brutalities of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. This "flight from the World"—this "geophobia," shall we say?—was represented in biology and medicine during the early part of last century by the *Naturphilosophie* school of Oken and others. Here the environment was largely discounted, and all emphasis laid on the powers of the living organism itself (the "Nature" or "Physis" of Hippocrates and Galen). It cannot be too much emphasised that, however great the provisional value of these outlooks, they are nevertheless incomplete. The organism can only be understood—and treated—in its environment.

is only of value when imposed from within, "on principle," when it becomes to no small extent the equivalent of creative work, of artistic action, of true functioning. The man who refrains from taking things simply because they are not there to take, or because he is forbidden to take them, gains *ipso facto* no moral profit; if he chafes against their absence, he will actually lose morally.

The neurasthenic patient must learn to do without things. He must impose a considerable amount of stoic discipline upon himself. If he does not narrowly scrutinize his own daily acts, there is a danger that the ground gained by "ergotherapy" may be unwittingly lost again from day to day through minor self-indulgences.

As a concrete example of the kind of *stoicisme à petit pied* which I recommend to many of my patients, I may mention the taking of a cold bath or swim before breakfast. The man who will *keep this up* for some weeks in the middle of winter is not likely to quail before the successive tests which will come later.

But, when all is said and done, the essential treatment of these patients resolves itself into "finding them their job"—guiding them to it, keeping them at it, and only relinquishing them finally when their interests are sufficiently awakened to ensure that they will now "carry on" of themselves.

It is perfectly clear that neurasthenic patients could be much more speedily discharged from hospital if their work could only be sooner found for them. Happily we see on every side signs that the authorities are becoming alive to this fact. These officers, when unsuited for further combatant duty or even for home service, are now being taken by other State Departments—as by the Boards of Shipping, Agriculture, Timber Supply, Munitions—and, when properly selected, they seldom fail to acquit themselves with the greatest credit.

Comprehensive schemes are now afoot for developing and utilizing the latent and hitherto almost "untapped" talents of these patients in the National Service. Believing, as I most implicitly do, that what most of them want is merely their "proper outlet," I shall be surprised if these schemes, properly handled, prove anything less than a revelation to all who are concerned with the future of our country in general, and of this great war-aftermath of neurasthenics in particular.

Co-operation among Doctors.

Better results will also increasingly follow an improved adjustment between the essentially complementary, although at present too often conflicting outlooks of the three schools to whom the treatment of war-neurasthenics is at present entrusted—those, namely, of the neurologist, the alienist, and (latest school of all) the social-psychologist.

Let me instance a case where more light may be hoped for from consideration of the (still somewhat novel) functional aspect.

Of course even the most hardened physiologist recognizes the existence of cases of "functional" palsy, blindness, dumbness, and so forth. Such conditions are of daily occurrence on the battle-field, and are among the chief symptoms which show themselves in any shell-shock hospital. For these maladies the average doctor, trained in the strictly "physiological" school, has little use. To him they are cases of hysteria—that is, they are imaginary diseases. He is perhaps ready to acknowledge that "they must have some organic basis," but he recognizes the irrelevancy of such considerations. Sufferers from them he is quite prepared to consign to the Christian Scientist—or the Devil.

On the other hand, we all know that definite lesions of the nervous system produce functional disorders—thus a severed nerve-trunk, a bullet or a blood-clot in one hemisphere of the brain will paralyze the parts innervated from the damaged area. And similarly with degenerations of the nervous system due to poisons such as alcohol or syphilis.

But may we not suppose that, while change of structure can and does produce functional change, the converse may also happen? Lamarck, in considering the factors of Evolution, laid emphasis on organic changes following *use* and *disuse* of parts. Is it not possible (nay, even probable) that prolonged *misuse* of certain parts of the nervous system may lead to their organic degeneration? Evidence accumulates in military hospitals that structural lesions (*e.g.* sclerotic changes) may be produced by prolonged misuse or abuse of the nervous system—reiterated misfunctioning—as by the propagation of turbulent and irregular nerve-impulses, themselves the result of corresponding mental perturbations.

Thus differential diagnosis in future will not necessarily, as heretofore, confine itself to the alternative, "Is this disease organic or functional?" The practical point will often be, Has the functional anomaly gone on so long that organic change has already set in? and, if so, is it yet possible, by encouraging normal functioning, or in other ways, to bring about the disappearance of the organic alterations?

In medicine, indeed, every kind of knowledge (of "science" or "*gnosis*," that is) should lead up to *prognosis*, for it is only on this—a recognition of the *tendency* of the process—rather than on the "present condition," the mere *diagnosis*, that a rational treatment can be based.

In pure neurasthenia the three vital categories (Environment, Organism and Function) are illustrated, aptly enough, by the typical complaints of the patient, as well as by the typical recommenda-

tions of his doctors. The whole may be tabulated somewhat as follows:—

	ENVIRONMENT.	ORGANISM.	FUNCTION.
PATIENT'S STANDPOINT.	"I *cannot stand* so and so." (Intolerance.)	"I *feel* so and so." (Hypertrophied sensibility.)	"I *cannot do* so and so." (Obsession of impotence.)
DOCTOR'S STANDPOINT.	"You are ill. *Take this* and it will cure you." (Ordinary medical point of view; the external drug.)	"There is nothing wrong with you—and you have only got to realize it." (Point of view of faith-healer or impatient M.O.)	"You are ill, and *can make yourself better* by your own exertions." (Point of view of neo-Lamarckism, occupation-cure, or "ergotherapy.")

The Physical and the Psychic.

We have travelled far—and the movement has been merely quickened, but was not initiated, by the war—since the historic declaration of materialist psychology, that "the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile" (Pierre Cabanis).

In agreeing, however, to disregard for the nonce the actual brain-processes (scrapping our "cerebral localization" and the rest), is there not a risk of our running to another extreme, and, if it may be so said, taking our new "purely psychical" terms too seriously? A distinct tendency shows itself among certain of our New Psychologists, as in the days of the mediæval Schoolmen, *to multiply entities "beyond necessity."* Were all of these specialists agreed upon the exact reference of their terms, there would be—especially in view of the growing "regularisation" of the medical profession by the civil power—no small risk of the emergence in our days of a new sacerdotalism, with all its attendant evils. (Indeed we already see ritual of a kind in vogue among some of the super-Freudians!)

It is perhaps as well that, now as ever, in the ranks of the official healers, "while Hippocrates says Yes, Galen says No," and the world will be, temporarily at least, saved from this latest threat to its liberty by the disputations of these "doctores subtiles" amongst themselves."

But we cannot live indefinitely on negatives. The honest way, of course, of avoiding the risk mentioned is to get ever behind our words and concepts to the vital realities for which they stand and whence they tend perennially to spring. We must constantly widen our "clinical experience" by keeping in active relationship with life understood in its broadest sense.

There is nowadays a very general agreement amongst psychologists (medical, social, and other) on the insufficiency of the "materialistic" view—that the body and the bodily processes are "everything." It would be just as fatal, however, to consider

mental processes with a like exclusiveness. Some of our modern "Psychotherapists" treat their patient as if he consisted of a mind alone—not infrequently as of a mind which apparently commenced its career on the occasion of a shell-explosion; possibly of one dating back as far as childhood or "early infancy"; but even when possessed of a history, still an independent "mind," *teres atque rotundus* (mens et praeterea nihil!)—a disembodied phantom in fact.

This is quite inadequate. Even a "purely mental case" is, after all, firstly a human being, and a human being is a person surrounded by a complex environment, preceded by a long past, not only individual but racial, and, unless he be already senile, having "all his future ahead of him."

Considerations of each of these factors is essential, if the most elementary understanding of each and every case is to be arrived at, and, unless the case is "getting better of itself" (which many, naturally enough, do, if not fussed over too much!), every one of these factors will have to have its due consideration in treatment.

Any tendency towards drawing a hard-and-fast line between phenomena which Science describes and those which come within the purview of Common Knowledge (after all, Science is but the French word for Knowledge!) must, in view of the urgent social importance of the problem, be steadily resisted by the good sense of the community.

Summary and Conclusion.

I have tried to put some of the claims of the shell-shock hospital as being a (provisional) laboratory of psychology and sociology. I believe that many of the observations there being collected on pathological cases should greatly help towards an understanding of normal phenomena, and that the curative experiments being made in these hospitals (though from the nature of things still tentative and inchoate) will at least warrant the careful consideration of our future educators and public men.

Life, in the form of Organism in constant active interplay with Environment, advances along the path of Evolution, gathering up ceaselessly its Past within it, and pressing forward as ceaselessly into the Future. I have tried to show that the symptoms of neurasthenia or Life-negative are largely explicable as a relative dissociation of some or all of these various elements. Their complete separation would mean death of the individual; their closer association leads ever towards a fuller life. The pathology of neurasthenia—alike in war cases and in everyday life at home—is therefore largely a halting, a "stammer," or even a reversal of the evolutionary movement, and its treatment should be in essence a fostering of that movement—in short, an Evolutionary Art.

Every system of education and of re-education, must be tested by two searching questions: Are its principles those of evolutionary science? Are its practices those of the corresponding art of life? In other words, is the educationist seeking to evoke in child or adult that full human cycle of which nature gives the promise, and the records of happily placed genius show the performance? That aim sets the first and the last standard in education. Its effective adoption requires of course equivalent modifications in our social and industrial system. Above all, do the glaring evils of our great cities cry aloud to the educationist for correction, and still more clamantly for transmutation. We have seen in the war neurasthenic an obsession implanted by the frightfulness of the battlefield and the spectre of the blood-stained Boche. But are not these horrors of war the last and culminating terms in a series that begins in the infernos of our industrial cities? Think of the mental anguish inflicted on families subjected to the struggle-for-life in these torture chambers of our competitive world during that recent phase of a "peace" which we now see to have been but latent war. Think of these strains and repressions on the sub-conscious life of the organism, accumulating day after day, year after year. The results of all such denial of opportunity and refusal of life are negative and positive. We see the former in those multitudes of the debilitated, whose prevalence has provoked the bitter criticism of the modern business system as "an exploitation of the dying." To describe the positive results would tax the pen of a Dante. The evils of disease, folly, vice and crime that flare forth are the instinctive reactions of the more virile organisms (alike among men, women and children) to an environment that starves them of the means for life more abundant. Thus civic transformations, and on the largest scale, are needed if we would institute an education and a re-education that are truly evolutionary. The task before us is not merely that of mending or even ending the squalid quarters, the mean streets, the tawdry public buildings of cities, metropolitan and industrial. We have to bring into full play the culture resources of our historic cities; and for the repressive or perverted environment substitute one that invites to creative activity. Homes of simple beauty in town and country, workshops of industrial fellowship, an opulent public life, nature-contacts for town dwellers, civic contacts for rustics; these are the social conditions of a vital education.

April, 1918.

II.

THE CONVALESCENT AS ARTIST-CRAFTSMAN.

By

HENRY WILSON, *President of the Arts and Crafts Society.*

At the exhibition of the work of wounded and discharged sailors and soldiers, organised by the Women's Guild of Arts, Mr. Henry Wilson gave an address, of which the gist is here printed.

If I could put into words all the bitter and the burning thoughts which this exhibition brings to mind, readers would not know whether to weep at the results of years of industrial folly or rejoice in the prospects of release and regeneration which have been opened to us through the wounds of war. Every object shewn reveals what no artist ever doubted, the fact that every human being is a potential creator, an artist, a giver of life. For more than a century these inborn creative faculties have suffered eclipse, they have been repressed under the iron régime of thoughtlessly mechanised industry until the world has almost forgotten their very existence.

A deluge of death was needed to waken us again to contact with the facts of life and rouse the nations from supine acquiescence in misery, vice, with their inseparable companion horrors, disease, disorder, and despair which follow competitive industry wherever it rages, whether in our own Black Country, in Northern France, in Poland, in Russia, in far China or Japan.

To say this is not to decry machines or machine industry, but the misuse of each. Nor in speaking of industrial misery do I forget the beneficent efforts of the creators of Port Sunlight, Bourneville, and other centres of comparative well being. But why have such places been created? Their promoters have themselves told us because it pays to house and pay the workman well. If this be true for the individual manufacturer, it is infinitely more true for the nation. Duty and interest alike call for new ideals of national life and industry. They call for such a reorganisation of production as shall make the most of every individual life by utilising the creative powers of that life to the fullest extent, and providing the widest field for their exercise.

There is no happiness like that which springs from creative activity. There can be no enduring pleasure apart from it.

Even if we clear out the slums of London and the provinces, even if we clean up the festering litter of the Black Country and the Potteries, raise wages and the standard of living, plant industrial villages all over the country, we shall not have done our duty to labour and the land if we fail to educate the creative faculties of the

workers and give them outlet in expression, not merely in useful handiwork but in dance, song and drama.

It should be remembered that industrial unrest is not merely a matter of wages, hours, management or even housing, important as all these may be. The cause lies deeper in the lack of opportunities of emotional expression before and since the rise of industrialism.

Yet the latter was not the sole cause of the decay of creative life in England. The beginnings are noted even in Holinshed's chronicle. To attempt to trace these beginnings would take too long; moreover, they are past history. The soldiers' and sailors' work in this exhibition points the way to the new order, to the new era of invention and independent craftsmanship.

The men who, without previous training even of the most elementary kind, have produced all this admirable work, have, like their forbears, been caught in the industrial mill, shut off from the very rudiments of artistic knowledge. Their bodies have been bludgeoned and battered and maimed often beyond recognition. Yet from the bed of pain they offer us this flower of beauty, which has healed them as it grew. Pain has revealed in each the artist. All the return they ask for all their suffering, for all the horrors they have endured, is to be allowed to go on living by producing work which delights us because it has delighted its makers. Absorbed in their work they lose that dreadful hospital look bred of pain and boredom which marks the faces of men not thus employed. These delightful broideries, done with a mastery of technique and a sense of colour which surprises all who see them, these little broidered landscapes that seem stitched with rainbow threads, the basketwork, the inlay, the bead and metalwork are all instinct with real creative ability, a new decorative sense, and continually surprising freshness of invention; in fact, all the essentials of the new industrial world. The men have found in handicraft tonic, anodyne and exhilarant.

But while the medical, the physical and mental benefits naturally come first, the economic benefits to men and to the country are of the highest importance. The qualities, technical and artistic, evoked under the sympathetic guidance of the Women's Guild of Arts are the qualities of the master craftsman, the basis of all industry and art.

Art is not the gift of the few, but the privilege of all in greater or less degree. It happens when work is done with delight in response to the demands of the community. The highest art and the most successful industry are alike communal. This points the way to the practical employment of the abilities revealed in this exhibition. Work centres should be established in every district either in the form of craft or industrial villages dealing with

regional industries or special work centres set up in the towns, each under the guidance of an expert artist. These might be financed at the outset, either by local or municipal aid or else by a special form of government grant. But this would only be necessary at the outset. Each enterprise should and could with expert management become self-supporting.

It is increasingly evident that the whole future of rural life depends on the revival of rural crafts and industries. Turnery, basket-making, spinning, weaving, joinery, cabinet-work, cart and waggon building, pottery, metalwork, repair shops, and a hundred other trades suggest themselves. The country needs hundreds of these small industries run by master craftsmen in order to make good the wastage of war and provide for future development. Expert opinion in France, Italy and Belgium is unanimous on this point. When shall we attain to like wisdom, we who possess in these wounded and disabled men such a wealth of creative enterprise?

THE PRINCIPLES OF STATE-ACTION IN RE-CONSTRUCTION.

THE attitude which the majority of men will adopt towards State-action in the period of transition from war to peace will not be based upon any general theory. Some will say that we have had enough of officials and their ways, some will suspect their Government of other interests than those of law and order, and some may cry out for special assistance to trade or industry, or for privileges to be given to those who have suffered during the war. The attitude generally adopted will probably be the result of some quite unimportant phase of the transition, and will perhaps depend upon the political prestige of the government when peace is made. The State-action which results will, therefore, depend more upon accidental circumstances than general principles. General principles, however, will certainly be invoked; for there will be attempts in opposing directions, some seeking State-support and others seeking freedom from control, and both parties will invoke theories to excuse their prejudices. The present time, therefore, before such prejudices are violent, may be the best for a serious endeavour to enquire into the principles which should govern State-action after the war.

First, it may be taken for granted that Reconstruction is not a purely political, still less a purely administrative problem. The war has affected morality and art and science: and the revival or restoration of these must come from sources which are not controlled by any administration. Unless there is a revival of moral and intellectual energy, all our reconstruction will be barren and we shall have a world which may be well-organised and yet purely mechanical. We cannot afford to wait for officials to act. The world is in dire need of free individual effort in the highest human activities.

Secondly, reconstruction will depend in the main and even in the less "spiritual" sphere, on the native energy of business men and working men. Even State-assistance could not create economic vitality; and here again to wait for officials to act may be fatal. There is indeed no need to urge on those who have an adequate vitality already, and those who have not cannot be galvanised into action. But our conception of the province of the State must take into account the economic and quite unpolitical interests of manufacture and commerce and labour. The State must not on the one hand be made the slave of industries and commerce which are too weak to exist by their own strength, and an the other hand it must not control and limit the growth of industry for the sake of

established systems of adminstration. There is quite enough "economic" vitality, and its organisation is quite secure enough for the increasing of the supplies of food, clothing and other commodities upon which civilisation depends. The economic motive, profit or livelihood, should not be regarded as evil. It is dangerous indeed; but so is every single motive which excludes all others. Even the motive of the social reformer is dangerous if it leads his family into starvation. Reconstruction must depend in part upon the native force of the desire for profit or livelihood, in so far as this does not exclude all other considerations. Omitting, therefore, the various activities of human life which do not necessarily depend upon State-action, we turn to the province of the State: for we begin with the hypothesis that, however far-reaching the action of the State may be in the transition period, such action does not and cannot initiate in morality, art, science or trade; it can only assist. Doubtless that hypothesis implies an idea of the State which all do not accept; but, lest we be led into pure metaphysics, it will be sufficient to say that we mean by the State the apparatus of law and administration and the forces which directly support these. We do not mean to include in the conception of the State the whole of the activities and interests of any group of men.

The two immediate spheres of State-action will be demobilisation and the raising of money to pay off war-debts. The second will not generally be regarded as an immediate necessity; but unless we rapidly take off the burden of debt, future generations may find it more and more difficult to make progress against the vested interests which will arise. The raising of money will be more difficult when the memory of the sacrifices made during the war has faded; and the State should, therefore, take action as soon as peace is in sight in order that a large amount of money may be immediately available for its needs. Enormous as will be the capital sum of the war debt, yet its rapid extinction by the adoption of a bold scheme is possible. The manipulation of the loans, the levy on capital, a heavy and steeply graduated tax on large incomes, the nationalisation of "excess" profits in the transition period or of all profits on natural resources,—all these and many more suggestions indicate possible State-action. Economists familiar with finance may devise the detailed methods: but action should be prompt and perhaps immediate. The obstacles against which the public need will have to contend will be the political power of the wealthier classes, the general desire to curtail "sacrifices" or taxation and the unimaginativeness of the banking and financial clique. He will be a bold politician who will initiate State-action which may take from the purse of the present for the sake of the freedom of the future. But such State-action is, in principle, necessary.

Demobilisation is undeniably the business of the State. The State has been in danger through war; and to serve the State men and women have left their normal occupations. It lies with the State therefore to see that the replacing in normal life of soldiers and war-workers of every kind shall be such as not to injure individuals or to make society a chaos. The methods of demobilising soldiers may affect perhaps for many years the fortunes of industry and the temper of the people. If soldiers and war-workers are demobilised without regard for their feelings or for the needs of the working classes from whom they come, there may be a fatal confusion. And there is believed to be a danger that demobilisation may be carried out according to the wishes of the employers only. If soldiers are regarded as so much "labour," and treated as though such labour were a commodity for which there was a certain "demand,"—the army may demobilise itself! Here, then, is a fundamental issue. The State must demobilise: but who is to devise the programme of demobilisation? It must certainly not be in the hands of those business men for whom "labour" is an unknown hairy beast which represents only so much "cost of production"; and it must not be in the hands of those who belong to a social clique which regards itself as the "upper classes." The voice of labour itself must be effective.

There is no denying that certain men are more immediately needed than others. Coal-miners are more urgently required than hairdressers, and bricklayers than jewellers; and demobilising according to industries may be a valid method. The more subtle issue, however, should not be forgotten. The method must appeal to the public confidence and more particularly to the soldiers themselves. There must be no excuse for the suspicion that the return to peace is to be engineered for the benefit of dividends.

Of civil workers, the same holds good: they must be treated as men and women, not as a commodity to be bought by industrial magnates. The State must speak not the language of Economics, but with a human voice: the barren gospel of supply and demand must not initiate the peace. It is a first principle, therefore, of demobilisation that, whatever the order and method chosen, those who are to be demobilised should be able to make their own opinion heard, and that no group of men and women shall be treated as merely "labour power." Men must be called to the tasks of peace with at least as much appeal to their nobler enthusiasms as when they were called to the war. And they must move to the new order as free men, not as slaves at the bidding of economists, manufacturers or officials.

We may now pass to those actions of the State which will not be immediate after the war; and here we must repeat that we speak of general principles, which we may hope can be accepted by nearly

every school of political thought. There are obviously many who have no political thought at all; but these we may neglect for our present purposes, while admitting their existence and the political importance of their mental inertia.

There are four issues with which the State must deal directly, on the return of peace: the conditions of life or the environment, the economic powers of Labour, the organisation of industry and commerce, and education. We shall not deal here with the reconstitution of inter-State life, which is another sphere of necessary State-action; for we are speaking now, by abstraction, of each State as a separate political system. Only internal administration, therefore, is covered by the four issues named.

The State is very much concerned with the provision of a fit environment for its citizens: and the war has not only increased overcrowding, mal-sanitation and infant mortality, but it has added a new problem of infectious disease. After the South African War, on the return of the soldiers the percentage of deaths from disease in England increased very rapidly. There is already a considerable increase in the percentage of deaths among the civil population, and the position may possibly be serious on the return of several million men from abroad. In every country the return of soldiers to civil life will create immense problems of the same kind; and "preventive medicine" is therefore of immediate importance for the civilised world. There should be, obviously, some preparation for facing the problem, and a Ministry of Health has been proposed. But so far little seems to have been done. The public mind must be roused from its inert gazing at the episode of war in order that attention may be given to problems which all citizens will have to face. For in a matter like this official action is ineffective, unless there is a popular understanding of the dangers. We may presume, however, that the State should take action to forestall the probable increase of death and disease, which is normally the result of war.

The older problem of the conditions of life, especially in town areas, has become more acute during the war. It must, indeed, be acknowledged that inadequate wages are at the root of the trouble; but that larger issue we put aside for the present. The State must act before the industrial system can be reformed, and the provision of a suitable environment is one of the fundamental interests of all citizens. There are two immediate needs: more and better houses, and in the town areas more adequate open spaces. Infant mortality will probably be decreased by the provision of house-room and open space: although it may be dealt with as a separate problem by different measures. The provision of houses has hitherto been a matter for private speculation, and it has generally been in the hands of small builders with narrow ideas and natural

desires for an immediate return on their outlay. Those, however, who have depended for their livelihood on the building of small houses would be helped rather than hindered if the direction of enterprise were in the hands of some public authority. The same kind of need exists in agricultural areas. The conditions of life in villages and, for labourers, on farms, are such that full human development is impossible. At least 400,000 new houses are needed in Great Britain for the working classes; and if they cannot be made to "pay," the State must supply them as public authorities supply drainage or water. The conditions of life, however, are not all dependent upon housing; and the State is concerned that its citizens, men and women, should live in such surroundings that at least health and growth are possible. It may, therefore, be necessary to establish or to support light railways, motor traction in country districts, the redistribution of factories and the growth of village industries.

We pass to the consideration of the status of Labour. The principles of State-action in this matter are plain enough in theory, but very difficult to apply in practical issues. Most men will agree that the State must see to it that purely "natural" forces should not be allowed to operate in the period of reconstruction. For, suppose that we regard the labour-supply as we do the supply of cotton or coal, we may find ourselves dealing with men, women and children as though they were material things or at most "natural forces." But in speaking of the status of labour, we are thinking not of an abstract "Labour" nor even of "the working men," but of John Smith and William Brown and Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Brown and of the little Smiths and Browns, who are dependent for livelihood on the work of some of them at machines or in shops or in fields. The position and power of these must be made more equal to that of those who have inherited wealth or wealthy friends. The general principle, therefore, is not in doubt. The State must see to it that those who work with their hands are not treated simply as labour power, to be applied or to be shut off according to the convenience of other social classes. Some will cry out that this is "class-legislation," and that the State should not become an instrument for the ends of any one social or economic class. The implied theory is that the State is not already such an instrument: and that theory is false. The State already acts in such a way that the middle and wealthy classes are benefited, often to the detriment of the poor. And the classes thus benefited are so accustomed to the situation that they are unconscious of it. We argue, therefore, that it is time that State-action for the sake of other classes should be more effective.

The improvement of the status of workers with their hands is not for their benefit only; for all citizens gain from the improve-

ment of the life of each. Nor is such improvement desired by workers only. Employers of the best type are quite agreed that the old enslavement must cease. The change of sentiment must, however, take effect in State-action; and there will be disagreement as to the action which is likely to be best in humanising the position of labour. We have already spoken of the improvement of the environment or the conditions of life and work: and this will affect much. But men can be kind to slaves. They can feed and stall animals well. And the hand-workers will not, if they understand what is being done, rest satisfied with a mere change of conditions, nor will the better employers. On the other hand the complete transformation of society by State-socialism or guild syndicalism, even if it were desirable, is not possible in the immediate future; for the mind of the general public is not prepared for it, and the hand-workers themselves are undecided. We must seek then for State-action which will improve the status of labour, beyond the mere bettering of environment but without at once leading to social revolution. That such revolution is desirable we do not now either deny or assert. The position of labour can be improved by considering what are the causes of the present superiority of status possessed by other classes.

The economic position of the non-labour classes is strengthened by two facts: one is the reserve of wealth of which they have command individually and in groups, and the other is their connection with the administrative, judicial and legislative officials or representatives. For in the first place, an individual of the upper and middle classes is not compelled to begin work at the age of twelve, he is seldom deprived of the necessities of life if he is "out of work" for a period; and in their groups, called "Companies," there is shared wealth which makes it possible for individuals of the non-labour class to have a continuous income even in periods of trade depression. Secondly, the non-labour classes are socially connected with government officials; they meet and inter-marry. The judicature is almost entirely of the same social standing, and the members of Parliament are nearly all of the non-labour social clique, which absorbs and modifies the view even of those "labour" members who enter the charmed circle.

It is obviously not possible for us here to say whether the labouring classses can storm this stronghold or whether any members of that garrison may be found to welcome them in. But it is clear that the State might act in the matter, giving to Labour both security of tenure and a voice in adminstration: and such action would be the legitimate continuance of democratic tendencies. First, as to economic reserves, bringing security. The State might levy from every industry an amount proportionate to the number of persons employed, after the manner of the present insurance

contribution; and this might be used to reinforce the trade-union funds for all purposes. Or a direct grant might be allowed, drawn from any source, for the support of organised labour. The purpose would be to secure a sufficient income for all the labouring class during periods of depressed trade or seasonal unemployment. It is unemployment or the possibility of it which degrades the status of John Smith and his wife and children; and either unemployment or its economic effects must be made impossible.

Why should the State be interested in this? First, because security of tenure or certainty of expectation is the most important element in political order. But the labouring-classes at present have no security; they are as much influenced by the caprice or the calculation of employers as were the villagers on a mediæval manor. State-action gives security of tenure to owners of property and inheritors of wealth: for without State-action neither property nor inheritance could exist. It is time, therefore, that State-action should give security of tenure or certainty of expectation to labour. John Smith and his wife must know that the income due to such work as they can do (their property) is secure, and that if the labour market cannot provide such work, and adequately remunerate it, the State will do so. Otherwise they have no real share in the benefits due from the State and are not really citizens.

And secondly, the State is concerned in giving security to labour because a higher level of health and physical efficiency among its citizens is important for the State. If we are to regard the labouring classes as potentially soldiers, we should see that they do not suffer from the economic results of periodic unemployment. But the State needs citizens more than soldiers: and if men were now "classed" for citizenship, we should probably find a large proportion in "C 3" or "permanently unfit." Again, the economic effects of periodic unemployment injure the children; and even in the families in which unemployment does not actually occur, the danger is always present. Insecurity of tenure, uncertainty of expectation, is the normal atmosphere in which the majority of the inhabitants of England grow up. The situation is politically primitive, and the State must act in order that a higher level of citizenship may be attained.

As for the introduction of the labour point-of-view into the governing classes, the problem is more subtle. For how can State-action prevent the absorption into the non-labour class of representatives of Labour who are admitted to political Councils or administrative offices? A new type of representative may have to be found. But in the meantime, there is no reason why members of the labouring classes should not be appointed to such offices as those of the Justices of the Peace. The chief Government offices should each have a permanent under-secretary, with the duty of

attending to and expressing the labour point-of-view. This would horrify the Treasury, the War Office and the Admiralty. It would empty the Foreign Office. And if we introduced a labour adviser to the King's entourage, court ladies might be annoyed. But these are not obstacles to a deliberate political reformer; and the King himself and the intelligent among the officials would probably welcome the innovation. It would remain possible that the representative of labour in the official classes would lose touch with the changing moods of those for whom he was supposed to stand. But even if the majority of such representatives were simple-minded and imitative of the class into which they had been introduced, a few stronger men and women might be found. What we must destroy is the superstition that administrative ability is not to be found among the labour classes.

We turn now to the principles which govern the action of the State with regard to industry and commerce. As the State exists for the sake of political order, it is essential to it that industry and commerce should be in a "healthy" condition. Industry and commerce are sources of the income by which the State pays for its officials and its public work generally. Their taxable capacity is therefore important, but it should not be the foremost interest of political action. On the other hand, the State should not be regarded as the servant of industry and commerce; since political administration does not exist for the sake of economic wealth. The relation of the State to economic life is not one of subordination. Business is not a department of State, and the State is not an organisation for trade. State-action must be such that (1) no group of manufacturers or merchants takes unfair advantage of others, and (2) the general public, as consumers, do not suffer for the special advantages of any group of "producers."

Quite apart, however, from the problem of the normal relations of administration and industry, there will be at the close of the war the problem of an abnormal situation. The dislocation of business by the war has to be corrected.

There are two great preliminary problems: (1) the supply and distribution of foodstuffs and raw materials, and (2) the control of shipping and transport. There will not be enough raw material and foodstuffs in the world to supply the demand. Each State has a certain amount produced by its own citizens, and imports the surplus which it needs. Obviously, therefore, the ultimate assessment and distribution of supplies is not a matter for any one State acting alone. A league of nations must deal with the problem. But each State will have to assess its own production, possibly to purchase at the source (during the transition period) and to distribute to its citizens and its industries the proportion of the world-supply which may be obtainable. Even if the situation is transi-

tional—and obviously it would be a social revolution if we did not eventually allow more freedom to merchants and manufacturers—the system which will be forced upon us by the crisis of a world-shortage will permanently affect the action of the State. Neither in war nor in peace can any State afford to allow the danger of famine or of the cessation of industry. The principle has wide application, but we shall not elaborate it here.

The control of shipping by the State during the transition period will probably be aimed at the supply of the greatest possible amount of the special materials urgently required, at rates which will not interfere with industry. In the first place not enough tonnage will be available, if we reckon on a revived demand. Not only has there been a loss of tonnage and a deterioration of the carrying power of ships during the war, but many more and faster ships than we had in 1914 could probably be used if we had them, for the supply of foodstuffs and goods in general when the restrictions of war-time are removed. A supply of tonnage which is short of the enlarged and rapidly increasing demand will lead to fantastic freight-rates and purely speculative voyages. Therefore the State, in the interest of the whole community, may have to compel the acceptance of certain fixed rates. But this will be dangerous, first, unless the rate allows a due profit on the voyage, allowing for depreciation and for the need of expanding the shipping trade. And secondly, it would be dangerous to fix rates unless the fullest use were guaranteed of all carrying power of ships and the voyages were so regulated that ships could not be transferred to other flags or to other routes in which rates were higher. It follows that it would be unfair to shipowners and ineffective for State purposes if the control of shipping were not according to principles arranged by agreement between all maritime States.

Besides the supply of materials and the control of transport the State is concerned with commerce and industry as part of the general life of its citizens. They should not be regarded as mere sources of income either to the business man or to the State itself. And although State-action cannot redeem industry and commerce from selfishness, jealousy and banality, the whole of economic life may be affected by the adoption of new moral standards. The economic structure of society as well as political organisation involves the fundamental problem of education.

We pass, therefore, to the consideration of State-action in regard to education. The system of education at present in vogue is organised by the State, as it used in former times to be organised or directed by the Church and voluntary societies. But the relation of the State to education must not be held to involve the subordination of knowledge and culture to the interests of law and administration. Education does not exist for the sake of the State;

but the State-system is one of the organisations which under due safeguards may be useful to the purposes of education. For education is the process by which the fullest human development is given to the new generation: and the new generation must become not simply citizens or members of any clique or group, but men and women. Unfortunately, however, words like "man" are so vague that they lack all content or fullness of meaning, and it may be better for education to aim at citizenship, with all its limitations, than for it to become sentimental. But this alternative is not inevitable. The State, while maintaining education chiefly for citizenship, may be the instrument for making easier the development of the artist, the scientist, the manufacturer, the merchant, the engineer, the craftsman or the handworker. These are not subdivisions of citizenship, but specialisations of the human being; and each special development may be the channel within which a full human life is realised. Neither artist, nor scientist, nor any other "specialist" can be fully human without a co-ordinate development within himself of citizenship; but the relation implied in citizenship is not superior to social activity of a non-political kind.

Such general principles as have been stated are not accepted by all. They must be regarded, therefore, as subjects for discussion rather than for immediate application. But they are principles which are derived not from the propaganda of a party but from the study of social development, and they are not likely to be seriously amended by those who give sustained thought to principles. With all due allowance for the little effect that any general principles have upon the opportunism and prejudices of political groups, we may believe that the spirit of the time which follows the war may be more amenable to large considerations than was the preceding period, miscalled peace.

DEUCALLON.

EMILE DURKHEIM.

The death of Emile Durkheim removes one who by general consent has been, since Spencer died, the leading sociologist of the world.

The event has a peculiarly melancholy interest for the Sociological Society. The second of two papers he promised at the inception of the society remains unwritten. The first appeared in the printed volume of the society's transactions in 1905. It was a paper dealing with "Method in the Social Sciences," and from that standpoint made a survey of the whole sociological field. The discussion of method was left to be completed in a future paper. But as the years rolled on Durkheim's busy life became more and more filled with the activities, not only of the thinker and the teacher, but also with those of the active citizen. And this further paper on Method is one of many sociological undertakings cut short by his death.

A memoir on Durkheim, and his work, will appear in the next number of the *Sociological Review*.

RECONSTRUCTION LITERATURE IN FRANCE.

FRANCE has long been restless of her Government, and especially critical of her centralised administration. Out of a resurgent longing for decentralisation has arisen three distinct groups of regionalists. Each group represents a positive conception, respectively social-democratic, national and administrative, of the incipient regional order. Each has its acknowledged leader, and the theory of each may be studied in the form of a book. Besides these three groups there is an active body of artists and craftsmen, idealists and practitioners, who are busy investigating the art and craft renewals of regionalism. They are keen to re-establish the æsthetic individualism of towns and cities. They are associated with M. Adolph Cadet and his informative monthly newspaper "Le Petit Messager."

To the sometime leader and now indefatigable secretary of the Federation known as the F.R.F. (Fédération Regionaliste Française), we owe a book that gives a comprehensive survey of post-Revolution conceptions of regionalism. Its title is "Le Regionalisme" (Blaud et Cie), and the author, M. Charles-Brun, was certainly the person most fitted to produce a book of such encyclopædic scope. It is to be recommended to those who desire an authoritative introduction to this whole field. Included in the book is an exhaustive list of private and parliamentary proposals for dividing France into regions. Amongst the former are those of Comte and Le Play. M. Charles Brun's own proposals appear elsewhere in a report on "La Division de la France en Regions" (Pigelet, Orleans) and in a series of illuminationg articles, with map, contributed to "Notre Avenir" during April and May, 1917.

M. Charles Brun's general idea of regionalism is to vest control of local affairs in the community which is to be set free to self-determination. The royal idea in regionalism is that of decentralization modelled on a national basis. It offers a system of free regions unified by a single central authority represented by the King, much as "National Guilds" in England offers a system of local guilds unified by "The State." This idea belongs to Mr. Charles Maurras, the editor of "L'Action Française," founder of the "Ligue d'Action Française," and one of the ablest French writers and literary critics. It is explained by him in his "Enquête sur la Monarchie" (Nouvelle Libraire Nationale), which contains the author's conversation with M. André Buffet on the "Impuissance de la Republique á decentraliser." It is plain that M. Maurras is primarily an æsthetician preoccupied with a box of alluring political bricks, painted in the colours of decentralization. He holds the view that France has been losing its way ever since the Revolution. The latter has had, he believes, the most durable evil results. For one thing, it has given birth to every form of government, imperial, republican, constitutional and so on, of which only the royal form has disclosed any real virtue. Thus, for example, the second and third Empire have led France into bogs of corruption, while democracy and republicanism have led it to mountains of impotence. Nowhere in either case can he find a clear and reasonable opening for his bricks of regional order. Next he asks what is then the form of monarchy that ought to replace the republic? What is the general organisation capable of replacing the democratic?" He replies squarely, the ancient monarchy. Turning from this to the author's notable "L'Etang de Berre," read in particular the chapters entitled "La Politiques Provençal" and one discovers that M. Maurras is essentially an artist, and, moreover, one who has little use for realism. What he wants is a France possessing a great power of imagination to create inspiring ideals. But what guarantee can he offer that a royal government ladder will reach so high? Has it ever done so? Has it actually ever reached more than half-way? However, M. Maurras

himself is led on by a very vivid ray of hope. No doubt it is to this factor that his influence on the mentality of a certain section of the present generation is due. That influence appears, for instance, in the unfiinished book "La Politique Fédéraliste," by Henry Cellerier, written in support of the royalist ideal and containing an interesting critical examination of federalist proposals. It is dedicated to M. Maurras. In return, M. Maurras pays a graceful tribute to the esteemed disciple who, it is believed, was killed at the Front.

The Administrative conception of regionalism is a far more practical affair. As understood by M. Jean Hennessy and embodied in his book "Regions de France" (Georges Crés et Cie), it yields a central idea that turns on the administrative rights and positions of regions. It tells us that first among the contributory causes of the decay of French genius and initiative is the centralised method of Napoleon I., while first among the cures is a liberal constitution in each region, of course admitting the will and capacity to exercise it, with the extended power of a representative chamber to give it national and international effect. This looks as though M. Hennessy's idea is bound up in centralisation in spite of what it maintains to the contrary. Perhaps it is. Perhaps M. Hennessy considers centralisation essential to decentralisation—a paradox in which he encloses his wisdom that the main thing for regionalism is not to do away with centralised government but to give France a government which it can control in place of a government which controls France. Anyhow the points that stand out from his book are these :—

1. M. Hennessy is first of all a political administrator who has been converted to decentralization fruitful in national, international as well as communal results.
2. The sight of France at the last gasp of administrative suffocation led him to the pressing need of administrative reforms in its relation to decentralization
3. Hence arose the idea of the "projet Hennessy."
4. The idea first appeared in 1911 at a conference held in France.
5. It gave birth to a live organisation, the "ligue de representation professionnelle."
6. Thereafter it passed through the usual stages of propaganda and ultimately arrived before Parliament crystallised in the following proposal. "Proposition de loi tendant á substituter aux conscriptions administratives departmentales des circonscriptions administratives regionales, á leur organisation, et á la nomination, dans chaque région, d'assemblées regionales et professionelles."

The method of forming these regional assemblées is fully dealt with in an appendix.

The first practical outcome of this and other proposals was reached after the War began in the establishment by the Government of regional economic councils in each of the military regions into which France is divided. On the whole, then, administrative regionalism is no longer vague and nebulous, but has entered the domain of practical politics. If this new regional order is to be fully established after the War, regionalists will have obtained, thanks to M. Hennessy's untiring parliamentary efforts, something positive for which they were fighting from these economic councils.

I think the direct effect of these books and of other regionalist literature of which there is a growing accumulation in France, is that of giving the principle reconstruction movements a positive regionalist character. This means that reconstructionists are thinking regionally. Hence it is possible to examine a good deal of their writings in order of the three great departments into which regionalist thought and activity may be divided. According to this order the problems of

Place, or reorganisation of environment, come first. Then follow the problems of Work or reorganisation of productions. And then follow the problems of People or organisation of repopulation.

The value of a renewed and highly effective population takes first place in the writings of some of the foremost French thinkers. There is, for example, Professor Charles Gide, the eminent French economist, who very strongly holds the opinion that the question of repopulation is the question that comes first in the after-war reorganisation of France. Some of us knew his live pre-war brochures. We remember that in his "La France sans Enfants" he deals with the serious facts and figures of France's declining birthrate due to the "firm resolution to reduce to a minimum the number of its children," and the perseverance with which it learns and applies the means to this end. That and other papers by him prepared us for his wartime contribution to the subject, "La Reconstitution de la Population Française" which he desires to answer the two questions, "What loss of human life has France sustained? How can it be made good"? Professor Gide finds the first question difficult to answer owing to official suppression and exaggeration of figures. The answer to the second question is largely a matter of calculation based on a comparison of vital statistics drawn from different sources. This method yields some startling results. For example, the author observes that to a million of men killed at the Front must be added three million dead citizens, such being the proportion of deaths at war-time. This loss of four million is sufficient to throw France back 65 years. The fact, however, does not prevent him from considering the possible means of increasing the birth-rate and concluding on a hopeful note.

Professor Gide's article is contained in the second of two books that deal with France after the War according to the experience of a number of distinguished experts as recorded by them in lectures given during the winter of 1915-16. Also in this book, "La Réorganisation la France" (Felix Alcan) Professor Charles Seignobos expounds his own idea of the reorganisation of political life under the title of "La Politique intérieure." M. Charles Chaumet follows with "Le Developpement économique." Then comes M. Legouez with an extremely important paper on "L'organisation de l'industrie aprés la guerre." Then M. Marcel Vacher with an equally important paper on the vital subject of "L'Agriculture aprés la guerre." And then M. Adolphe Dervaux adds the architectural structure resting on "Le Beau, le Vrai, et l'Utile," and so brings us to Professor Gide and his proposals for repeopling it. The first book, "Le Réparation des Dommages de guerre," forms a no less interesting symposium from which we learn a great deal about the wide variety of damages that require to be paid for and otherwise made good. Thus, for example, Professor Louis Rolland, in discussing "Les Victims de la guerre," reminds us that besides the wounded soldiers and the wounded citizens there are the wounded towns and cities to be thought of. To the regionalist who is interested in the problem of Place as it appears in domestic and international politics, there is matter for reflection in M. Auguste Schvan's "Les Bases d'une Paix Durable" (Felix Alcan). The author is an anti-statist who thinks that the War is one of the State against individuality. He himself is in favour of individualism and decentralization, and reveals the influence of Reclus and Kropotkin. I fancy the latter's "Paroles d'une revolte" has entered upon M. Schvan's scene at one time or another. In any case "Les Bases" has been much discussed in Paris, and is well worth careful study, though its remedy for stateism and internationalism is not particularly dazzling in its possibilities. While M. Schvan expresses a reaction against paralyzing state action and cocksure internationalism, "Lysis," a French progressive journalist, expresses a reaction against an equally cocksure democracy. Both in "Vers la Democratie Nouvelle" and its sequence, "Pour Renaitre" (Payot), he

exposes the impotence of political democracy which he seeks to replace with scientific democracy. Thus he shows the former to be endowed with an inertia that belongs to the boa-constrictor, at winter time. For many years it has slumbered unconscious of the vital questions of decentralisation, administrative reform, alcoholism, public hygiene, education, technical training and the rest, disporting themselves on its inanimate carcase. Now comes the War to raise new questions to condemn still further the old political democracy on the ground of neglect to foresee and prepare for their coming. By the first book then we are made aware of the ineffectiveness of political democracy and its separation from directive democratic purpose. We are led to infer that the democracy of the politicians is as dead as Marly and the door-nail,while rising from its ashes, as it were, is the democracy of the citizens. Although this looks as though civic democracy is meant the discovery of "Lysis" is really scientific industrialism for all. In the second book the author indicates the developments that await the newcomer. He assumes that scientific knowledge is a region comparatively unknown as yet—that is unknown to citizens—in which when it is explored by men in common, will be found answers to the questions which have been too much for the brain of political democracy. The condition of the birth of the new democracy is, in fact, the reconciliation of science, capital and labour.

M. Victor Boret's "La Bataille Economique de Demain" (Payot), M. Victor Cambon's "Notre Avenir" (Payot), and M. Briard D'Aunet's "Pour remettre de l'ordre dans la Maison" are three important books in which the authors discuss the possibilities of reconstructive administration in industry and commerce. The aim of M. Boret, the present Food Controller in France, is to indicate the economic struggle after the War, and he warns the French people to prepare for it. France is for the French, he observes. Do not let other nations exploit its wealth. Above all act now. Do not wait till the War is over to begin. He rests his warning on the argument that Germany in its ambition to expand universally, overflows with the milk of human unkindness. When the War ends it will begin another and more ruthless war to capture the world's trade. The only means to stop it is, he thinks, boycott. M. Victor Cambon has reached "cinema" fame. The other day I saw him filmed in Paris, and I saw a sentence announcing his book "Notre Avenir." I am not sure why he was filmed, but I fancy it was because he attacked the mandarins in their lair on the question of alcoholism, and made such a good job of it that they forbade him to expound his peculiar views in public. Hence the public wanted to have a good look at the eminent engineer. M. Cambon has collected a number of articles, which together form a spirited comparison between France and Germany, and added a preface explaining his position. His comments on the behaviour of France in running away from progress are fearless and vigorous. He sums the situation up by saying that no situation has ever served better to recall the last days of Byzantium. The body of the book is occupied with a consideration of this situation as it effects "Industrial Expansion," "Technical Education," Parliament and Economic Measures," "American and German Industries," and the rest. In the chapter "Paris after the War" he glances at Paris before the War,—the Paris of Haussmann unfinished and full of leprous spots owing to official and public indifference, and at Paris after the War—debt-ridden and depopulated Paris, which with proper attention might become the complete Haussmanised Paris, and thus the City Beautiful. And he sighs. A similar sigh of despair—a sigh indeed common to all the books under notice—produced by the perception of the pre-war decline of France as seen by politicians and economists in the tendency of pre-war France to take the line of least resistance in domestic and international affairs, is noticeable in the preface to M. Biard D'Aunet's very able volume. The preface by M. Etienne Lamy considers the softening of the fibre of vital French

interests, and suggests the kind of stiffening that is required "to put the economic house in order." Thus it considers the defects of the "House." It points out that France is greatly inferior in many ways to its competitors in trade and commerce, that the main causes of inferiority reside in alcoholism, infecundity, absence of essential collective action between Capital and Labour—the men are for themselves and so are the masters—a defective transport system which led in pre-war times to a preference for German and Dutch ports. And it suggests remedies in repopulation, trade expansion, and so on. On the whole what is required is a very big and very effective broom, seated astride of which France may mount like the old lady, to heights of social and industrial renewal undreamt of in current French politics. M. D'Aunet reveals the broom at work. That France, in spite of its backslidings, has not yet entered the Morgue may be gathered from M. Henry Dugard's "Le Maroc" (Payot), which contains full details of the very interesting developments of the colonial expansion initiated by Ferry. M. Dugard shows how this expansion may be re-established and continued after the War, in one of France's most fruitful domains. In this way the author proceeds to transform Morocco. But it should be said that he provides fare for public opinion, men of affairs, and likely colonists, and not for the geographer, historian and other scientific persons.

HUNTLY CARTER.

THE DOCTRINE OF CIVICS.

BY THE JOINT SECRETARIES OF THE CITIES COMMITTEE.

The Cities Committee is sometimes regarded as a body concerned more with practical projects than with doctrine and theory. But that is not so. It stands for an evolutionary interpretation of civic life. It has a theoretical aim, which is to bring civics into definite relation to that doctrine of life in evolution which is perhaps the master product of modern thought. It is proposed here to set out in briefest summary this evolutionary conception of civics. The time is opportune, because the Cities Committee has recently launched an active campaign of exposition and propagandaism in contribution to the theory and practice of "Reconstruction." The need for condensation compels a somewhat dogmatic form. But the following statement is to be read as an abstract rather than as an argument. Reasoned exposition and concrete illustration of the theory will be found in the joint and several writings of the two Honorary Secretaries of the Committee.

In terms not only utilitarian, but also vital, life in evolution is interpretable as an endeavour after well-being. For it is an unending effort to utilise past experience for the control of environment; and through this it ascends, both in individual and social life, enabling these more and more fully to express their inner impulses. Ranks in the scale of evolution are thus measured by the extent to which the dominant impulses towards well-being seek "spiritual" expressions, beyond self-centred economic ones; as in the love of mates, in devotion of parents to their young, their care, their training, and education. In the human species—or, as we prefer to say, more concretely, in citizen and in city (the fullest expression of human potentialities)—there is ever a threefold urge towards the spiritual expression of life; an endeavour after "the good," a pursuit of "the true," an enjoyment and even a creation, of "the beautiful." Each of the three may be thought an aim in itself; but that way lie individualisms and specialisms with all their dangers. Life proper is the chord in which all these need and find their realisation; and every civilization is a concrete endeavour, every religion a more abstract endeavour, towards the realisation of this; according to its folk and work and place; and these according to their times.

The life of cities and their regions is thus the most developed phase, the most complex expression, of the evolutionary process. The City-in-evolution crowns the summit of Life-in-evolution. Adapting a well-known Bergsonian metaphor, we may say the civic is that form of life which has most nearly escaped from the thraldom of the material tunnel through which it struggles to light, with consequent more approximate liberation of the "spirit" into self-determined activity. The history of cities will thus be written in terms of this evolutionary urge to create a home for the free spirit—the city spirit, collective and not merely individual—and this home as continuing as may be, though never an abiding one.

Civic life, including with this the whole regional life which sustains and interacts with it, being thus the supreme product of organic evolution, it follows that the City is to be considered—and this in a literal and a concrete sense—as a living being, with a life of its own, continuing with the succession of generations among its citizens. It is the human Tree of Life, of which we individuals are the leaves, and so, at our best, develop as flowers, mature as fruits, and persist, transmit, diffuse, as seed.

The City serves these, amongst other functions, in the evolution of its spiritual life. It supplements organic inheritance, by organising and transmitting the accumulated products of past experience; and these as the Heritage of Good, albeit too much also mingled with the Burden of Evil—the wheat and the tares of the parable. Thus the City effects the spiritual filiation of successive generations into the community; and this filiation and its heritage are not limited by its immediate time and space but transmitted by its language and literature, its religion, its art, and other instruments of the spiritual life. This extension of civic life is the process of Civilization, and this in its proper and literal sense.

Again, the City directs the evolution (or it may come to be the degeneration), of its spiritual life, through its selection or elimination of its activities, processes, and ideal types, through its encouragement (or discouragement), of tendencies, and correspondingly of groups, individuals, families. The modes of such civic and social selection, conscious and sub-conscious, have as yet been too little studied.

Furthermore, the City integrates the individual and social life, by the organisation of a spiritual "Consensus" (or Heritage as above), which expresses the individuality of the City, and stamps it upon each individual citizen, witness Roman, Athenian and Jew of old, or Berliner, Parisian, Londoner to-day. But it also more or less incorporates those variations from the social consensus which manifest themselves in the personalities of citizens. In terms of evolutionary tendency, "personality" may be defined at its best, as more than average capacity for appropriating the Social Heritage ("crowding the past into the present"), and so far creating a future of richer spiritual content. Thus the more and the richer are personalities among its citizens, the fuller and more varied becomes the civic life of its time, and the greater its power to direct its future, in terms of spiritual aspiration. Thus the individuality of the City and region and the personality of their citizens develop together, in congruence, for good or evil towards resultant progress or degeneration. The two constitute a duality in unity, evolving in unison.

This unity of civic and regional life is potential even more than actual. The City as a living being has as yet developed an organisation of imperfect structure, and of corresponding inadequacy of functioning. The several parts exhibit amongst themselves a degree of struggle, always hampering the life of the whole, and sometimes fatal to it. But the maladjustment is perhaps in the very nature of the case, and it may be an indication of high evolutionary latency. The higher the being in the evolutionary scale, the more there would seem to be a tendency towards delicacy of organic balance, which is easily upset, and then manifests itself as disease. Civic evolution, being psychic and collective, and so essentially spiritual, is obviously of this subtle kind, with special liability to diseases accordingly. The conception of civic and social disease is recognized by sociologists; but as yet is little studied from the evolutionary standpoint. Amongst the manifestations of civic disease may, on the above interpretation, be included that ruthlessness of inter-civic struggle, which, so far, has been a more conspicuous feature of history than have the corresponding efforts towards inter-civic federation and integration, though these also have seldom, if ever, been wholly absent. Yet clearly it is the latter, not the former, which is the more "natural" process, if life in evolution be a progressive endeavour towards manifestation of spirit, and civic life the culminating expression of this evolutionary process.

The practical issue of the foregoing interpretations is clear. More deliberate attention should be paid to the adjustment of the essential civic organs to their evolutionary purposes. Thus a criticism of university and school, of church and theatre, from a more civic standpoint, is called for. With this must come the consequent re-planning of these institutions, towards more effective functioning—(*a*) in the promotion of the spiritual life of the citizens, with consequent increasing

unison of the whole; and (*b*) in the closer integration of diverse cities. And further, from the same standpoint, there arises a criticism and re-planning of the more material organs of civic life; of houses, streets, markets, factories, communications, yet now all seen in relation to their spiritual ends. Thus from the too simple "Town Planning" of engineers and architects arises the nascent art of City Design; soon now to be understood, demanded, applied, as the increasingly conscious effort of the City to control and direct its own evolution.

For such re-planning and re-designing, we need not only clear ideas of evolutionary tendencies towards those higher adjustments of life and environment which an older doctrine of life called "the perfections." We need equally clear ideas of the morbid and degeneratory trend towards what the same tradition called "original sin." Thus for the civic sociologist, no less than for the theologian, the study and treatment of evils becomes a paramount pre-occupation. Entering this field, the student of civics inherits a bewildering wealth of traditional lore. If his own survey is not yet adequately systematic, at least he perceives certain clear lines of observation. He sees, for example, the divorce of art from industry tending to a correspondingly divergent production—(*a*) of "works of art," which are rejected by working and business men as "useless"; and (*b*) economic "goods," which are rejected by artists and their circle as "ugly."

Are samples of this needed? In the ordinary household does not most of the decorative equipment meet with the first criticism? And the house itself (building and design), the clothes of the inmates, and their furniture, do not these too much require the second criticism?

Again, the severance of townspeople from nature and the rural occupations (*i.e.*, the separation of most people from the elemental realities of life and livelihood), tends to (*a*) an educational system that over emphasises the formal, and the merely weakly intellectual. Hence come (*b*) "the educated classes," so largely composed of individuals of abstract and confused mind and more or less unhealthy and ailing body; hence also (*c*) the habit of treating mind and body as separate things, *i.e.*, as ghost or phantom and as machine (or corpse) respectively; and with this (*d*) the rise of innumerable trades and occupations adjusted to the needs and cravings of persons impoverished mentally, starved emotionally, and enfeebled in body; for example, "ghost" literature, "occult" arts, "patent" medicines, and so on.

Again, the "paleotechnic" separation of morals from business leads to the justifiable criticism (*a*) of business men by moralists, that trade and industry are "sordid"; (*b*) of most current moral teaching, by practical men, that it is "futile."

Beyond these still relatively simple evils arise compound maladies and disharmonies. Combinations of the foregoing evils arise. Examples, if space allowed, might be presented in schematic relation to the various aspects and activities of the City. These are (*a*) Poverties and Unemployments; (*b*) Ignorances and Follies; (*c*) Vices and Apathies; (*d*) Crimes and Indolences.

The reactions of all the foregoing maladies and disharmonies on civic life are most conveniently studied on the town-plan; for this is the summarised resultant record of the long strife of good and evil. In modern towns the overcrowded houses, ugly without and dreary within; mean streets that lead from nowhere to nowhere; sordid factories, over-decorated banks, congested markets and tawdry shop-windows; noisy and devastating railways; barrack-like school buildings, with prison-like playgrounds; impoverished studios and gaudy theatres; unsightly hoardings that mendaciously advertise crude wares, for anti-hygienic or anti-social wants of mind and body. See, too, the public buildings. If ancient, these are usually beautiful externally; internally also they reflect more often the qualities of a past life, though sometimes its defects; but if modern they are too often unsuccessful, if not even

ugly externally; and internally they reflect the defects, if also some of the aspirations, of the present life. Each of these elements and aspects of city life may be inserted in its place on the Town-plan; and the whole is then interpretable not indeed as City-design, but as lack of design; for since the industrial age the town-plan has, for the most part, grown in response to haphazard activities of individuals and groups, and these too much following the promptings of the useless and the ugly, the confused and the morbid, the futile and the sordid. Hence the undeniable objective realism of the frequent comparison of the modern city to an inferno by poets—let alone social reformers. Witness Shelley's "Hell is a city much like London," Thompson's "City of Dreadful Night," and above all Verhaeren's "Les Villes Tentaculaires, Les Campagnes Hallucinées," that most terrible of modern infernos. It is told of Dante himself that when they asked him how he had seen Hell, he answered: "In the city around me." But it was left for our times, for the industrial age, with its fuller command of physical energies applied to the deterioration and depression of life, and with its loudly proclaimed detestation of all life-ideals, as "fit only for Utopia," to realise these completest infernos of humanity, to which even the destructions of the present war are but a minor conflagration.

From the foregoing crowded abstract there arises some general conceptions as to that Problem of Evil which has too long been taboo to science. Of these conceptions the main are (*a*) particular evils, when surveyed in relation to particular aspects of civic and individual life, are seen to be associated with failure to develop those particular aspects of life, individual and civic. Hence (*b*) evils may be defined as defects or perversions of corresponding qualities; and hence (*c*) the essential source of evils is in neglect, rejection or denial of the unity of life, and thus in the defeat of the evolving harmony of the city's individuality and the citizen's personality.

It follows that in the treatment of evils the organic and social principle to be applied is an evolutionary one, that of Rejuvenescence or Renewal. The renewal of life in its unity must be sought with corresponding culture of all its aspects and phases. This implies, in relation to our essential linked couple—City and Citizen—no abstract unity, but a concrete development, in unison, as far as may be of (*a*) each and every individual citizen, as a personality, going through his definite phases of life-history; (*b*) of each city and region with its definite individuality, co-related in detail with the several aspects of its citizen's personality; (*c*) the congruence of (*a*) and (*b*) with the various, larger social and geographical units, national, imperial, continental, mondial, etc.

For concrete treatment of particular evils, we are therefore driven back on studies of cities and citizens and of the successively larger life-unities concerned, and of these in relation to their physical environment, and to their social heritage, their burden of evil also. Further, these new studies must not only be scientific and historical, vital and pathological; they must also be addressed to the practical issues of life-culture and to the cure and prevention of evils. Such studies must be increasingly systematised and must make use of all the preparatory resources concentrated towards the practical ends in view. They may be called Surveys for Service.

The conception of life in evolution, as the relationship of Organism, Function, and Environment (Folk, Work, Place), gives us the necessary starting-points. These are (*a*) environmental or geographic—the survey of our globe, region by region. The typical region is the river valley. An ideal unit for comparative survey may be distinguished in the "Valley Section." Next (*b*) the Historic Survey—for study of the social heritage; here the units are the successive phases of culture that "filiate" (*i.e.*, functionally continue and unite) the series of generations. Next comes (*c*) the Vital Survey—a direct study of the life-units, the Citizens and the Cities. To

these three foregoing surveys there obviously needs to be added (*d*) a Survey of Evils—studied according to a plan congruent with that used in the previous surveys.

The foregoing is the "scientific," or logical, order of Survey. It proceeds from the simple to the complex; from the physical through organic, to social considerations. To each "City and Regional" Survey there is a corresponding "Report" or Plan of Action. But in action this logical or conventional scientific order has to be reversed. The primacy of life ordains a vital order. This begins with social and human considerations, and proceeds through organic ones (health and work), to their physical surroundings. Again the evolutionary ranking of life is in terms of spiritual expression. Hence even above mere survival, comes the need to maintain the free spiritual expression of life. The failure to recognise the primacy of this to-day is the "Prussic" fallacy, as it may be called. What above all hinders or hampers the free spiritual expression of life is the Burden of Evil, and our own additions to it. In practice then, the treatment of this—the facing and struggle with evils—comes first, as the great historic religions have all exemplified in their rituals. Hence reciprocal to the scientific order of surveys, which furnishes us but with a survey of evils—one well-nigh despairing—is the "religious" practice, which begins with the treatment of evils. Experience confirms the value of this: hence the order of practice, that for the application of our scientific surveys, is to begin with the Report, the Plan of Action, for dealing wth the Burden of Evils, as it has been indicated in the corresponding Survey.

The logical order above noted has been that of "Paleotechnic" science before the war. But that of the practical or religious order is more adequately congruent with the evolutionary concept. This reversal is now being pressed upon us as the war is educating us as well as destroying the present social formation. And in this order we may best apply our city-renewing endeavours, utilising the logical sequence as subordinate and secondary. For Surveys are for Service; and we only truly learn by living. The needed "harmony of soul" is to be attained through unwearying trial and error.

On the foregoing doctrinal basis the Cities Committee is now endeavouring to build a superstructure of popular ideas and ideals about Reconstruction. A series of pamphlets entitled "Papers for the Present," are being issued by the Committee. The initial and explanatory circular is here reproduced textually as printed for announcement of a second edition of the first three "Papers."

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The Cities Committee is solely responsible, and not the Sociological Society. The latter is a body of research and other purely scientific aims. It must not therefore be identified with immediately practical projects. But an independent Cities Committee has embarked on propaganda. The principles for which it stands are briefly summarized, and the lines of action it recommends are indicated in the accompanying statement of "What to do." Of these practical suggestions, the educational and financial ones receive more detailed treatment than the others, in the ten **Papers** now under issue.

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WHAT TO DO.

OUR faith is in moral Renewal, next in Re-education, and therewith Reconstruction. For fulfilment there must be a Resorption of Government into the body of the community. How? By cultivating the habit of direct action instead of waiting upon representative agencies. Hence these social imperatives:

1.—*Cease to feel Labour personally as a "burden," or see it socially as a "problem"; practise it as a primary function of life.*

2.—*Raise the life-standard of the people and the thought-standard of schools and universities; so may the workman and his family receive due mead of* real *wages; the leisure of all become dignified; and for our money-economy be substituted a life-economy.*

3.—*Stimulate sympathetic understanding between all sections of the community by co-operation in local initiative; so may European statesmen be no longer driven to avoid revolution by making war.*

4.—*Let cities, towns, villages, groups, associations, work out their own regional salvation; for that they must have freedom, ideas, vision to plan, and means to carry out, (a) betterments of environment (such as housing fit for family life and land for a renewed peasantry), (b) enlargements of mental horizon (such as forelooking universities quick with local life and interests,) (c) communitary festivals and other enrichments of life. All these must be parts of one ever-growing Design for the coming years to realize.*

*5.—*Make free use of the public credit for these social investments; but don't pay the tribute called "market rate of interest"; create the credit against the new social assets, charge it with an insurance rate and a redemption rate, and pay the bankers a moderate commission to administer it through their system of interlocking banks and clearing houses; the present unacknowledged use of the public credit by bankers must be recognized and regulated, and being for private profit must be subordinated to the new communitary uses.*

6.—*Fill the public purse from a steeply gradated income-tax (proceeds being shared by the local with the central authority); discriminate in favour of investments that improve the environment and develop the individual. Let the tax-gatherer take heavy toll of "unearned increments," such as the "bonus" to shareholders, the appreciation of speculative securities, the rise in land values from growth of population.*

*For details of the constructive suggestions in this paragraph, see especially "The Banker's Part in Reconstruction"; and for the implied criticism of existing finance, see especially "The Modern Midas.'

7.—*Eschew the despotic habit of regimentation, whether by Governments, Trusts, Companies, tyrants, pedants or police; try the better and older way of co-ordination expanding from local centres through city, region, nation, and beyond; so may the spirit of fellowship express itself, instead of being sterilized by fear, crushed by administrative machinery or perverted by repression.*

8.—*Resist the politcal temptation to centralize all things in one metropolitan city; seek to renew the ancient tradition of Federation between free cities, regions, dominions.*

9.—*Encourage the linkages of labour and professional associations across international frontiers; it is these that can quicken the unity of western civilization and bring forth its fruits of concord. Further, let our imperial bureaucrats cease from their superior habit of instructing the orientals and try to learn from them.*

10.—*In general, aim at making individuals more socialized and communities more individualized. To that end, let schools subordinate books to out-door observation and handicrafts; let teachers draw the matter and the method of education from the life and tradition of their pupils' own region, as well as from the history and culture of mankind at large. Let universities seek first for synthesis in the civic life around them; and only thereafter in the pages of philosophy. Above all let governing bodies learn, if not from the Churches, at least from the psychological and social sciences, the distinction between temporal and spiritual powers, and cease to play the double rôle of Pope and Cæsar. As for the chemical and mechanical sciences let them repent of making hell-upon-earth under war-lord and money-lord, and take service in the kingdom of heaven on earth. Then may the machine industry learn from artist-craftsman and town-planner the social significance of Design in all human things, including the city itself; that way lies the guild ideal and hope of its expressing the civic spirit. Let civic designers give rustics access to the city as well as townsmen access to nature; that way lies the regional ideal; and some day men will enter through this portal into paradise regained.*

Along all these lines there is movement; but lacking in volume and unity. A crusade of Direct Action has long been afoot; but with many halts and in sparse and isolated companies. The Spirit Creative is liberated and in flight; but too timidly and on dissevered quests. It is time for clearer understanding, closer co-operation, deeper unison between all men and women of goodwill and high endeavour. So may be prepared definitely planned campaigns for the making and maintenance of worthy homes, smiling villages, noble cities. To engage the militant energies of the race in these adventures of constructive peace and heroically to salve the perrenial wreckages of humanity would be the moral equivalent of war.

REVIEWS.

THE METHODS OF SOCIOLOGY.

PHILOSOPHIE DES SCIENCES SOCIALES.—MÉTHODE DES SCIENCES SOCIALES. By René Worms. Second edition, revised. Paris: M. Giard et E. Brière, 1918. Price, 5 francs.

THE General Secretary of the International Institute of Sociology has just published a new and revised edition of his work on sociological method—a subject he is especially competent to treat, whether we consider his clear grasp of scientific processes or his wide knowledge of the work already done in Sociology. Dividing his subject into methods *a priori* and *a posteriori*, and the latter again into processes of analysis and of synthesis, he covers the whole field in a volume of little over two hundred and fifty pages. In the first part, he treats in succession the applications of the methods of Mathematics, Physics, Biology and Psychology to social phenomena, and while neglecting no resources which these simple studies afford, he is led to the sound conclusion that the direct observation of social facts is vital. If anything, he is a little too ready to stress the analogies between Biology and Sociology. Thus, when he speaks of a society as being born, reproducing itself and disappearing in accordance with the general laws of evolution, some explanation of the meaning in which these terms are used seems necessary. Can a society be said to reproduce itself in the biological sense? Is a society subject to any process analogous to death in the natural body?[1] If on this point, he is too much inclined to rest on the simple science, is he not in a later part of the work too absolute and too neglectful of the actual historic developments, when he declares that there is "in man an invincible tendency to think that what has once produced a given effect, will always produce the same effect in the future"? Was not the original tendency to believe the world the sport of powerful wills, and did not the expectation of the miraculous only yield gradually to the teachings of experience?

Two general questions of a fundamental character receive due attention. The one is the relation of Theory to Observation. The author rightly warns us that "phenomena are not created to illustrate theories, but rather theories to bring about a synthesis of phenomena," but perhaps he hardly lays sufficient stress on the complementary truth that to observe phenomena to the best advantage, we need some theory to start with, a theory which will be retained, modified, or discredited as the observation proceeds. Some theory is necessary to bring order into the facts we accumulate by observation, though it is also necessary continually to revise the theory in the light of these facts. A second point of general interest relates to the vexed question of the possibility of social forecasts. Here M. Worms is excellent. In the field of a complex science, exactly the same state of things will seldom or never be reproduced. We can say that if the same conditions recur the same results will follow; but for practical purposes the statement is nugatory. We can, indeed, trace the action of a sociological law, and indicate the direction of its effect, but it will act in changing conditions and in combination with other laws. All these would have to be known and measured for the exact resultant to be foretold. Thus to take a case cited by our author, Malthus affirmed the constant tendency of population to outrun subsistence; but in France, from 1875 to 1895, the means of subsistance increased faster than population. Social causes stayed the growth of the one and the application of science to agriculture increased the yield of the other, a yield which was supplemented by further imports from abroad. But that forecasts based on one law only may be vitiated by the action of other laws is true of all

other sciences, even the simplest, and not of Sociology only. Take, for instance, the simple problem of a falling body. If the body passes into a denser medium, it will move more slowly. If it meets with an impenetrable obstacle, it will cease to fall. But it is still true that a body falling freely, if we neglect its atmospheric retardation, passes through a space proportional to the square of the time it has been descending. Only if it has been stopped or retarded at the end of the fourth second through the interposition of a new force, the prophecy of the distance it would move in the fifth second will not actually be realised.

But though owing to the difficulty of finding the direction and value of the resultant of all the social forces acting in a given situation, it is impossible to obtain the same certainty, much less the same precision as regards the future in Sociology as in the simpler sciences, M. Worms admits that some sociological laws will give useful guidance. For instance, it is important to note—as Comte showed long before Tarde whom M. Worms mentions in this connection—that discoveries must arise in a particular order which cannot be reversed. Moreover, once a new discovery has passed into the general stream of human thought, it necessarily modifies all subsequent social development, even against the will of those who dislike it. Hence the impossibility of any complete return to the Past. Mr. G. K. Chesterton, who is professedly an opponent of Sociology, really admitted the whole sociologic position in six words when he wrote: "A discovery is an incurable disease."

In treating of the twe methods introduced by Le Play, the Monograph and the Survey, M. Worms urges that far from being in themselves sufficient to constitute social science, they do not solve its capital and initial problem, *i.e.*, to determine the *important* facts to which research should be directed. Far from doing this, they even tend, by accumulating masses of facts, to increase the difficulty of the problem. But our author hardly does justice to Le Play when he claims that the author of a monograph depends on the statistician to arrange his facts in the order of their importance. This may be true, but there is another consideration to be taken into account. It is only in the hands of Le Play and his followers that statistics give up their true meaning. Typical instances are the necessary complement of the statistical table: figures are no longer divorced from life. Another criticism affects the school of Le Play only in common with most other sociologists. In Biology, Richard Owen, to take a hackneyed illustration, claimed that from a single bone of an extinct bird, he could reproduce the whole skeleton. Many sociologists have cherished the hope that a similar correspondence would be found between the various organs of the social organism, so that given one institution of a society in a particular stage of development, the others could be inferred. But M. Worms has no difficulty in showing that there is no such exact correspondence. The correlation is probably seen best in those societies—neither very high nor very low in the scale—where the social organisation is marked off from others and dominated by a particular form of industry, where in fact we have the social types of Le Play strongly marked.

Some interesting points also arise in regard to the work of Auguste Comte. M. Worms blames Comte for speaking of the study of pathologic cases as a form of *experiment* possible in Sociology, whereas it is really a form of *observation*; but the discrepancy is purely verbal. Comte only treated that study as a means of supplying the practical impossibility of social experiments; he did not profess to see any logical conformity between the two processes. On the other hand, the author's explanation of the sense in which Comte rejected the word "cause," is undoubtedly correct. He only really rejected "supra-sensible" causes, and not those of which the senses could become cognisant. He put aside a word which seemed to him hopelessly involved in metaphysical connotations, but which has since been

rescued and largely rehabilitated. But the most interesting point dealt with in relation to Comte is his famous method of Historic Filiation, or as Mill preferred to call it, Inverse Deduction. This M. Worms admits to be allowable, but he hardly recognises its full meaning and scope. He somewhat confuses it with the method of direct deduction, and seems to consider it open to the same objections. But inverse deduction has all the advantages of induction with an additional verification or rather control—it is induction strengthened in order to meet the difficulties of a very complex science. In this method, there is first an induction, a generalization drawn from a study of the social facts, and then in addition and as a control, a submission of this generalization to a further test, the conformity of the development supposed with the laws of human nature and social development already known. It is, therefore, not less but more controlled by facts than is ordinary induction. For this reason, and also because it is in tracing social *development* that it can be best used, I prefer Comte's expression, "Historic Filiation," to Mill's which suggests that it is only a variation of deduction in the ordinary sense of the term.

S. H. SWINNY.

1. See "The Problem of Decadence," by Prof. W. R. Sorley (*Sociological Review*, I, 4, October 1908).

THE ROMANCE OF COMMERCE.

"THE ROMANCE OF COMMERCE." By H. Gordon Selfridge. With illustrations. (John Lane, 1918.)

THE most interesting thing about this book is the reaction of the press towards it. As for the book itself, its character and quality can be briefly defined. Its title, to be truly descriptive, should have been "Tit-bits of merchant lore." The book is an illustrated collection of anecdotes, always interesting and often lively, gathered from miscellaneous sources. The anecdotes are assembled without much sense of order or sequence, and entirely without interpretation. Naturally, therefore, the Press has welcomed the book. For the Press likes anecdotes, is contemptuous of order, intolerant of sequence and abhors interpretation. But the newspapers and the periodicals have not only praised this book; the remarkable thing about their appreciation has been the quantity of it. The superficial area of all these encomiums together would make a pretty calculation in the assessment of editorial judgment on literary values.

How explain this journalistic valuation? It must not be thought that the judgment of editors has been influenced by the bias of advertising managers, anxious for their journals to stand well with an author who is also the very prince of advertisers. Such an explanation is clearly insufficient; for this volume earned panegyric, both ardent and lengthy, from journals which could have no expectation of advertisements from Oxford Street. It is evident that some interpretation of wider scope and deeper reach is needed.

The clue to the puzzle lies, doubtless, in the nature of the thing called advertisement. What in its essence is this system of publicity that flourishes so luxuriantly in public life, and even pervades the home? It would be a commonplace of psychology to define advertisement as an appeal to the will through the intellect and the emotions. The advertiser tries to persuade you to do something. Mostly the aim is to extract cash from your pocket. But by no means always. It is easy to cite exceptional instances. Recently one of the great Joint Stock Banks purchased twelve columns of the *Times* to give publicity to a speech of its chairman which was really an argument for altering the Banking Laws. Also quite recently

the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster or his representative acquired four or five columns for the insertion of a pastoral letter.

An advertiser, in simplest guise, is a person who buys a place on the public stage. But it seldom happens that the purchaser of publicity delivers his own message like the Bank chairman or the Archbishop. The custom, on the contrary, is to buy space in the newspaper or on the hoardings; and then to hire skilled talent to fill it by putting the case persuasively to the public. The pen of the writer and the pencil of the artist are, for the advertiser, instruments of his craft. In modern business there is no pretence that the argument or the picture of the advertisement are the spontaneous expression of the writer's or artist's personality. Contrast therewith the litigant who engages a lawyer to plead his case; the politician who appeals through the cartoonist or speaks through the pamphleteer; the statesman who secures a historian to compose a diplomatic document. In all these cases it is (rightly or wrongly) taken for granted that the presentation proceeds from a moral conviction of the soundness of the case. Now the advertiser is marked off from other users of advocacy by frank abandonment of this moral or spiritual factor. He has reduced advocacy to a sheer matter of business. He hires the writer or the artist as one hires a bicycle or a piano. The essence of advertisement is then, that it degrades the moral element in personality into a thing of the market. It acts rigorously on the assumption that every man has his price. The "science of advertisement" (as its practitioners call it) is, in short, the inevitable and characteristic spiritual invention of the "Financial Age." The present vogue of advertisement marks the historic climax of the Financiering System. In establishing the prevalence of this vogue, that system has fulfilled itself by creating its own Spiritual Power.

William James remarked that the intellectual leadership of the United States has been taken from the universities by the ten cent magazine. It is a common English belief that the political leadership of the British nation has passed from Parliament to Press. Both statements are currently read as an indictment. People instinctively feel that however poor and uninspired the leadership of University and Parliament, that of magazine and newspaper belongs to an altogether lower order. And why? Because behind the newspaper and the magazine they sense a dark, elusive, irresponsible power—the advertiser. This power they feel to be as sinister as it is formidable. And indeed it works by the simple and massive mode of Natural Selection. It eliminates the unfit amongst opinions, ideas, sentiments, news. The unfit is, of course, that of opinion, idea, sentiment or news which does not conduce to the survival of the advertiser and all that he stands for. How then in the nature of things should He, Supreme Patron of the Press, bestow his favours upon newspapers and magazines that do not conform to his order and way of life?

As the Great Millionaire has gathered to himself the prestige of aristocracies and even of royalties, so the Great Advertiser has subtly and imperceptibly acquired a certain mastery of public opinion. The millionaire and the advertiser are not these (if you think in terms of reality and not of illusion), the effective working heads of our social system? They are respectively the most representative types of temporal chief and spiritual guide in contemporary life. Or, to speak precisely, they were so in the years before the war. And we have by no means escaped from our thraldom to their dominance. Hence when editors make obeisance to a book whose author is at once advertiser and millionaire, there is no need to impute venal motives. They are merely prostrating themselves before their own particular Pope, who happens also to be their Cæsar. This is indeed the Romance of Commerce!

V. B.

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY.

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY IN WESTERN EUROPE. By H. J. Fleure. "The Making of the Future." (Williams and Norgate, 1918.) 5/-.

WE expect anything written by Professor Fleure to have character and charm, and in saying that this volume does not disappoint us we say a great deal. "It may be said to be an early draft of an attempt to appreciate the *genius loci* of some of the human groups which have become accustomed to live and act as such in Western Europe. It tries to visualise those groups with their varied racial elements making their several contributions within each, while the group as a whole in turn makes its cumulative contribution to what may become a community of civilisation. The effort is therefore made to study human experience in each region in concrete fashion, with attention directed continuously both to man and his environment." Some portions, and these not the least important chapters, have already appeared in one form or another (one of them in the *Sociological Review*), and notwithstanding a slight lack of articulation, these chapters, good as they were individually, gain immensely when they are seen to fit into one scheme.

There are eight chapters, of which the last six deal with France, Iberia, Italy, the small peoples, Britain, and the land which Prof. Fleure hesitates to call either Germany or Central Europe. The remaining chapters are introductory, the first being mainly anthropological and the second historical. That the book is unique may be taken for granted. It is no mere geography as its title implies, but a blend of geography, anthropology, archæology, history, architecture and philosophy, each at once accurate and illumined by imagination. It could have been written by no one else, and whets our appetite for the *magnum opus* which we are implicitly promised.

The book is dynamic, as befits one in a series dealing with "making," and not static. It is no attempt to enumerate or even estimate the facts of the present. On the one hand the author reaches forward to what the present will become, to the future, and on the other he reaches back to the past, even the long distant past, to obtain material on which to base valid forecasts, and we believe that his forecasts are all the more accurate because he takes account of factors usually omitted from consideration. Prof. Fleure is a firm believer, and in view of his scientific work he speaks with authority second to none, in the qualities of 'race.' "Many of the graded stocks between Central Europe and Northern are, and have long been, important elements, in one case among our intellectuals, and in another among our yeomen. The Ægean type, again, is characteristic as an element in the life of the west. It tends to play the part of a negociator, an agent, a business director whenever opportunities present themselves, but it is important enough among fisher farmers on the coast." Again, in speaking of the Paris Basin, he says: "The three recognised races of Europe and other groups that are attaining the distinction of race-names all jostle one another in this basin, so that it is a place of conflicting mentalities, of sharp mutual criticism, of the laughter that kills. Bergson's suggestive essay on 'Laughter' becomes more intelligible when we realise that the subject is French laughter. He defines the laughable as *Du Méchanique plaqué sur du Vivant.* May we adjust that a little, and suggest that it is a bit from one type of mentality pitchforked into a sequence to which it does not belong, *i.e.*, that it is often a contribution, ultimately from one race or stock in a setting belonging to another stock, a misfit that is, which is to be laughed out of existence?" His remarks on economic matters are equally valuable and illuminating, as when in noting the interest of the cities of Bavaria and Würtemberg in finer metal work, he suggests that "delicate machinery is probably a pro-

vince of activity in which natural talent of what is called the Alpine race finds special scope."

But he must not be thought to stress unduly the race factor. He gives adequate place to the influence of the past in moulding ideas. Thus of the Rhone corridor he says "it is a land of continuity, built upon gradual moderate changes through free criticism," and of Italy he says: "The age-long tradition of the city-state, however, in spite of the contrary heritage from later Imperial Rome, is a very potent factor, helping to guarantee that the Central Power shall not end by repressing individuality as it has too tragically done elsewhere."

It is evident also from these quotations that the volume, though scientific, is not merely scientific: it is written in the humane spirit. It is thus no disparagement to say that Prof. Fleure's treatment of France and to a slighter extent of the Keltic Fringe is perhaps marked by a greater sympathy and affection born of knowledge than is shown in reference to other areas. He treats French weakneses with a gentle hand, but while excellently just and even sympathetic he cannot conceal his fierce scorn of German weaknesses, and even of Britain he quotes with a dry chuckle the phrase "which describes the British Isles as Islands off the coast of France."

Because the volume is so good we wish that in one small matter it had been less like the ordinary books. In one which is so downright and which obviously deals with realities, a touch of artificiality is added by personalising states and cities so that the real human facts are somewhat obscured. The reviewer also is probably in a very small minority in not granting what seems to be a postulate, that the city is the crown of human social organization. Much might be argued in support of the contention that the townsman is a parasite on the country, and the real problem is to evolve a social organisation in which the town dweller does not dominate the countryman and the farmer does not lag behind because of lack of opportunity.

But these are minor matters. The volume is a valuable contribution, if the powers that be would only read it, to lasting settlement and permanent advice.

J. FAIRGRIEVE.

JANUS AND VESTA. A study of the world crisis and after. By Benchara Branford. Chatto and Windus. 1916.

MR. BENCHARA BRANFORD has produced a book which is full of illuminating ideas and unusual, sometimes even startling, juxtapositions of the old and the new. He deals with reconstruction in its deepest meanings; and he has to offer not merely programmes of action but inspiring conceptions of life. The war is viewed as a crisis through which the world is passing into a new era: but the crisis is considered in relation to the long struggle of man in achieving civilization, and not simply as an episode of modern economics. History is concentrated in the record of the great thinkers. Politics and economics are viewed as dependent upon "culture" in its widest and best sense. And we, therefore, find the problem gradually sublimated into that of the organisation of thought and erudition in the universities. But the university for Mr. Branford still bears some of its mediæval eagerness of life and intellectual energy: he is not thinking of the high school for boys or the keeping-place for commentators which is sometimes taken for a university in England. The soul and not the system is the real university: and from the earliest times, in Nineveh or in India, up to our own times in the far West of America, the tradition continues. The true knowledge is always close to the practical problems of life; and, after all, the only genuine "reconstruction" is educational. Only by illuminating practical life with that emotion and that knowledge which

has given to the universities their highest and finest activity can we redeem the world from its relapses into barbaric futility. The problem of peace, of making the world safe for democracy, is therefore a "spiritual" problem. "The dominion of dreams" is the battleground between barbarism and civilization. Among practical programmes Mr. Branford suggests a world university to "stand for" and to create the new ideal of cosmopolitan culture; and he suggests, in the sphere of domestic politics, a representation both geographical (as we now have it in parliaments) and occupational. One of the new words of value which has been coined by Mr. Branford is "Franklinism." By this he means what is contrary to Macchiavellianism in foreign policy, and in using the new word he has given precision to an idea which is gradually taking shape to-day.

The book is difficult to criticise, because what is most annoying in it at first sight turns out to be essential to the effect the author produces. He writes in recklessly disconnected paragraphs. He uses circumlocutions: and the sequence of thought is not always clear, nor is the symbolism of "Janus and Vesta" at all persuasive. But these are small matters in an otherwise stimulating book; and we may hope that the author will be persuaded to let us have in the future his promised further contribution to the solving of the problems of reconstruction.

C. D. B.

FRONTIERS.

FRONTIERS. By C. B. Fawcett. (Oxford Press, 1918.) 3/-.

MR. C. B. FAWCETT'S little book on "Frontiers" surveys usefully, chiefly from a topographical point of view, the main types of frontiers, with many examples in each case. Frontiers in this work are considered mostly from the point of view of political states, ancient and modern, rather than with reference to the life of human societies more or less enclosed by them, but the writer sees in recent history, as do most observers, the attempt to readjust frontiers so as to make them demarcate units of human society. One wishes at times that Mr. Fawcett had expanded this aspect of his work.

He discusses sea, desert, mountain, swamp and other frontiers, and makes a strong point very rightly of the swamp barrier; his discussion of the Alps as the splendid traitor to Italy will be of value to many readers, but he should have used his opportunity to discuss Switzerland and her frontiers and to expand thence on the question of life and control of hill and mountain passes.

The chapter on River Frontiers is interesting to set beside Prof. Lyde's idealistic aspirations in "Some Frontiers of To-morrow." For Mr. Fawcett the river boundary *per se* is an unsatisfactory one, and many will agree with him; he rightly draws the distinction between the river boundary and the river-swamp boundary of course. He should continue to study the Thames from this point of view in order to get deeper into the question. The chapter on frontier marches and buffer states collects examples industriously, and suggests interesting analogies between different regions at different times, but one feels that the power and ambitions of the Mortimers are hardly allowed for sufficiently. Armenia, Burgundy, Flanders and Brandenburg come in for discussion. Armenia, with its uninhabitable centre, is treated as a buffer between Turkish and Russian, just as earlier between Roman and Persian Empires; it could also be considered, like so many other buffers, as a refuge of old civilizations from all sides, and hence a contributor, by its overflow, to the life of the lower lands on its flanks.

This mediating character of the buffer state is more strongly marked in the case of more lowland buffers like Flanders and Burgundy, with their interesting development of fine arts and critical thought. Mr. Fawcett treats Brandenburg as the

frontier state which grew so strong that it came to dominate the lands behind it. This is true in a considerable measure, but it needs supplementing. Brandenburg changed its character when the development of canal and road communcations on the Prussian plain gave that plain a unity of life around Brandenburg-Berlin as the inevitable centre.

Those who wish to have in mind the characters of frontiers and to prepare their minds for the discussions which must come at the end of the war, should read Mr. Fawcett's book. H. J. F.

LESSONS OF THE WORLD WAR. By Augustin Hamon. Translated by Bernard Miall. With an introduction by Patrick Geddes. T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd. London: Adelphi Terrace, 1918. Price, 16/-.

THOSE who remember Augustin Hamon's book some years ago on militant phychology will look forward to the above volume of which an English translation has just appeared. A review will appear in the next number of the *Sociological Review*.

THE

SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOL. X. No. 2. AUTUMN, 1918.

DURKHEIM: A BRIEF MEMOIR.

THE lectureship in the University of Bordeaux created for Durkheim was the first official recognition of sociology in French Universities. It was there he began the issue of the many works which, long before his death, gave him the leading place in the sociological movement. He first came into conspicuous notice by some remarkable articles on "La Science positive de Morale en Allemagne," published by Ribot in the *Revue Philosophique* in 1888. But the first of his books was "De la Division du Travail Social," which is now in its third edition. Next came "Le Suicide," which is now in its second edition. Then "La Règle de la méthode sociologique," perhaps the most influential of all his books. By 1910 it had reached the fifth edition. A couple of years before the war he published "Les Formes elementaires de la Vie Religieuse."

But in the opinion of many, his most notable service to sociology was the "Année Sociologique." The first volume of this magistral undertaking appeared in 1896. A volume followed each year until 1906. Two other volumes have been published, one in 1910, to cover the three years from 1906–9, and another volume in 1914, to cover the years 1909 to 1912. The services rendered to sociological progress by these twelve volumes can hardly be over estimated. Each was a bulky book making two distinct kinds of contribution. First came a batch of monographs dealing with some general or special aspect of the science. Then there was the survey and summary of the year's output in the whole field of the social sciences. No one who has not freely used the "Année" can form a just idea of the mass and range of the publications summarized, nor the care and accuracy with which the summaries were made and the fairmindedness and competence of the criticisms advanced. Durkheim gathered round him a set of brilliant younger men who became his devoted collaborators in the production of the "Année." To recall the comprehensiveness of their activities we reprint here an analysis of the sociological literature in a single number of the "Année."

Analysis of the Sociological Literature (in Books and in Periodicals) Summarised in a Volume of the "Année Sociologique."

	Numbers of Publications in—							
	France.	Italy.	United States of America.	Germany.	England.	Other Countries.	Total.	
I. GENERAL SOCIOLOGY ...	**26**	**10**	**8**	**6**	**5**	**1**		
1. Objects and Methods of Sociology	9	5	2	2	—	—	18	
2. Social Philosophy—General Theories	7	2	4	2	—	1	16	
3. Mentality Groups	5	2	—	—	—	—	7	
4. Civilisation in General and Types of Civilisation ...	1	1	1	1	2	—	6	
5. Collective Ethnology ...	2	—	—	—	2	—	4	
6. The Social Milieu and the Race ...	2	—	1	1	1	—	5	56
II. RELIGIOUS SOCIOLOGY	**29**	**5**	**12**	**75**	**29**	**11**		
1. General Conceptions Methodology	4	1	1	2	—	—	8	
2. Elementary Forms of Religious Life	1	1	5	18	11	5	41	
3. Magic	1	—	1	5	—	3	10	
4. Beliefs and Practices Concerning the Dead	4	—	1	4	2	1	12	
5. Ritual	4	1	2	9	5	1	22	
6. Religious Representations	12	1	1	27	8	1	50	
7. Religious Society	1	1	1	6	1	—	10	
8. General Studies on the Great Religions	2	—	—	4	2	—	8	161
III. JURIDICAL AND MORAL SOCIOLOGY	**45**	**15**	**5**	**34**	**7**	**10**		
1. General Considerations ...	10	4	—	—	2	—	16	
2. Social Organisation in General	2	—	1	5	2	—	10	
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6. Law of Contract	4	—	1	—	—	1	6	
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2. General Criminality in Different Countries	1	2	1	1	—	1	6	
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The headings are, of course, those of the "Année" itself.

When the Sociological Society was being launched in London in the early years of the present century, the promoters enlisted the sympathy and aid of Durkheim. And during the first session of the Society, he sent over a paper (prepared in co-operation with E. Fauconnet, a former pupil, become colleague) to be read on the "Relation of Sociology to the Social Sciences, and to Philosophy." A fairly lengthy summary of this paper was sent to the leading sociologists throughout Europe, and elicited a notable symposium. From the paper itself, and the discussions on it, and the written replies from continental sociologists, published in the first volume of *Sociological Papers*, an authoritative comment on sociology in its contemporary state may be derived. The position of Durkheim himself is, at least, indirectly to be elicited, partly from the paper he contributed, and partly from the criticisms of his fellow workers in many universities. His view of the sociological field can be very simply stated. He regarded every worker in this field, under no matter what title, as contributing something to sociology, provided the research followed a more or less rigidly scientific method. But what is the scientific method in sociology? Durkheim's answer to this question has provided one of the most active topics of discussion for sociologists during the present generation. The Summary (the Paper was printed in full in *Sociological Papers* for 1904), is eminently worthy of re-printing, not only by way of commemoration, but in order to record again a clear and condensed statement of a position which is still central to the science.

The prime postulate of a science of society is the inclusion of human phenomena within the unity of Nature. Thus only can social phenomena be subjected to those precise observations which may be resumed in general formulæ called natural laws. To Comte is due the establishment of this idea of extending natural law to human societies. But the sociology of Comte was in actual construction philosophical rather than scientific; *i.e.*, it was characterised by general views, and a certain indifference for factual detail and the researches of specialists. The same is true of the sociology of Spencer. But by demonstrating the applicability of the evolution hypothesis to human societies as well as to the physical and the biological worlds, Spencer still more closely linked human to natural phenomena. In other respects Spencer also helped to complete and rectify the general conceptions of the Comtist sociology. Thus, for example, in positing the differentiation of social types, ignored by Comte, Spencer opened the way for those taxonomic studies necessary for a scientific classification of human societies.

Most subsequent sociologists have continued the Comte-Spencer tradition of seeking to discover the general laws of social evolution by speculative rather than observational methods. And yet it is evident that the multitude of facts which are called social can only be studied in a scientific manner by disciplines equally multiple and special. It cannot suffice to survey the complex social world with general views prematurely unified, and hence confused and vague. It is necessary to separate the different categories of phenomena and study each apart. It is necessary that sociology become a body of particular sciences.

These particular sciences are not objects to be created afresh. During the

past half-century or thereabouts, the different disciplines that treat social phenomena from a special point of view have become transformed and oriented themselves in a sociological direction. The notion of natural law has commenced to penetrate them. The comparative method, the sole means of discovering these laws, is practised by them.

Thus, the several social sciences have, more or less independently and automatically, been reorganising themselves on a sociological basis, but without explicit reference to philosophical synthesis; while, at the same time, recent sociologists have tended to work in comparative isolation from the specialists. Thus, at the present time is manifested a certain tendency to create a general science of sociology outside, and in some degree opposed to, the several specialisms concerned with the scientific study of different departments and aspects of human society. Thus there is developing in social studies a position which is the very negative of that which Comte posited as the necessary foundation of a science of sociology.

How are we to arrest these perilous tendencies towards isolation—isolation of the social sciences one from another, and of general sociology from the mass of social sciences?

The sociologist must recognise that in no other way can a unified science of society be developed than by the systematisation of all scientific specialisms, which are essentially sociological in character. As conspicuous examples of such necessary and legitimate sociological specialisms, the following may be mentioned: the Comparative Study of Institutions, as transformed and developed by juristic historians like Maine, philosophical historians like Fustel de Coulanges, and their successors; Economics, as pursued by investigators of the type of Schmoller and Bucher; Anthropology, as developed by Prichard, Waitz, Gerland, Morgan, McLennan, etc.; Comparative Ethics, as studied by A. H. Post, Steinmetz, etc.; Comparative Religion and Folklore, as studied by Tylor, Robertson Smith, Frazer, Nutt, Hartland, etc.; Comparative Psychology, as established by Lazarus, Steinthal, and their successors; Social Statistics, as continued by the successors of Quetelet; Social Geography, as studied by Ratzel.

Thus the specialisation of which sociology has need, in order to become a truly positive science, is already a well-established movement, but one very imperfectly organised. For this development is proceeding in an unconscious manner. Each of the social sciences is constituting itself apart, without an adequate knowledge of the links which unite it to its neighbours. In other words, the sociological character of the social sciences remains still very uncertain. To aid in perfecting the organisation of the several specialisms is the task that lies immediately to the hand of the sociologist. Amongst the more conspicuous of existing imperfections may be mentioned (1) the want of a sufficiently wide and effective recognition of the interdependence and unity of all social phenomena, as a necessary working hypothesis; (2) the tendency of the specialists to needlessly multiply entities (like the "judicial conscience" of Post), and satisfy themselves with facile explanations and naïf simplicist formulæ; (3) the tendency to interpret all social phenomena in terms of one specialism (as in the "economic," or the "religious" interpretation of history); (4) the tendency of contiguous specialisms to unconsciously overlap (like Religion and Jurisprudence, Social Geography and Demography, etc.); (5) the tendency of specialisms to move at random without adequate conception of a definitive purpose, and hence not only to waste effort, but also to leave important areas of the sociological field uncultivated.

What the sociologist specially needs to do, in correction of these imperfections, is to interpenetrate the diverse technical studies more fully with the sociological conception of unity. It is true that these specialisms are themselves spontaneously moving towards this directing idea (*i.e.*, are acquiring the sociological orientation),

but with slow and halting steps. To work towards accentuating the movement and making it more conscious, more precise, is the urgent problem of sociology. It is only through the systematisation of the several social sciences that the Comtist conception will cease to be a philosophical aspiration, and become a reality. For the unity of the social kingdom cannot hope to find an adequate expression in a few general and philosophical formulæ detached from the facts and the detail of specialist research. An adequate sociology can only have for its organ a body of sciences distinct, but animated by the sentiment of their solidarity. And it may be predicted that these sciences, once organised, will return with accumulated interest to philosophy what they have borrowed from it.

In subsequent correspondence with the Honorary Secretary of the Society, Durkheim evinced a simple and unqualified pleasure at the interest evoked by his paper. He naturally desired to answer his critics, but, as he said, "for that would have been needed the compilation of a considerable essay." As a rider to the paper itself he appended the following statement:—"I was especially concerned to combat the conception—still too widely accepted—which makes sociology a branch of philosophy, in which questions are only considered in their most schematic aspect, and are attacked without specialised competence. Consequently, I urged, above all, the need for a systematic specialisation, and I indicated what this specialisation should be. But I am far from denying that, above these particular sciences, there is room for a synthetic science, which may be called general sociology, or philosophy of the social sciences. It belongs to this science to disengage from the different specialist disciplines certain general conclusions, certain synthetic conceptions, which will stimulate and inspire the specialist, which will guide and illuminate his researches, and which will lead to ever-fresh discoveries; resulting, in turn, in further progress of philosophical thought, and so on, indefinitely.

"If I have somewhat neglected this aspect of the question, it is because of the special object in view in my paper. However, I have purposed for more than two years past, to develop this idea in an essay which would be the sequel and complement of the one summarised for the Sociological Society."

The further paper in which he promised to develop the first was postponed from year to year under circumstances which can be appreciated only by those who knew something of his very busy life, so fully occupied, not only with teaching, research and speculation, but also with the active duties of a citizen concerned for moral progress. After his removal from Bordeaux and establishment in Paris, the encroachment of these practical and civic duties greatly increased. His health, too, always delicate, became latterly precarious, and the final blow was the death of his son who succumbed to wounds incurred in the Serbian retreat in 1915.

A long article in the *Revue Philosophique* for May–June, 1918,

by Halbwachs, attempts an estimate of the work of Durkheim in its ethical and philosophic, as well as sociological aspects. Not a few sociologists will concur in the two following sentences of M. Halbwachs:—

"Many consider Durkheim the founder of scientific sociology. . He seems in any case to have defined the method and determined the framework better than anyone before him."

There are others who would go no more than halfway with Monsieur Halbwachs. They would agree that Durkheim saw clearly and diagnosed truly the grave disease that afflicts the contemporary body of sociological writings. It is a disease of quite definite symptoms. One of them is a tendency to lapse into the looseness of abstractions not earned by a corresponding plenitude of observations in the concrete. Another is the habitual mistaking of observations that are merely anecdotal for observations of interpretative value. A third is the facile acceptance of formulæ surviving from the metaphysical order and so, at best, of little value, and at worst mere traps for anecdotal observations. All these symptoms Durkheim saw clearly, as the above summary amply testifies. The needed treatment he saw less clearly. He was brilliant at diagnosis, less so at treatment. But to say that is nothing more than attributing to him a weakness common to almost all great masters of analysis. It is indeed the defect of their qualities.

His two indisputable legacies to sociology are a stirring impulse towards scientific method, and the monumental volumes of the *Année*. How the latter work can be continued and on the same high level of performance, is a serious question. It might well be a labour of international co-operation, undertaken in commemoration of Durkheim as a renovator of the Science.

VICTOR BRANFORD.

PAINSWICK: A COTSWOLD COMMUNITY.[1]

OF the many problems of after-war policy none perhaps calls more urgently for action than the question of how to breathe new life into our decaying rural communities.

One solution would seem to be a compromise between agriculture and industry. If small local industries were encouraged at village centres, a population large enough to make combinations for social and intellectual purposes sufficiently varied, would be attracted to the village. Many pleasures, more choice of occupation and brighter prospects would thus be opened to the rural worker, and the youth of the countryside would be less eager to flock to the great centres. The worker in the village factory would come into that heritage of sun and air and colour of which the slum worker is so cruelly deprived; ground for allotments would be within easy reach, so that he could occupy his leisure in that pleasant and healthy way which has appealed to the heart of man ever since "God Almighty first planted a garden."

His garden and his pleasant surroundings would give the village worker a love for, and pride in, his native place which even the most hardened admirer of huge agglomerations and big statistics will admit is utterly denied to the slum dweller, and thus a healthy communal life would develop.

The versatility consequent upon the combination of industrial and agricultural skill would certainly tend to make the community ready to adapt itself to new conditions and so enable it to preserve a continuity of life through the periods of depression which seem inevitable to agriculture. Moreover, the closer intimacy possible in a small community which was yet large enough to attract and give opportunity to men of varied interests and outlook should tend towards the enrichment of life and the destruction of the present dehumanising separation between the interests of capital and labour.

The physical benefits, with their accompanying raising of the mental and moral outlook of the workers, which would result from natural surroundings and opportunity for natural recreation would be a national asset of inestimable value.

It is part of the ever new wonder of the soul of man, perhaps the greatest and most hopeful wonder of all, that among the workers who have risen superior to degrading surroundings, to the deadening effects of monotonous toil, and to the physical disabilities consequent on unhealthy conditions, have been born some of the

1. The writer is much indebted to Mr. F. A. Hyett, B.A., of Painswick, for help in getting together the necessary facts.

noblest ideals for the better education of the race, for the brotherhood of the workers of all lands and the future peace of the world. What, then, might we not hope from a society in which every worker was not merely "a hand," but had developed body and mind and soul along healthy lines so that every unit had become a potential factor in the formulating and fulfilment of a higher standard of life?

Consideration of the interaction between agriculture and small industries naturally suggests the study of any village where the combination of rural and industrial interests exists, and has existed sufficiently long for its success or failure to be judged and for lessons to be learnt as to the dangers and difficulties which are attendant upon such communities. It is with this object that the following little study of the town of Painswick has been made.

Painswick is a parish and town on the southern slope of one of the Cotswold ridges of hills, lying on the main road between Bath and Cheltenham, being three and a half miles from Stroud, six from Gloucester, and ten from Cheltenham. Its area is 5,898 acres of land and 11 acres of water, and its population in 1911 was 2,638. During the last century the population has fluctuated considerably, rising 1,000 in the first thirty years, when the woollen industry was flourishing, falling 900 during the next thirty years when the competition of the coal producing centres ruined the cloth mills, and rising more than 900 during the next thirty years when local enterprise overcame the difficulties of the absence of coal and the lack of communication.

Its situation is particularly healthy and pleasant, much of it being above the 400 ft. contour. Spoonbed Hill, where apparently there were settlements in pre-Roman times, and where a British earthwork in good condition may still be seen, rises to a height of 929 feet, and on a clear day commands a wonderful view of the Severn and of ten or a dozen of the neighbouring counties. The subsoil is oolite and blue clay, and the land is largely pasture, the chief crops being wheat, barley and turnips.

Roman settlements were numerous in this district, and it is thought that some of the local games and customs were a survival of the Roman festivals, so that there seems to have been a continuity of life and tradition here from very early times. No doubt this continuity has contributed much to the vigour and individuality of the civic life, and is a factor in one of the most striking features of the annals of Painswick, namely, the public spirited desire to improve the conditions of the town which seems to have animated so many of its inhabitants, and the affection for and loyalty to itself which this little settlement in the beechy Cotswolds seems to have inspired.

As an instance of the individuality that characterises the life of

Painswick, and the desire to benefit the inhabitants, it may be mentioned that in the reign of Charles I. the advowson of the living was bought by five trustees. The heir of these trustees later conveyed the right of presentation to new trustees, upon condition that they " do, as often as occasion shall require, present some fit person or persons such as the inhabitants of the said parish of Painswick, or the major part of the chiefest and discreetest of them, should nominate, to the said Vicarage." The parish kept its right of voting for its own vicar, with the curious circumstance that Nonconformists were also electors, until 1839, when the parishioners sold it and applied the proceeds (about £60 per annum) to the reduction of Parochial Rates.

The records of the gifts and bequests of inhabitants of Painswick to their native place date back at least as far as the sixteenth century, and include not only money left for the provision of almshouses, with weekly allowances to the inhabitants of those houses, for the foundation of an orphanage, and of an institution for the blind, deaf and dumb, for the payment of apprentices' fees, for the distribution of bread, coal and blankets, for the support of the various denominational institutions in the town (one donor leaving a bequest impartially to Congregational, Baptist and Primitive Methodist chapels), but also funds left to be administered by trustees for the benefit of the town in any way which may seem advisable to them, and funds left to encourage any attempt to build a railway to the town.

In addition to this, the records of two centuries show an intense desire on the part of the more leisured inhabitants to raise the standard of living among the workers by the encouragement of gardening, poultry raising, clubs, games, and sparetime crafts and recreations and by an attempt to take a personal interest in the welfare of the workers.

This is in marked contrast to the ruthless exploitation of the worker in the huge unit, where employer and employee are widely separated and capitalist combinations result in the atrophy of individual conscience and humane sentiments, so that profiteering is carried on with a ruthless mechanism which entirely disregards the broken and ruined lives on which its success is based.

An early instance of this is the support given by certain employers in the beginning of the nineteenth century to the " Society of Painswick Youths," who were recorded as " second to none in England " in the art of ringing chimes and whose feats in this direction are still recounted with great pride. Another local family organised annual exhibitions of garden stuff, poultry, and local crafts, and carried out for some years the interesting experiment of introducing the art of printing among the elder boys of the school, and successful attempts were made to introduce leisure

occupations such as woodcarving. A workmen's club was organised which now has an institute with a concert hall, recreation rooms, a rifle range and a bowling green. Allotment gardens are available for the workers, and there is an extensive games and recreation ground.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that visitors are struck by the intelligent outlook of the people, the healthy appearance of the children, and the comparative absence of poverty in the town. In fact, in 1895 the percentage of indoor and outdoor relief combined was only a little over one. An interesting feature, in view of the growing interest in infant welfare, is the keenness of the mothers to attend for the fortnightly weighing of the babies at the house of the district nurse. The meeting is always well attended, and undoubtedly has a marked effect on the health of both mothers and children.

May it be suggested here that this factor of a tradition of co-operation, of affectionate pride in a town, of desire to increase its welfare, is perhaps one of the most potent safeguards against the profiteering speculator and builder of slums. If the suggestion that the State should build houses for the workers in country districts as part of "after the war" reconstruction, is carried out, it is earnestly to be hoped that this factor will not be disregarded in the choice of centres for such building.

The population is, of course, chiefly agricultural, but has always been supplemented by other small industries. These have undoubtedly helped Painswick to preserve its life through the period of decay and depression which overtook so many villages and small towns. The greatest of these industries was the woollen and dyeing industry, which at one time was such a great feature of the life of the West of England. In 1830 there was a loom in every other cottage in Painswick, and the continuous, monotonous sound of the shuttle could be heard in every street. There were over thirty small cloth mills, some worked by water power from the Painswick and Washbrook streams and some by oxen.

With the further development of the industrial revolution, the cloth industry was attracted to the coal fields, and many of the mills were closed down, though cloth was still being made in one or two as late as 1895. The life of the place was so vigorous, however, that it could not be entirely crushed even in face of the two most serious disabilities under which it laboured, the absence of coal and the lack of any railway or canal communication. At first attempts were made to convert the mills into corn and grist and saw mills, the nearness of timber and wheat and the comparatively small competition being sufficient to counteract for some time the disadvantages due to the slow rate of production by water power and the absence of modern methods of transport. Attempts were

also made to introduce both silk and paper manufacture. Later, however, these industries were superseded by the manufacture of hairpins, where, again, the competition was not too keen and where the small bulk and weight of the wire minimised the difficulties of carriage. The industry did not increase much until the introduction of oil and gas engines as auxiliaries to water power, and when, later, electric power was invented, the possibility of converting the water power into electricity gave a great impetus to the industry. Cole's Mill is now entirely run by electric power. In view of the advantages of electricity over coal power, with regard to cleanliness, to the abolition of the degrading labour of stoking, which creates a "low level," and to the encouragement of skill among the workers, the development of an industry based on electricity produced by water power in this little hillside town is particularly interesting. It opens up much ground for speculation as to the future possibility of decentralisation of industry and its development along cleaner, saner, healthier lines, with a revival of skill and craftsmanship.

These repeated efforts to replace the cloth industry, and their final success, emphasise the vitality of the life in this region, and are an additional argument in favour of the selection of some such centres of sturdy local life in the schemes for the reconstruction and redevelopment of small towns and villages. One cannot but feel, too, that if it has been possible to continue profitably an industry at a hill centre which has no railway and no canal, there must be many places in rural surroundings but possessing more advantages of communication which could be similarly developed.

In view of the experiment mentioned previously, of introducing printing into the schools, it is interesting to note that Painswick has a printing firm of its own. Another local industry, which is of very long standing, is that of quarrying, most of the houses in Painswick being built of a fine white freestone obtained from the Painswick Hill quarries.

Mention of the quarrying industry brings us to one of the difficulties of the small community—that of providing funds for any necessary, but costly, improvements. The great drawback of Painswick is its lack of railway communication, and the inhabitants have been unsuccessfully struggling to overcome this disability for nearly fifty years. Sufficient funds have, however, never been forthcoming, and this in spite of the fact that as long ago as 1872 a Painswick merchant left £10,000 "for the benefit of the town of Painswick," with power to invest any portion of the capital not exceeding £5,000 in the shares of any railway which might be made to Painswick. In consequence of this bequest repeated meetings were held locally to obtain support for the scheme, and a London firm proposed to take a lease of the quarries on Painswick Hill and develop them if the scheme were carried through. Plans

of a suggested route were made, and eventually an Act of Parliament giving permission for the construction of the railway was passed, but the line was not commenced on August 26, 1894, when the powers conferred by the Act expired. Later further attempts were made, and a further bequest was made on condition that the line was commenced before 1899, but there is still no railway, and apparently little prospect of the raising of the necessary initial outlay (1918).

A possible solution of this difficulty of the development of railways and canals and the laying down of electric plant would be the union of several such small communities for this purpose and the pooling of their common funds. Failing this, there is, of course, the possibility of a national development of means of communication and power stations. It is a question, however, whether new methods of transport by road, perhaps helped by increased application of electrical power, may not help such places as Painswick without undue outlay.

Another difficulty of the small community, that of maintaining itself against its wealthier neighbours, is illustrated by the history of the relations between Stroud and Painswick on the question of the water supply and drainage of Painswick. In spite of repeated meetings and agitations, the opposition of the Stroud Water Company held up all operations in this direction until 1899. In that year, however, the refusal of the Rural District Council to act on a letter from the L.G.B. *re* sewerage disposal, on the grounds of the refusal of water supply, brought matters to a head, and a water supply and drainage scheme was at last carried out.

Here again co-operation of several districts might help, though it would seem that in such matters as drainage the support of the central authority should be available. The initiation of these schemes is a heavy burden on the small community, while the disastrous effect upon health of the neglect of drainage should certainly justify State control and expenditure.

Another direction in which State control would seem to be necessary is that of education. The expense of inaugurating new schools is considerable, and one part of a small community is apt to resent having to pay an extra rate in order to build or improve a school in another part. This difficulty is illustrated by the delays and difficulties placed in the way of building a new school in the Uplands district of Painswick, on the ground that it would be no benefit to Painswick, and yet would increase the Painswick rates by $3\frac{3}{4}$d. in the £. Attempts were made to separate Uplands and Painswick as educational districts. The school was eventually built, but in the meantime much valuable time had been lost and much local irritation had been caused.

Education is such a vital national asset that it would seem un-

wise to leave its development to the small community, which, in the very nature of things, must tend to fix its attention on the immediate financial aspect of the question rather than on the wider and more far-reaching aspect of the benefits that will arise from it in the future.

Of the various hints as to possibilities of development of the small community reached through study of the history of this little Gloucestershire unit, perhaps the most vital is that of the possibility of the development of local industry based on water power. It offers suggestions of how man may escape from the toils of steam power based on coal supply, with its accompaniment of dirt and danger for the miner, dirt and disease and discomfort for the stoker, and dirt and degradation and congestion in slums for the worker in the factories clustered around the grimy centres of coal production.

RACHEL M. FLEMING.

SEX TEACHING IN SCHOOLS.

It can be said without exaggeration that the issue of the Report of the Commission on Venereal Diseases revolutionized the state of public opinion in this country. Three points may be selected to emphasize and explain this change :—

1. It was shown that 10 per cent. of the persons examined were afflicted with syphilis, while an even greater proportion had some form of the diseases.

2. Recent experience of the wonderful results obtainable by salvarsan or similar preparations led to the belief that the diseases could be cured, provided that expert treatment was sought without delay.

3. The blamelessness of so many sufferers lifted the whole question largely out of the atmosphere that had previously enveloped it, and permitted of its discussion on a new and quite different plane.

The report received immediate official attention. The issues it raised were openly and publicly discussed; large meetings were held all over the country, and were not only attended by, but addressed by, both men and women.

The result is, that the vital importance of dealing openly with sex questions is to-day an accepted fact in many centres, especially in the large towns. But, particularly in the country districts, many are still steeped in the miasma of early-Victorian prejudice. Must this continue? Are we to wait for a slow and gradual enlightenment, or is it possible to accelerate it?

One way towards this would be to give sex tuition in schools. The argument so constantly met with still: "We were not taught about such matters when we were young,—our children must not be taught them now," may be dismissed briefly. Such reasoning would relegate civilization to cave dwellings, skin-clothing and coracles. Innumerable leaflets and books on the subject are readily available for adults and children of all ages and both sexes. The writer recently studied over forty pamphlets, all admirable in their way. As an example, "The Cradle Ship" may be instanced, written for those of the tenderest age. With its fairy story of the mother-love to be found amongst all living creatures, it affords an admirable basis for more advanced knowledge.

It is interesting to note that at present, of those who are most eager to extend the tuition of sex knowledge the majority are still against class teaching. It is equally interesting to note how divergent are their reasons for this. Much of the literature on sex

matters, however, was written before the issue of the Report, which may have changed views previously held.

It is argued that unless the teaching be of a high order, more harm than good may result. This applies with equal force to the teaching of many other important subjects. When weighing any particular course of action, it is well to consider the alternative. In this case it would mean that on account of the risk of a certain amount of inferior teaching, the whole subject is to be taboo. Nor is it really so difficult to handle, for a study of some of the publications referred to, will show with what grace and delicacy the subject-matter can be clothed.

It is difficult for us to realise at first that doubts on this point have been indissolubly bound up with the unconscious—though perfectly natural—bias of adult minds. As adults, we involuntarily associate sex questions with extraneous ideas—based on adult knowledge that sullies their inherent purity. It is difficult for the adult mind to project itself on to the plane of the child mind. And herein lies the crux of our imagined difficulties. "Children demand facts not explanations." They may be taught the origin of their birth, on simple, natural lines, in a manner which will explain, but not accentuate, the physical facts, while bringing out as the salient point that wonderful phenomenon in nature—mother-love. Moreover, nature study and hygiene as actually taught in schools, can be made readily to lead on quite gently and naturally to sex instruction.

Though strongly opposed by many, it is surely desirable that in mixed schools the subject should invariably be taught to boys and girls together. To separate them for the purpose would instantly vitiate the atmosphere of perfect naturalness which is a prime essential. Then, too, the teacher's words would not be changed in tone or substance as would undoubtedly be the case if passed on from boy to girl or *vice versâ* as soon as they met after the class.

The statement that "the doctor brought the baby," or "the baby was found under a gooseberry bush," are not only untruths, but palpable untruths. They instantly invest the subject with all the fascination of a mystery, to be pondered over in secret—precisely the attitude of mind to be avoided. Moreover, future information on such matters will be mistrusted by the child.

Immorality is largely due to mental stimulation. Strike at it from the first by explaining the origin of life in the right way, and much of a child's inquisitiveness to probe further into the subject will disappear. It will be accepted as other facts are accepted, and left at that.

Prominence must of course be given to the right things: the beauty of mother-love; the spiritual side of reproduction; the responsibility of parenthood; the necessity for such matters to be

approached with the same devoutness as religion; the avoidance of all light talk about them; their discussion only with parents, teachers or doctors, etc., etc.

If such ideas be inculcated in early childhood, they will make an indelible impression for life.

Few doubt that immorality will continue so long as human beings continue to populate this earth. But tuition of this kind can do much to lessen it. The life-stories of certain girls and women, investigated for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of the first lapse, show that it was due in many cases to a mere whim, or a passing desire for excitement. Is it too much to believe that had early instruction been allowed to fortify the inherent feminine instinct for purity, it would quite possibly have just prevented their going astray?

The need for such early tuition is in one way more imperative for boys than for girls, for the testimony of both medical men and male teachers shows that much self-inflicted harm is done by boys through sheer ignorance. Moreover, certain watchful public school teachers have found that bad habits, which it is distressing to learn are far more widespread than is generally imagined, are as a rule discontinued after a serious talk between master and pupil. Such talks were of course private, and it is not for a moment suggested that personal discussions of this nature are not infinitely more desirable than class teaching, wherever and whenever such a course is possible. To older boys much might also be said in class about a boy's honour; the call upon him to protect the weaker sex; the fact that incontinence, formerly supposed to be a necessity for the attainment of a ripe manhood, is now condemned by medical men as an evil.

It is no exaggeration to aver that at present many men would see no wrong in "taking advantage" of a woman were she herself willing to permit him to do so. This attitude, accepted by the average man as a matter of course, is not generally known to women. Is it not desirable that her eyes should be opened to this before leaving school, so that—apart from other reasons—she may realise her responsibility and the risks run? Moreover, should not the error of such a belief be instilled into our boys at as early an age as possible? Such a course would take two-fold effect in not only reducing immorality on the part of the man, but, through the appeal to his honour, might lead to enlisting his active sympathy to protect an erring woman from herself.

It has been reiterated, *ad nauseam*, that sex teaching amongst children increases the very evils it seeks to lessen. Is this borne out by fact?

Sooner or later all children become acquainted with sex knowledge, and most of them with facts of child-birth, often unfortu-

nately, in an undesirable way. With minds already attuned to the highest ideals, fresh information would do little harm.

An interesting sidelight on this is thrown on the subject by the head teacher of a large London slum-school, who states that immorality is unknown amongst her children. She believes that this may be due to many of the children sleeping in the same room as their parents, and accepting as facts of ordinary life matters which would normally remain entirely hidden from them. Among London children of a better class immoral tendencies appear often to be more marked.

Undoubtedly one of the great difficulties to be faced is the opposition to modern ideas on the part of the parents. This is sometimes very strong, even in villages, where the children see reproduction in the animal world, taking place all round them.

It is illuminating to remember the public horror when ladies first appeared on bicycles, or in quite recent times donned knickerbockers. It took some years for the nation to accustom itself to the idea of mixed bathing, which was at its inception condemned as a public abomination, or the forerunner of a whole series of indecencies to be introduced from abroad. There is a peculiarly close resemblance between this past view of mixed bathing and that on sex instruction adopted by many individuals at present.

A well-known authority has remarked that one of the greatest opponents of enlightened mothercraft, is the grandmother. Similarly in sex matters, it is often the parent who is to-day the stumbling-block. It is desirable therefore that parents too should be invited to reconsider their views, and this is perhaps most easily done by addresses at meetings. It will be found that as a whole, the father is far readier to welcome sex tuition than the mother.

In this connection, the parents' attention may be drawn to the experience of rescue workers. They all tell the same story—how frequently the bitter heart-cry reaches them from those to whom they devote so much loving-kindness: "Why did no one tell me?" Mr. John Oxenham, in the *Teachers' World*, speaks out with brutal frankness on the same point, as it affects young men in the army. Listen to what he has to say:—

> "And—here is the pathos of it—letter after letter manfully acknowledges the fall, and begs help and prayers for better things, and in very many cases asks, as the writers of them have the right to ask, 'Why, in God's name, were we never told of these things till it was too late? It began with me as a boy, taught me by another. I did not understand the evil of it, and no one ever took the trouble to explain. Oh, if I had only known, or someone had only told me.' For lack of that simple instruction in matters of sex so vitally concerning their future welfare, tens—aye, without any exaggeration, hundreds—of

thousands of our boys and girls—have fallen into this slimy pit, which was all avoidable if the truly damnable nineteenth and twentieth century prudishness of parents and teachers had not stood in the way."

Most writers believe that it is the parents alone who should teach their children this subject. Undoubtedly this is the ideal. But the number of parents capable of undertaking it, are few, and of these, many, it is feared, shirk the task. The less educated classes, for many reasons, such as a limited vocabulary, lack of knowledge of how to handle the subject, etc., must find especial difficulty in speaking to their children. Religious teaching is not left entirely to the parents, nor would most parents be expected to teach their children, say, physiology or medicine. Tuition in the schools would not leave everything to chance as at present, and the state of affairs so forcibly voiced above, would at any rate be ameliorated. "To the pure, all things are pure," and with training and practice teachers can speak of sex, in words which leave no room for misconstruction, but which enlighten and instruct in the right way. At least one country education centre in the South of England is moving with the times. The teachers who have just qualified and are taking up instruction, have been informed that any sex questions put to them in class by children are to be answered correctly and truthfully. This involves a far larger step forward than would at first appear to be the case, and marks a radical change of front. Possibly other authorities will follow this lead, so that the epoch-making change to which attention has been drawn already may find its natural corollary in educational circles.

Education in this country is admittedly in the melting-pot. It is to be hoped that from the crucible may flow the molten metal of truth, freed from all the false sentiment that has for so long obscured its perfect purity.

F. S. WARBURG.

THE DRIFT TO REVOLUTION.

BEING NO. 9 OF PAPERS FOR THE PRESENT.

FOREWORD.

An explanatory word as to the aims and method of this *Paper*, and of the series to which it belongs. A question is sometimes heard "what is the modern point of view?" And on the heels of that query may come another, "What is its civilization value?" The professed philosopher answers by a cheque on the Bank of Abstractions, which more often than not, holds insufficient assets to meet it. The plain man answers more concretely; but gives one answer to-day, another to-morrow, and a third the next. In the end his mind is thrown into confusion by the diversity of replies. Happily there are ways of answering which avoid the pitfalls of the professed philosopher and also of the plain man. One such way it is claimed is exhibited throughout this *Paper*; intimately concerned with the two questions above, since its main theme is an analysis of the current political situation. But this is not treated in isolation. On the contrary, the political issue is handled as something unintelligible except in relation, on one side to industry, trade and finance, and on the other to education, science, art and even religion.

As to the whole series of *Papers*, they may be described as studies in contemporary social evolution. Their aim is to be both graphic and interpretative. The numbers in brackets throughout the text refer to illustrative lantern slides, detailed in an appendix to the *Paper*. The purpose of these slides is to present by visual imagery of significant buildings, persons, situations, the social process which is described and interpreted in the text. The slides are offered on loan to societies, clubs, circles concerned to study current events in the light of such sociological principles as can be brought to bear. As to the standpoint adopted in the *Papers*, it will of course be understood that every effort is made to maintain the objectivity and detachment of science; but it should be explicitly stated that responsibility alike for facts and principles rests solely on the Cities Committee and not on the Sociological Society.

The method recommended for use of the slides is to pass them over the screen with as brief intervals as may be needed for the reading of a minimum of explanatory text. For that purpose a shortened version in typescript of the relevant *Paper* is available for loan with the slides. The discussion, it is suggested, should take place at a subsequent meeting: and in preparation for this members of the circle can study the full printed text of the *Paper* at leisure. Some insistance is placed on the value of an antecedent display of the slides. Since these aim at selecting, portraying and re-combining significant things and events, with something of the continuity and vividness of drama, it is hoped their prior presentation may impart to the discussion a certain quality of mind. The mode manifestly desirable is that combination of concreteness and generality which differentiates scientific treatment from, on the one hand, the vagaries of popular debate, and, on the other, the dialectical abstractions and archaic presuppositions common in more "philosophical" circles.

THE SPIRIT OF THE INDUSTRIAL ERA.

EACH age has its everyday working philosophy by which it lives, and as things usually turn out, by which it dies. The "practical man" of the departed Victorian peace had such a philosophy in Utilitarianism. It was first formulated by Jeremy Bentham. Him

we may depict and explain on the principle of opposites by setting his portrait face to face with Robert Burns (1). The latter was a practical man in the sense that he was accustomed to plough and sow, reap and thresh. But it was integral to Burns' philosophy that poetry was the stuff of life; while, in the avowed opinion of Bentham, poetry was just a clumsy form of prose. The utilitarian philosophy was popularised by innumerable advocates and exponents of whom the most famous was perhaps Mr. Samuel Smiles, who preached to a generation ready to give hearty and unqualified assent to the doctrine that God helps those who help themselves. (2). A rotund and polished form of utilitarianism was elaborated by Herbert Spencer, who, being an engineer, naturally conceived the useful in terms of the fit, and, being unoccupied, reflected on the survival of the fittest. (3). The many volumes of his Philosophy collected and pieced together a thousand fragments of thought secreted by a mechanical age in odd moments spared from the practical business of money-making. The Spencerian version of utilitarianism was therefore called a synthetic philosophy; as though postage-stamp collecting were termed a synthetic art. The misfortune was that its author and his generation mistook it for a theory of life and a doctrine of evolution.

Though the age that produced it has died, the utilitarian philosophy survives, as do all past systems of thought in the folk-lore of the popular press, as well as in the classrooms of university professors. The person who says "no theories for me, I'm a practical man," is talking utilitarian philosophy, though doubtless he is no more aware of what he is doing than was M. Jourdain. This particular flower of utilitarianism is to be sure a hardy perennial. The individual who openly scorns the theoretical on the ground that it is certainly useless and probably mischievous is no *rara avis*. Snapshot the first man of business you meet and the chances are you have photographed a utilitarian philosopher. Again, by way of contrast, you might put this picture of the "practical man" of to-day side by side with that of a citizen of ancient Athens, for whom theory meant the utmost clarity of vision (3[a]).

The juristic reflections of Jeremy Bentham, the moralizing maxims of Samuel Smiles, the recondite speculations of Herbert Spencer all went to the shaping of utilitarianism into a Spiritual Power for the Industrial Era. But beyond these instruments of thought and emotion, another discipline of the mind contributed to that end even more. It was above all Political Economy that gave utilitarianism its establishment in the universities, and put an edge on it for the use of politicians, journalists and others concerned in the formation and guidance of public opinion. These, it was supposed, spoke with the authority of "science" when they invoked the "Laws" of Political Economy.

For some century and a half, the political economists have been having their say in the name of science. From Adam Smith through David Ricardo to John Stewart Mill and Henry Fawcett there is an imposing procession of "classical" economists. Of their critics there is an array hardly less impressive than that of the economists. The redoubtable figure of Karl Marx is central to a host of predecessors and continuators. From all this galaxy of "scientific" investigators, the economists and their critics together, one may surely gain a clear undestanding and true interpretation of our age. And not a little light should thereby be shed on the course which our contemporary civilisation must steer in order to escape the shipwreck that threatens it, as some fear.

AN ANCIENT THEORIST AND A MODERN UTILITARIAN (After Ruskin) (3ª).

Now an investigator usually says truly what he sees clearly. And what, from the nature of things, he sees most clearly is the character of the milieu in which he lives vividly and himself plays a part, and on which he reflects dispassionately. So let us enquire what it was that the representative economists and their critics saw, each in his own generation. (4).

The Romance of Machine Production.

To begin with there is that other Adam, the Eveless man of Kirkcaldy, yet father of this new "science," and so progenitor of a hardy race of philosophers who conquered the world of thought with amazing rapidity. First remark about Adam Smith, that he was a patron of James Watt, the modern Prometheus, who brought down fire from Heaven and harnessed it to the chariots of men. (5). No statue is more entitled to its place in Westminster Abbey than Watt's. By helping him to start in that business which

resulted in the making good of the steam engine, Adam Smith became one of the temporal founders of our industrial system; and so supplemented in a unique way that share in the spiritual parentage of our age which is his by authorship of the "Wealth of Nations." Further he was contemporary with Arkwright and Hargreaves. The organising genius of the former and the mechanical genius of the latter made these two the essential founders of the Factory System (5 a). And the Factory system only awaited the steam engine of Watt to become the master force destined to re-shape the face of the world and re-orient the course of history. (6). A new age of romance had dawned. And like all true romance it arose from humble beginnings. (7). In this case from the cotton spinner. (8) The spinning of fibre for cloth had from the earliest civilisation to the 18th century, been by the same simple contrivances to which the human hand, supplying a feeble and uncompounded driving power, spun a single thread. (9). Then, like a bolt from the blue, came a series of inventions of which Hargreaves' spinning jenny was the type. A child, by turning a handle could spin sixteen threads at once, and so do with ease the work of sixteen adults. (10). But soon, by further improvements, one person could spin a thousand threads. (11). Arkwright was the man, urged by dreams of wealth, to fullest exploitation of this new power. His part was to add machine to machine, operative to operative, building to building, all to make one immense thing whose articulations worked like a single machine of incredible productivity. (12). This thing was the Factory. And proud was the nation to see these gigantic genii of power arising on all sides. Through their unleashed energy a man could produce more yarn in a day than previously in a year. A historian of the early nineteenth century claimed that it was not so much the genius of Nelson and Wellington that had won the war against France, but rather the 150,000 workmen in the spinning mills of Lancashire, producing goods which would have required 40,000,000 men working with the old one-thread wheel. And indeed, it could credibly be maintained that in the prolonged strife of the Napoleonic wars, the national Argosy of Britain finally floated to victory on the mighty stream of exports that issued from the textile mills of Lancashire.

There assuredly is an unsung epic. But it is a saga not without monuments. The Factory is the most frequent, but not the only one. Beside the Factory there arose, in course of time, another architectural type. An early specimen of the latter was the Manchester Cotton Exchange. (13). Its designers gave to this building certain structural proportions, a shapeliness, a touch of stylistic adornment, all of which were denied to the Factory. Some sense of symbolic fitness, some divining perhaps of future

venerability, inspired the erection (to be sure on a modest scale) of a temple-like structure for this Cotton Exchange. Indeed, is it not to be regarded, in sympathetic retrospect, as a hallowed progenitor of those Financiering Institutions into which the Industrial Era and its Utilitarian Philosophy finally flowered with lavish exuberance in the generation immediately preceding the war? As the manufacture of goods by machinery dominated the first phase of our Industrial Era, so its final phase was marked by an absorbing quest of new markets and an impassioned effort of financiers to "control" existing ones. Thus we note the shifting of emphasis, first from making to selling, and then from trade to finance. Beginning with a glorification of the Factory and the Warehouse, that era closed in a cult of the Exchange and the Bank. This century-long evolution from goods economy to money economy, from fierce rivalry of individuals to fiercer emulation of groups, from business competition to financial monopoly, was, we may say, implicit in the building of that first Cotton Exchange. Pæans of Progress, accompanied by ecstasies of statistics expressed the pride with which each succeeding generation contemplated the earlier phases of this development. Gladstone's phrase, "progress by leaps and bounds," won instant popularity and maintained it, because perfectly adapted to the general mood. There was generated a volume of emotion sufficient to furnish the substance of a veritable religion. And assuredly its multitudinous adherents in press and Parliament, on popular platform and academic rostrum, found a living faith in the doctrine which the Germans call *Manchesterismus*. That old Cotton Exchange is venerable as the primitive temple of this still living faith.

Adam Smith was the observant philosopher who lived during the early stage of this re-birth of romance through manufactures and commerce. He analysed this new "wealth of nations," and drew certain deductions. The grand conclusion he came to was that the pathway of the growing giant should be cleared of every impeding obstacle. The kind of hampering restriction which survived from past social dispensations he had himself experienced in the case of Watt, whose Guild tried to stop the business on which Adam Smith and his friends in Glasgow launched the young mechanic. Political Economy generalised this experience of its founder. Freedom for the manufacturer, freedom for the merchant, freedom for the worker. That was its triple imperative. *Laissez-faire* was the corresponding ideal of national policy. The political idealists of this dispensation were the founders of the Liberal Party. But that is to anticipate.

To return to the economic situation. At first the working

classes shared in the prosperity of the machine era. Where previously the breadwinner of a family brought home ten shillings a week, now in the textile areas the whole domestic circle from young child to aged grandfather became wage-earners, and the family budget might mount to 100 shillings a week or even more. Money circulated freely. Rents rose many times, and the landlords enjoyed in times of peace a prosperity otherwise associated by them with a "good war." As for the operatives, a contemporary observer quaintly remarked, "there are thousands of spinners who eat meat every day, wear broadcloth on the Sunday, and dress their wives and children well, furnish their houses with mahogany and carpets, subscribe to publications, and pass through life with much of humble respectability."

The coarse cottons and shirtings of the earlier factories were soon supplemented by cambrics, muslins, and silk-like stuffs that rivalled in texture the finest fabrics of oriental looms. (14—14[a]). Choice garments previously the privilege of grand ladies and rich merchants' wives were now at the disposal of servant girls, with corresponding enhancement of life and intenser sense of wellbeing. No wonder poets sang the praises of the new "nymph Gossypia"—a phrase invented by Erasmus Darwin in a paper commemorating Arkwright's first water mill in Derbyshire. Orators became eloquent on the dawning of the millenium.

At first the universities held aloof, it is true. But they made amends by giving sanctuary to orthodox Political Economy when, some half a century later, its hold was being weakened by the assaults of heterodox votaries.

Enter, the Liberals and Radicals.

Broadly speaking, all classes joined in bringing to birth the political ideals of the Liberalizing Faith and in accepting its doctrine. A great scheme of Liberation from the fetters of the past was called for. Adam Smith's book voiced this demand, and the science of Political Economy expounded its theory. Statesmen gave themselves to its study, and were proud to be called disciples of the author of the "Wealth of Nations." Pitt, the young Prime Minister, a student of the new revelation, became the political hope of the nation. (15). In a famous picture he was idealized by Blake as the tamer and pilot of Behemoth. At a dinner party Pitt refused to be seated before Adam Smith, remarking with obeisance to the philosopher, "We are all your followers."

A thoroughgoing adaptation of Parliament to liberationist legislation was well begun before the outbreak of the French Revolution. That untoward event did for a moment stimulate the Liberal movement, but soon checked, then reversed it. After the Reaction there was to be sure a return movement of Liberal idealism

which looked to Parliament as a fount of legislative justice. And once in each succeeding generation this returning wave has risen to a crest marked by a Reform Act endowing some new section of the nation with the franchise. The latest of these Acts (1918) has, it is true, coincided with a deep depression of the Liberal Party. But that only proves to what extent their antagonists have absorbed the parliamentary doctrine of Liberalism. There is no need therefore to despair of the Liberal faith.

Across the millenial dream which ushered the dawn of the Industrial Age darkening shadows were thus cast by the social reactions of the French Revolution and their sequel in the Napoleonic wars as well as by other unforeseen events. Yet great fortunes continued to be made by manufacturers and merchants. (16). From these newly-enriched classes had risen political families like the Pitts, and later on came the Peels and the Gladstones. The territorial aristocracy was swelled by an incredible number of recruits. You may reckon a full ten thousand in the list of "county families" enumerated in the "Road Books," those Bradshaws and A. B. C. Guides of the spacious coaching days. But unprecedented poverty, hardship and degradation became the lot of the working classes. And it seemed, as a radical critic remarked, Adam Smith's book of revelation should have been called "The Poverty of Nations and the Wealth of Individuals." Yet the working classes clung pathetically to the ideals of the liberationist era. Liberty, however, was now demanded by them for a different purpose. What they wanted was freedom to combine for higher wages. For that purpose they needed and demanded the use of the Strike. (16[a]). The theory and practice of the Strike in relation to money wages absorbed the intellectual energies of Labour Leaders. Both the Strike and the wages it acquired or failed to acquire were regarded in what might be called the Parliamentary sense, so deeply had this habit of mind taken root, even in the working classes. The Trade Unionists as they won their "Rights" increasingly used them according to the Parliamentary method. An assembly of delegates elected on the Representative Principle and with a working procedure of Resolutions, Votes, and the eloquence of advocacy, the Trade Union became a Parliament in little. It was linked with the Great Parliament by the doctrine of Radicalism. Thus the Rights of the People countered the Rights of the manufacturing and middle classes. The political warfare between Liberalism and Radicalism exhibited the intensity of strife between sects of the same general doctrine. This inter-group struggle of Liberals and Radicals was, of course, frequently suspended for combination against parties and interests that stood in the way of both. It was, for instance, their joint effort that won the Free Trade victory under Cobden and Bright. (16[b]).

That culminating triumph of economic freedom was doubtless aided not a little by the simultaneous coming of the Railway Age, for this was a veritable re-birth of the mechanical idealism of the 18th century. (17). Hence a double commemoration found expression in architecture and town-planning. In the temple-like Palace of Crystal, which housed the Great Exhibition of 1851, pride in goods of mechanical production not only expressed itself, but stimulated that vogue of plate-glass for shopfronts which soon became a dominant feature of urban architecture throughout western civilisation. It has even been asserted with some appearance of truth, that the two most representative products of our later industrial age have been plate-glass and soot; the one element of progress being clearly relative to the other. But putting oneself back in imagination with the idealists of the early railway age, one recognises the renewed enthusiasm of power and re-awakening to dramatic issues. These impulses signalised themselves in the cyclopean buildings of terminal stations, enhanced it might be by monumental gateways like that at Euston. (18). Frith's painting of the Great Western Terminus at Paddington has become a historic picture which we regard with languid cynicism or even with disgust as the predecessor of our abominable "Smoke Halls." (18a) But in the mind of its contemporaries Frith's painting excited a storm of interest and a passion of admiration.

Thus to the first Industrial Revolution succeeded a second hardly less fervid and far-reaching, for the reaction of the railway on civilisation has been comparable in its magnitude to that of the Factory. But this one has been observed and interpreted, not so much by the utilitarian as by other types of philosopher, of whom Mr. H. G. Wells is a notable example.

The Moneyspinners and their Deity.

Amongst the private fortunes made out of the public misfortunes of the Napoleonic wars, was that of an amiable London stockbroker, one David Ricardo, son of a Dutch Jew. (19). In the economic record he comes next in apostolic succession to Adam Smith. Slight as are his writings, modest his thought, narrow the range of his knowledge, yet it is probable that Ricardo contributed more than any other single individual to the final shaping of utilitarianism into a Spiritual Power for the Industrial Era. To understand so unusual a conjuncture two things must be borne in mind. One is that in the evolution of the industrial era there was, as we have said, a progressive shifting of emphasis from manufacture to trading and from trading to finance. The other is as to the peculiar nature of the stockbroker's part in the community. The first of these considerations if not self-evident, rests upon

testimony of which some part is embodied in the substance of this Paper. As to the second consideration, a little reflection on the well-known activities of the stockbroker will suffice. Dealing in the most abstract items of the economic process, he soon learns to contemplate money with a certain detachment and intensity of thought. The nature of money, the ways of money, the forms of money, are what engross his mind all the time. And since his is a business of the most rudimentary organisation, and practically without physical exertion, his occupation comes to be, in effect, that of the contemplative life. In other words, the city offices of stockbrokers are a veritable nest of hermits' cells. (20). Given a man of the generalizing habit of mind, and with the inspiration of appropriate contacts, it is clear that from one of these cells of the moneyspinners will issue a philosophy of money. David Ricardo was that philosopher. During an enforced holiday at Bath the young man chanced to come upon the "Wealth of Nations." This book seized on his imagination like an apocalyse. Its problems became a main interest of his life. His own contribution to the new "science" was naturally in terms of his personal milieu and occupation. He switched the line of discussion from the manufacturers and commerce of Adam Smith into an abstract field of Capital and Labour. With fine finish he carved and set up in the market place a grand and imposing idol named CAPITAL, avid of costly ritual and entitled to copious first fruits and rich sacrifices, in return for inestimable benefactions in the founding of industries and the promoting of Wealth. In its open palm he put a form named LABOUR, an insignificant wooden figure, roughly chiselled, a mere symbol of service ancillary to Capital, and therefore needing nothing more than an occasional coat of paint and other trifling attention embraced in "costs of maintenance." The market place where Ricardo imaged the rise of his statuary should rather be called a Forum, so spacious is the place; so replete with monumental buildings. One of them is an immense grey temple of classical model. (20[a]). It was built by Soane, a notable architect, contemporary of Ricardo, for the Bank of England. But clearly the design of Sir John Soane is incomplete without the Ricardian conception of a colossal Jupiter Capitalinus, seated on a throne of bullion, supporting in his right hand, not a winged Victory, but a lame Vulcan, in his left a sceptre topped by the golden calf, and on his brow a wreath of laurel, the homage of "city" editors and literary bankers. [1]

1. The picture of Jupiter Capitalinus and his Temple in the Forum which should here reinforce the argument cannot be given; and for a reason which is perhaps more of the nature of symptom than accident. The artist engaged on this series of cartoons was before their conclusion subjected to a form of taboo which temporarily debars his pencil from social criticism. This inhibition, needless to say, was not the ostensible ground of the taboo. This process of elimination works otherwise.

The Ricardian economics, if it was not in form a doctrine of money, yet soon became one in practical use and popular exposition. It therefore ignored the Labourer when it did not openly belittle him. It rapidly won adherents in the higher circles of the political, social and industrial world. It appealed to the manufacturer because for him, Capital was his plant, buildings and stock. And this capital enabled him to draw Profits from the bountiful cornucopia of nature. It appealed to the owners of bonds, mortgages, stocks and shares, because for them Capital was invested money, which, on Ricardo's theory, stood to earn, in addition to the customary "interest" an unlimited increment in the expanding progress of industry. It even appealed to landlords, because, at a time when the bowels of the earth were being ransacked for coal and metals, every estate owner lived in the expectation of finding himself the possessor of underground Capital. Thus the landlords were doubly indebted to Ricardo; for his glorification of capital as well as for his famous theory of rent. Under such social patronage political economy continued its triumphant march in the world of the well-to-do classes, and in its mellowing phase, as we have seen, penetrated the universities and was there endowed in perpetuity. From academic chairs the facts and outlook of Adam Smith were interpreted by the doctrine of Ricardo, and developed by successive commentators, continuators and renovators into a system of instruction for budding leaders in politics, industry, law and journalism.

The Prophet of Socialism.

It is time to turn to the critics of political economy. By way of contrasting this heterodoxy with that orthodoxy, let us recall two divergent Jewish traditions. (21). One is of Him who expelled the money changers from the Temple, the other is of the money changers. The Ricardian economics emanated, as we saw, from the Stock Exchange and the Bank. (22). Of those august institutions it cannot, of course, be said that they are money changers' stalls in the Temple. But can it be denied that for the six working days of "the city" as recent times have known it, this Bank and its Stock Exchange *are* the Temple? (23).

A generation or so after Ricardo there appeared in London another Jew, and not of the financial tradition, but rather of that other one. (24). In all respects, except a studious interest in the "science" of Political Economy the careers of Karl Marx and David Ricardo are sharply opposed. Marx encamped, not in the city of golden dreams, but in a mean street of Soho, that miniature east end, encircled in the west end. Marx made no fortune, and founded no territorial family, but saw his children die of want in a penurious garret. True, the gratitude of a later generation of adherents has expressed itself in a magnificent gesture; for it was

announced from Petrograd early in the Bolshevik *régime* that by way of homage to its German prophet, the Soviet Government had voted a round million roubles for a statue to Marx and an endowment for his descendants.

Let us pause to examine what it was that Marx saw as he walked the streets of London, struggling bread-winner of an impoverished family; student of life, interpreter of labour. From what observed data, for instance, did he derive those two concepts the Class War and the Proletarian Dictature, whose glow has lighted the path of his disciples and turned them into bands of crusaders, now swollen to multitudes, even to whole populations? (25). In the eastend he watched the stream of immigrants flowing into the metropolitan vortex, not only aliens from the continent, but labourers and their families from the shires of the Home Counties and beyond. Occupation of a sort awaited each family; the sweating dens for men and women, and for the children the career of street *gamin*, or Thames-side mud-lark. But the pleasures and the gaieties of life are by no means absent from the east end. (26). In the Saturnalia of the young men the Dionysiac spirit awakes to the call of the concertina. A never-failing break in the diurnal monotony is supplied by the perennial drama of the police court and the resulting demonology of the evening newspaper. The women and children have their great summer festival and rural exodus for hop-picking. Every Sunday forenoon is a Jews market which has grown to be a veritable fair on a vast scale, filling whole streets with wares of oriental splendour. But these vicarious delights perchance weary the adult males of the Christian community, so for them the tedium of Sabbath morn is relieved by an expectant sojourn outside the public-house, pending its statutory hour of opening. Finally, when everything else palls, there is that last resource against boredom, the mild excitement of a flitting. Such are the leisure equivalents of the breadwinning occupations which their sordid milieu forces on the Eastenders.

From the factories, workshops, warehouses and docks of the Eastend flows all day a stream of loaded lorries, vans, carts. (27). This stream passes through "the city" to its predestined purpose in the Westend. Here, then, in the vivid concrete, was daily presented to the inquisitive eyes of Karl Marx a sample of the economists' "Production," "Distribution," "Consumption." The part of the east end and of the west end in the process is manifest. The artisans, labourers, sailors, dockers, watermen, carters, vanmen of the east produce or distribute the goods; the ladies and gentlemen of the west, with their associated and dependent train consume the goods. Where then, and what is the part of "Capital" for which "the city" stands? At first sight it looks as if "the city's" part were a mystical one, extracting, by some invisible hand, toll and

tribute as the goods pass in their transit from east to west. But on closer inspection the manner of the operation is discoverable and the service rendered by capital is disclosed.

When your tailor sends you a new suit of clothes it is accompanied or followed by a bill. In the language of the accountant (which is a useful aid to thinking, because it is in general terms), the tailor's bill is a debit note. You send back to the tailor your cheque which similarly is a credit note. The debit and credit notes thus exchanged are private documents. They are the concern of you and your tailor alone. But in the course of twenty-four hours or so your cheque passes through one of the bankers' Clearing Houses and thereupon its amount is duly credited to the tailor in the ledger of *his* bankers. (28).

Now it is of the first importance to understand what this "clearing" of cheques means. It means, in effect, that there have been transferred from one person to another a certain call on the output of the community at large. Reflect for a moment on what it means to have a credit balance at your bank. That balance is a sum which at pleasure you can draw out in legal tender currency. And legal tender currency is nothing but credit tokens to which custom backed by law, gives the standing of public credit, *i.e.*, a call on the output of the community. Now what is the banker's part in this traffic? It is manifold. But there is one element in it of central significance. (29) The banker makes it his business to buy certain kinds of private debit notes and sell tokens which are public credit notes, called for short money. It is this which Marx saw. He saw the banker as a particular kind of merchant and consequently employing "capital" in a particular way.

The banker, like other merchants, has a stock of goods. His stock or capital is a multifarious assortment of public credit notes, and private debit notes. For his craft skill, in dealing on the basis of his stock of goods and the credit of his group, the banker gets his remuneration in the form of "discount," "interest," or "commission." But his stock as capital is like other forms of capital, in that it calls for vigilance in the maintenance of its quantity and its value. The attendant risks are virtually insurable, and so the cost of maintaining this capital is a definite and calculable rate. Perhaps one-tenth of one per cent. would cover the risk. Thus we see, that so far the toll taken by the "city" from the passage of goods in transit, whether from eastend to westend, or elsewhere, is made up of two elements. First there is the payment to the Banker for his craft skill, which certainly ought not to be less than what is earned by a first-rate workshop foreman or by the manager of a co-operative store. Next there is the insurance rate for maintaining his stock of goods. But the total of those two items is only a small fraction of the banker's gross tribute. How account for

the balance? If it is true, as Ricardo taught, that capital plays an initiating part in the economic cycle, then something is payable to the banker on that score. But is it true?

In some such way we can imagine Marx teasing out the problem of "Capital" as he saw it in "the city" and the Eastend. There grew up in his mind a view of the situation which was the reverse of Ricardo's. In effect he replied to Ricardo: "You have misplaced the labels on your deities of the marketplace. The real name of your colossal figure is not Capital but Labour. And if the natural order of things took its course, the mannikin in the hand of Labour would be Capital." Thus the upshot of the Marxian economics is to turn Ricardo's argument inside out as in pulling off a stocking. Labour and Capital are factors in production, and must therefore be maintained out of production. The surplus goes, or should go, to that which initiated the cycle, and this, argued Marx, is not Capital, but Labour. Since, however, the surplus does, in point of fact, go to Capital, how account for this reversal of the natural process? And further, how restore to Labour the rightful reward of which it has been, and is being robbed? The answer to these two questions became his life quest. His great work, begun as "A Criticism of Political Economy," turned as it went on into "Das Kapital," that Bible of countless men and women of advanced politics everywhere. He sought answers to his problems from two main sources. One was historic investigation carried on through long and patient years in the British Museum. The other, we may imagine, to have been the observations of his walks in London. Of the things and people as he saw them in the eastend, and in the city we have taken a glimpse. How did the westend appear to him? Doubtless as the paradise of the "consumer," in sharpest contrast to the limbo of the producer in the eastend. Now the consumer, *par excellence*, is the "lady." This bird of bright pilgrimage, during her "season in town" has a daily round marked by "the performance of leisure," as that clear-sighted economist, Mr. Thorstein Veblen, calls it. To take a few illustrative scenes, as they might be witnessed in the last years of Marx, during the '80's of the 19th century. It was then he was struggling with the latter volumes of "Das Kapital," those which were edited and published by his friend, Engels, after Marx's death.

(30). Before a mansion in one of the fashionable squares stands an equipage which society journalists call "smart." That implies, amongst other meritorious qualities, that horses, harness, woodwork, and metal all shine with a polish necessitating muscular exertion capable, perhaps, of cultivating a smallholding. The front door of the mansion swings open, and one of the ladies of the household descends. She is attended by two footmen, resplendent

in archaic attire; a third in a soberer livery opens the carriage door. The function of these three servitors in the social scheme is to exhibit and make manifest to the world at large the lady's status by a display of "conspicuous waste," as Mr. Veblen calls it. The first stoppage, perhaps, is at a modiste of Bond Street, there to inspect and try on a thing of beauty designed by an artist evidently to crown an Olympian goddess, which, to be sure, is precisely what the lady is. And so from place to place we might follow her daily "performance of leisure," now in the hands of the manicurist, again at a party, fête or wedding, now at a club lunch, again at Hurlingham or at the opera, and finally refreshing exhausted nature by the fifth or sixth meal of the day at a midnight supper in the Savoy Hotel.

The male of this species is sometimes more and sometimes less strenuous than the female in the "performance of leisure." An example of the former is the "sportsman." That is a type as well known as it is highly appreciated. The London crowd places it at the very topmost pinnacle of popularity. (31). An example of the less strenuous type is the clubman. As he was in the days of Marx, he remained till 1914, and is still in the older and more venerable specimens. But to recall him in his prime, as the contemporary counterpart of the "lady" of the '80's of the last century. About noon you might see him, groomed to a pitch of perfection, descending from a hansom: a massive servitor solemnly opens the club doors; a clerkly servitor takes silent and respectful note of the member's name and entry; an alert page boy hastens to relieve him of his hat and stick. In the older clubs of high repute an adult male replaces the page boy in aiding the other servitors to display "conspicuous waste" in the "vicarious performance of leisure." Our clubman saunters into the reading room. There the tedium of waiting for lunch is relieved by a luxuriously-upholstered armchair and a newspaper impartially devoted to sport, politics, finance, scandal, and war. Luncheon is a feast for the mind no less than the mouth. It is prepared with all the resource and art of a chef paid at the rate of a headmaster, and served in silence with an exquisite finish of courtly gesture. It is followed by a choice alcoholic aid to digestion, brewed in a far-away monastery, from a recipe of long-guarded secrets. The repast terminates with a gentle stimulus to the torpid soul concocted from Arabian berries. In the afternoon there is polo or similar resource of muscular fitness for the younger clubman, and the game supplies a mild excitement to seniors and lady friends as spectators. A long-protracted dinner-party in a westend mansion occupies the earlier part of the clubman's evening, and over the later part decency draws her veil.

(32). In a walk from Trafalgar Square through Pall Mall, St.

James' Street, and Piccadilly to Hyde Park, you see not one, two or three, but dozens of these palaces of Olympus, in which the plebeian "pub" is transformed into the patrician club.

(33). The House of Commons has been called the "finest club in London." But that is to treat ironically the very Ark of the British Covenant, its CONSTITUTION. Yet assuredly there is little excuse for withholding veneration from this sublime growth of the ages, since historians disclosed its ancient pedigree, and jurists revealed the true theory of its working. The former have, with infinite industry of research, traced its roots back into the dim past until these are discerned even penetrating the soil of the primeval German Forests, hallowed ground to our leading race-theorists, and their recently innumerable following. The jurists, on their side, have shown by ingenious analysis how the adequate working of the Constitution is dependent on the instincts and habits of our Governing and Administrative Classes. To say nothing more of that immemorial Home of Freedom, the German Forests, we must nevertheless pause upon the constitutional significance of the Governing and Administrative Classes. For, accepting the maintenance of the Constitution as an ideal of national policy, one begins to see in the association of these classes with Parliament and its executive offices, a justification of that otherwise inexplicably large consumption of goods and services by the Westend of the Metropolis. How natural, therefore, that the element of ceremony, so little marked in other clubs, should be conspicuous in the Houses of Parliament. Consider, for instance, the experiences of a "provincial" constituent in making a call on his M.P. at Westminister. (34). After running the gauntlet of a double row of columnar policemen he finds himself in an outer hall called "The Lobby." That is the modest designation of a vast central chamber with many corridors, the whole displaying the splendour of a mosque and the proportions of cathedral aisles. (35). Here the constituent is left for a while to ruminate on the dignity and splendour of parliamentary life; for if these be the outer courts what must be the inner sanctuaries! (36). The reflections of the constituent are disturbed by a cry, "hats off; the Speaker comes." There enters a stately procession of figures made majestic by the insignia of authority and the habiliments of archaic ritual. That is how the august and pontifical Speaker is conducted to his dais in the Lower Chamber. By these and other well-devised ceremonies is made manifest to constituents and to the world at large the potent mystery called Legislation.

All these things doubtless were well observed by Karl Marx. Nor would other aspects of the legislative mystery, less in evidence, escape his attention? Its mode of working, for instance. (37).

Wearied by their legislative labours, M.P.'s retire for rest and refreshment to the smoking room or other less strenuous parts of the many-chambered house. But their repose is disturbed by the imperative summons of the "division bell." Instantly follows a scene of bustling activity. Cigars are extinguished and put aside; teacups are hurriedly emptied; there is a rush to the door, each member eager to enter the division lobby and so contribute his share to the decision of the legislature on a national question.

The particular question is (to take an average sample), shall the Grand Track Railway Company be allowed to drive its line into the town of Mudford, already served by two other railways? Now the working of the Parliamentary system is such that, summoned by the division bell from smoking room, dining hall and lobbies, members often do not know what the particular question is until after they have recorded their vote. But this does not preclude a wise decision by Parliament as to whether Mudford shall be blessed or cursed by a third railway terminus. So potent for penetrating to the heart of things are the inherent qualities of the Party System and the Representative Principle. These two mystical entities are respectively the active and the passive elements of parliamentary life. They are the male and female elements which combine to sustain and renew the vitality of parliamentary institutions. But to maintain with vigour the warfare of parties by hurling rhetorical thunderbolts across the floor of the house all the time is a fatiguing business. Hence the need for relaxation after the close of the sitting. Then the party champions put aside their weapons, and may be seen departing from the arena in friendly groups, Liberals, Tories and Radicals united in pleasing fraternity.

An institution displaying such an array of qualities was bound to spread through the modernized world. (38). So the "Mother of Parliaments" bred a family of daughters handsomely installed in the national capitals from Washington to Buda-Pesth. (39).

All these things Marx saw, and saw through. But not with complete understanding. His mind was too severely handicapped. The embitterment of poverty does not conduce to clarity of insight, and still less perhaps does the logic of Hegel. Make a marriage between the abstractions of Ricardo and the metaphysics of Hegel, rear their offspring in that sepulchre of dessicated erudition, the British Museum Library; and you ensure a progeny of fallacies. Give a further education in the international school of revolutionary intrigue, and you create a forcing bed of subversive politics. Those who grow up in such a milieu of mind and body, can hardly fail to generalize the contrast of Eastend and Westend into the shattering ethic of a Class War *à outrance*. They can hardly fail of an impassioned desire to substitute for the Dictatorship of Capital implicit in the Ricardian economics, a Dictatorship of Labour.

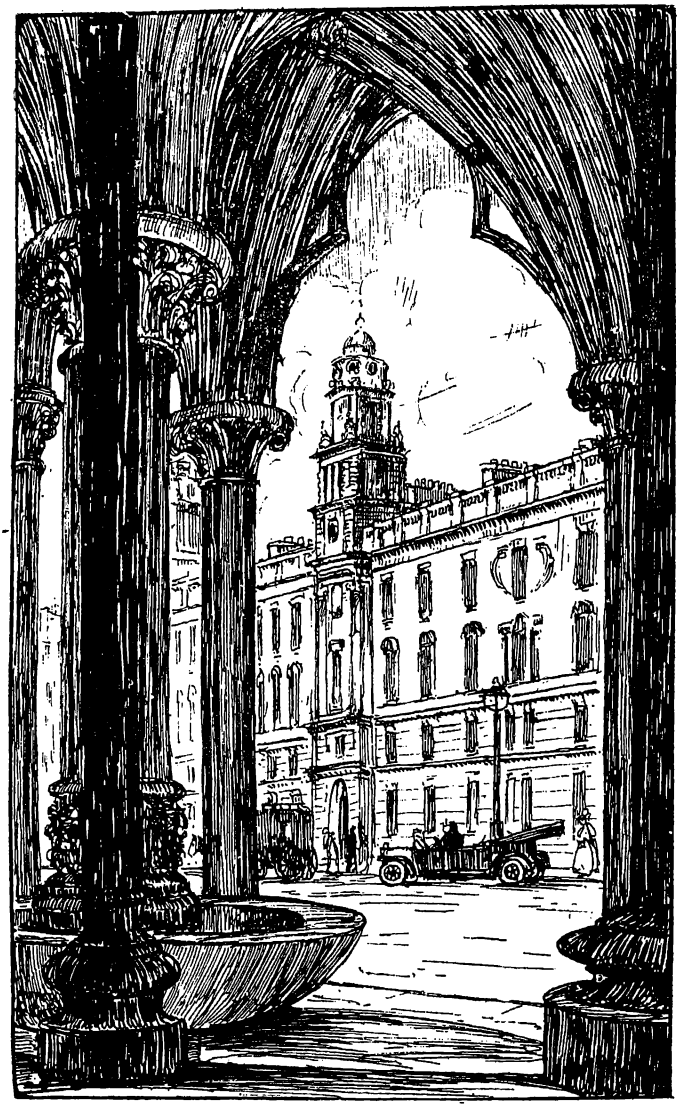
THE IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR *KULTUR*.

Karl Marx lived long enough to see the waning of Parliaments and the rise into foremost prominence of another type of governmental organisation. In Westminster he saw the new palaces of bueaucracy rise and spread along Whitehall. Each of these was for Marx a Ministry of Government in no mere formal sense. And if the officials ministered less to the needs of the "People" than to the desires of a class, that was no fault of the system. It was an aspect of the class war capable of reversion in the final victory of the People. And indeed, it does seem, on the face of things, as though these busy hives of trained and conscientious officials completed and crowned the edifice of State-Government.

In the evolution of the modern State a stage was marked by the rise of Parliament. It stood for the transition from the feudal age. But this transition has fallen short of full attainment. The Parliamentary System has consequently remained imperfect because marred by mediæval survivals. (40). Hence the symbolism of the vista presented to the gaze as you contemplate the "Mother of Parliaments" in all the majesty of its spacious architecture. There is a blot in the background of the picture, for there the towers of the mediæval abbey intrude. To eliminate all such intrusive survivals has been an inspiring quest of the Liberal tradition. Now the modernized Ministry, though not to be credited directly to Liberalism, has nevertheless developed in logical post-Liberal sequence. (41). If a date be wanted for the historic advent of the Ministry as we understand that term to-day, one may perhaps point to the substitution, about mid-nineteenth century, of the India Office for the city company which was the parent of our Oriental Empire. (42). Of the East India Company itself the real representative is the old trading fort. From that half military half mercantile origin, the distance is not immeasurable to the Colonial and Foreign Offices, which are part of the same vast edifice that houses the India Office. (43). But its immensity is outranged by the adjacent block which accommodates the Local Government Board and the Education Department, with a southern frontage of some seven hundred feet. (44).

The architecture of all these offices of our centralised administration is appropriately free from trace of Gothic influence. It is, on the contrary, if not entirely classical, yet certainly middle classical. How remote from the thoughts of their busy occupants the pointed arch and the habit of mind that went with it let a veracious anecdote tell. (45). An artist, on the look out for civic vistas, sketched a turret of the Local Government Board as seen through the pointed arch of the drinking fountain in Parliament Square. He happened to show this picture to an official, who during many years' service had passed daily through Parliament Square to and from his office.

"Charming picture," said the official, "quite a happy thought to have invented the arch of the drinking fountain to frame the Tower." "But, replied the astonished artist, "don't you recognise that it's a drawing of the actual fountain and arch?" There-

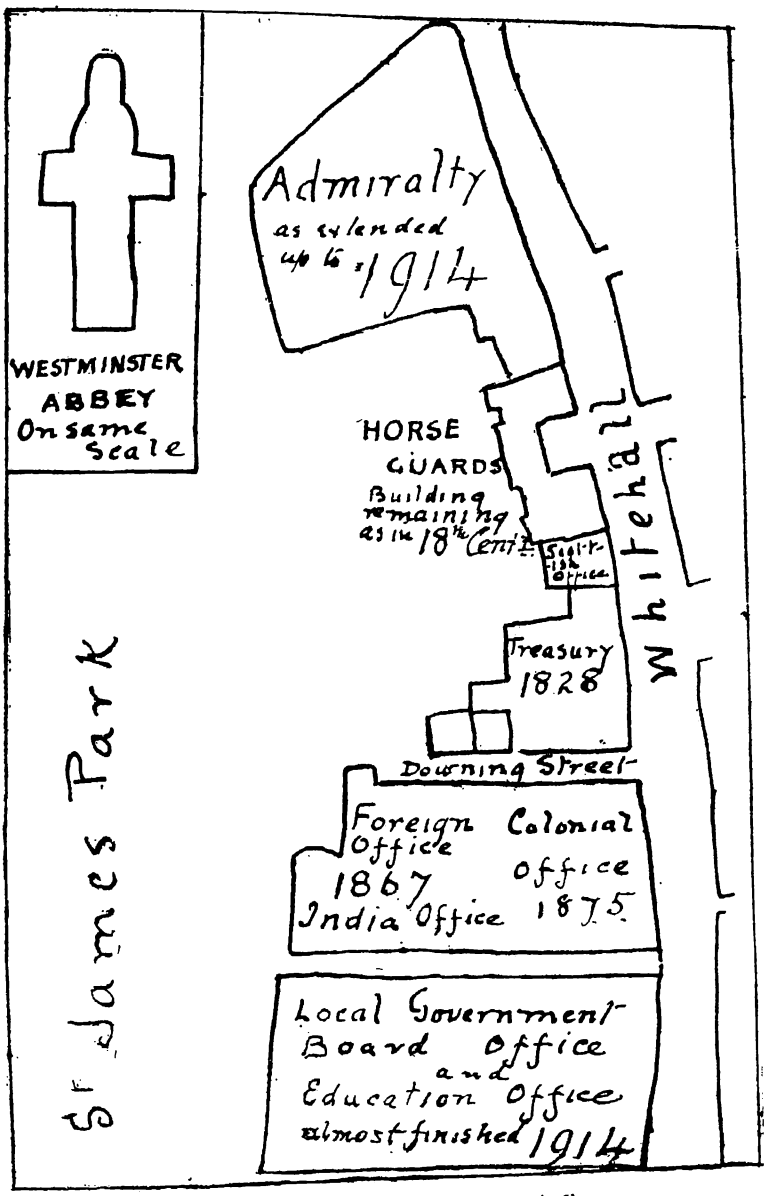


BEYOND THE BUREAUCRAT'S PURVIEW (45).

upon ensued a little discussion which elicited from the official the fact that he had, in the course of his Government service passed by this fountain over ten thousand times without noticing that it was there! To describe this kind of unseeing mind generated by the

life of bureaucracy, the epithet "empapered" has been invented.

(46). In summary of the growth of State Bureaucracy, regard the profile of Whitehall towards St. James' Park. The original bureacratic mouth that took the first bite out of the Park was the



THE PROFILE OF BUREAUCRACY (46).

Horse Guards building. The two jaws of this mouth have, it will be observed, grown outwards and forwards, stage by stage, until they threaten to engulf the whole Park. Prior to the outbreak of

war in 1914, the upper or naval jaw had failed to keep pace with the lower or civil jaw. By throwing out in the war a front tooth of several hundred feet in length the naval jaw has penetrated the body of the Park far beyond the civilian. Added to the diagram and represented on the same scale, this naval incisor would run well into the next page.

(47). These great Departmental Offices exhibit in the undesigned symbolism of architecture, the spirit of their characteristic activities. The War Office, for instance, has its turrets crowned with Prussian-like helmets (not the flattened kind, but those of the Prussian Guard); while the Admiralty Building across the way is crowned by a wireless installation which might at a distance be mistaken for a ship's mast and rigging. (48). This wireless installation is the central nerve ganglion of our vast maritime empire, and when you map out the provinces of this as organs directed from that ganglion, you produce the very diagram of Imperial Bureaucracy. (49). You have before you a literally world-wide organisation, expanding from and contracting into a metropolitan bureau. Insufficiently recognising the services to humanity of this particular organisation, some of our foreign critics have, under the title of navalism even compared it to continental militarism.

Empires are won otherwise; but they are maintained by bureaucracies. The founder of modern bureaucracy was Napoleon. Having conquered an empire, he was faced with the task of consolidating and organising, in a word, maintaining it. The question was, how make permanent the temporary centralisation created by war? The answer was found in bringing into being a hierarchy of officials, inspectors, examiners, instructors, drill sergeants, tax collectors, and other varieties of Functionary. Subsequent imitators and organisers of Empire have been the followers and continuators of Napoleon, whether like Bismarck, Crispi and Tisza in European statecraft, like Rhodes or Strathcona, in colonization, like Rockefeller or Carnegie in world commerce. Portraits of Napoleon adorn the office walls of business magnates in America and England with a frequency of unmistakable significance. These Napoleons of "big business" develop in a régime of scheming and fighting for "control" which differs from the strategy and tactics of war essentially in one respect. The soldier uses open force to win glory; booty being incidental. The man of "big business" is not above having recourse to masked fraud for the making of profit, prestige being incidental. Hence the pursuit of "world dominion" in the steel market or in the oil market may be described as a Napoleonic ambition whose fulfilment calls for some of the military virtues and more of the military vices.

(50). The long personal duel of Pitt and Napoleon ended in the death of the former, who succumbed, we may say, to the crush-

ing news of Austerlitz. With Pitt died the greatness of Parliament. But another two or three generations of ferment were needed to adapt the type of government which had by war and trade won a world-wide empire to its maintenance and administration. In this progressive development of political institutions names like Gladstone and Campbell-Bannerman stand for the maintenance of Liberalism in its pristine purity. Rosebery, Asquith, Grey and Haldane are intermediate types, correctly calling themselves Liberal-Imperialists. Amongst the fully-developed personalities of this political series, the names of Disraeli, Chamberlain, Curzon and Milner are landmarks. (51). And of these the greatest has his festival on Primrose Day. Others who have contributed in their kind are Seely, our leading historian of Empire, and Kipling its bard. (52). Again, beyond all these are imperial statesmen differentiated towards the financial type. An early specimen was the first Lord Goschen. As internationalist financier he won fame by modernizing the part of Joseph in Egypt. Adding politics to finance, he made the advance from Liberalism to Imperialism at a time when that political progress still had its detractors. For this pioneering he suffered the mild impeachment of being stigmatized as "Jingoschen." These intermediate types who link Empire and Finance would perhaps be found more numerous than is commonly realized, if one studied not only the Directory of Directors, but also the file of investors at Somerset House, and particularly if the real names were always filed instead (frequently) of substitutes. True a common concern in the expansion of markets and their control is far from implying a concurrence of the imperialist and the financier, since their methods are different and even opposed. But there are those who, like the late Lord Cromer, develop each method to that high level where the two meet and blend. (53). And from his portrait one may gain a clue to the qualities required for harmonizing the divergent ideals of unhampered private "control" of markets by financial co-ordination on the one hand, and on the other their public ordering by State Administration. As you contemplate the strong but unimaginative face of Lord Cromer, you are not inclined to doubt the word of his biographer, who remarks that in his administration of Orientals Lord Cromer was not biassed by pre-occupation with the mysticism of the East.

To satisfy the spiritual needs of the imperial era, the resources of culture require adaptation rather than enlargement. Compare for instance, the Imperialist Press with that of the antecedent Liberal era. The latter was characterized by the sobriety of its reporting, and, in its editorial columns, by the interpretative essay of solemn and prescribed form. But a generation which purchased, read, memorized and absorbed about 200,000 copies of

"Barrack Room Ballads" called for something more enlivening than correctitude in news and its daily interpretation by the dim light of utilitarian philosophy. So news caterers imported from America, what twenty years ago was called "yellow journalism," and to-day "the stunt press." The daily and weekly examples of the latter vie with each other in the selection and presentation of "live" topics. (54). Assuredly scant justice is done to the selective skill of the "stunt" journalist in a recent couplet:—

> "The matutinal rumour and the vespertinal lie
> Which adorn the lucubrations of the press."

The real advance made by this newer journalist is clear. He forms and directs public opinion less by the argument of the leading article than by the emotion of the news column. His principles are two. First that one man who throws his chair out of the window is of more interest to the public than thousands who use it in the ordinary way. Secondly that herd instincts respond most promptly to the primal impulses of fear and hunger. But these are driving forces of Empire, perhaps the main ones. So the imperial journalist manages to serve his God and also Mammon; since there is more profit and quicker return in selling the warm stuff of emotion than in bartering the cold logic of intellect.

A similar adaptation may be observed in the theatre. The drama of the Liberal era was less dull than its leading articles, but just as mechanical. (55). Approach from the rear certain of the larger and more ambitious theatres built at that time, and you would undoubtedly mistake them for factories. Entering by the back door one would receive instant confirmation of that impression. (56). For on all sides there is a complexity of machinery like that of a cotton mill, and presumably requiring almost as much engine power to work it. Contrast with this scene behind the scenes, one of those re-constructed pictures of the Greek Theatre, and a clue is furnished for an understanding of the difference between Sophocles and the composers of revues. It is these latter who have adapted the apparatus of the older playhouse to contemporary tastes. Broadly the adjustment has been made by transforming the theatre into a Music Hall. Choose a few at random from current titles of theatrical plays, and put them side by side with the names of Music Hall revues. (57). What, for instance, is to inform you which piece is running at a theatre and which at a Music Hall as between (say) "Tails Up" and "A Box of Tricks"!? (58). The probable inference that the former was a Music Hall performance and the latter a theatrical one would be incorrect.

A snatch of song from the latter of these two dramatic compositions is worth citing, because the London crowd chose it, by

some instinct of fitness, as an ode of victory to celebrate the armistice :—

"I love her, yes I love her, yes I love
her, yes I do.
I love her, yes I love her, when I've
had one or two.
When I've had three or fow-er,
I love her mow-er and mow-er,
Ireland is the place for Irish Stew."

From noblest dance to shrillest shriek, infinitely varied are the forms which have throughout history given expression to the mænadic instincts of woman and their answering echo in the soul of man. But new modes, it is apparent, remained for invention by the imperial psychosis of the modern metropolis.

The People : their Housing and Education.

From their Ministries at home and their Pro-consulates in the Crown Dominions the Governing and Administrative Classes order the lives of the People with an ever-increasing efficiency. To take a familiar example which illustrates this and other tendencies. There may be a certain restriction in amplitude of houseroom when the worker and his family move from the old-fashioned self-contained house into a flat of the latest model in tenements. (59). But admirable codes of bye-laws for the administration of these tenements make amends. Amongst the many economies thus effected not the least is a decrease in the number of beer and spirit licences, since a single public-house, well placed at a street corner facing the tenements, serves a greatly increased number of customers. From those who tread the path of Empire many sacrifices are called for. Be they on never so modest a peace-footing, yet armies and navies are a drain on the common larder. (60). Statisticians thus sometimes show us pictorially by streams of laden waggons, lorries and carts what the provisioning of a Dreadnought means. When he contemplates such pictures, the patriotic tenement dweller is thrilled by that touch of ecstasy which the sense of his sacrifice arouses in the true devotee. Another moving spectacle is furnished by the barracks which multiply with the march of Empire. But this particular appeal speaks perhaps rather to the daughters of the tenements. It belongs more to the analytical mind of man to observe and interpret the strange similarity in structural type that seems to unite the tenements and barracks as the respective civil and military halves of the same social whole.

To perfect the working of the imperial system, educational adjustments are, of course, necessary. The educational problem of bureaucracy is not difficult to state. Given a self-renewing body

of conscientious functionaries, find the type of general education through which the system may be administered with least friction. Two conditions are essential. There must be a certain uniformity of mental pattern throughout the governed. Secondly their disciplined docility must be ensured. Hence the development of compulsory schooling directed to these ends. The knowledge taught must be standardized in reference to official codes, and it must be

THE LEARNING OF THE SCHOOLS (64).

memorized in such wise as to obliterate spontaneous tendencies to critical thought and substitute therefor a fixed habit of acceptance towards official suggestion. An associated method of physical drill and prolonged daily confinement in an unstimulating milieu are manifest further scholastic requirements. A very considerable measure of success rewards the efforts of our imperial bureaucrats to attain these educational ideals. (61). Observe, in illustration, the playgrounds attached to our elementary schools. The children are protected against the disturbing influences of the outside world by a high wall, reinforced often by a *cheveaux de frise* of barbed wire. Within two kinds of games are played. One is drill and the other a kind of *mêlee*, which travesties the football field, and is, as one might say, a shoving match. They are complementary exercises, imparting in the one case Discipline and in the other Character,—those twin divinities of the English Public School tradition. Again, note how the system pushes its discipline into the home. The mother of Jimmie, aged five and a half, decides to let the child run wild for a term. An inspector calls and demands the child for the schoolmaster. The mother refuses. She is summoned to court and fined, but still refuses, whereupon the inquisitorial process is repeated till discipline is re-established and Jimmie reinterned.

This direction of the child mind by the bureaucracy does not, of course, pass without challenge from other groups with traditional rights in the matter. (62). The clerical groups, for instance, whose rival aims were depicted in a famous cartoon of *Punch*. They contend for the child's soul with a vigour so threatening to its body as to call for the protecting arm of Mr. Punch. Again, there is the Manufacturing Interest and the Landed Interest, whose respective attitude to child life largely determines the educational policy of the Liberal and the Conservative parties. (63). Using, again, the insight of the caricaturist,—this time that of the American *Punch*, the *New York Life*,— we discover the distinction between Liberty and Privilege from the standpoint of the child. The silver-buckled shoe of the Tory Landlord presses a shade less heavily on the child's neck than does the broad-soled boot of the Liberal Capitalist.

In the swirl of all these mighty currents of educational interests the old school of pre-industrial type has naturally gone under. (63a). What it was like we can gather from the paintings of Richard West, who drew its last lingering remnants in mid-nineteenth century. His two pictures, "The Frown," and "The Dame's School," show an institution, which with all its faults was very human. The personality, the temperament, the mood of the dominie was the active educational force for good and ill. To it the child mind responded like the camera plate to light. Contrast with this old-

fashioned dominie the teacher of to-day. The latter's points of superiority are many. But who would dare deny that something vital has been lost? The modern teacher is trained by the State and even touched by the learning of the Schools. But has there not been some weakening of that inspirational contact between youth and age which is the essence of education? To be sure this enfeeblement of the spiritual nexus that binds the generations is far from confined to the elementary teacher. It is hardly less marked in higher education. If we could make a composite portrait of the contemporary teacher from university, secondary school and elementary school what would it be like? Well, has not the modern teacher long suffered a triple agony of academic pedantry, compulsory games, and official codes? (64). Switch, mortar board and gown remain, ink abounds, books multiply, but flesh and blood cannot stand the strain. It is to be feared that the composite figure would be but a skeleton among the cultural ruins of a world made abstract by wiping off the face of our globe both its geographical and its human realities. Perched on a pile of dead erudition, the bird of Pallas stands by, disconsolate, unnourished. The accompanying sketch we owe to the pencil of Mr. Mairet.

That Great Leviathan.

If it was the master mind of Napoleon that laid the foundations of modern bureaucracy, it was the genius of Bismarck that built the model superstructure. (65). Now it is no mere coincidence, but a symbolic event that in seeking for a portrait of Bismarck the first to be found should have been attached to one of Karl Marx. They were more than contemporaries and compatriots. They also had a common faith in the cult of the State. Junker-Politics and Social Democratic Politics are alike to the detached eye of the outside observer in being sects of one great Faith. In a still wider horizon one sees both individualist and socialist forms of the cult drawing their doctrinal inspiration from the same philosophical sources. For the nineteenth century this was the toxic thought of Hegel, taken neat or diluted with the muddy waters of Isis. But its original fount is the philosophy of Hobbes. (66). In these times it is unnecessary to draw directly on this semi-sacred origin. For the ideals of Hobbes penetrate all our minds continuously through the daily press. But look for a moment at the pictorial illustration which Hobbes designed for his title-page. (67). Towering over a fair city and its countryside stands a crowned man-monster, the Leviathan. Ranged on his right are the representative instruments and resources of the Temporal Power—soldiers, cannon, fortresses, the battlefield. To show that all these are at his disposal, the sword of Temporal Authority is put into his right hand. On his

left are ranged the apparatus and influences of Spiritual Authority —churches, universities, schools, and the forked lightning of logic. To show that these also are at his disposal the sceptre of Spiritual Power is put into the left hand of the monster. This Leviathan, all powerful and all wise, is the State, absolute over the individual, body, mind and soul. He is the modern Cæsar Augustus, to whom should be rendered the things that are Cæsar's and likewise the things that are God's.

To retrace our steps along the speculative road that leads from the Industrial Revolution to the Great War. (67[a]). We have seen the original philosophy of "the useful" enlarged by the mechanics of "the fit," interpreted by the economics of Mammon, enriched by the sophistries of Moloch. (67[b]). Thus in our era of civilization great bodies of men have lived and worked, made war and peace, being mainly guided and inspired thereto by a conglomerate doctrine compounded in various proportions of Benthamite Utilitarianism, Herbert Spencerism and its better known variety Darwinism, Ricardian Political Economy and the common mixtures of Hobbes and Hegel. We may have been ignorant of the very names of these "isms" and philosophies, nevertheless they are the cardinal points to which the mind of each of us claiming to be modern has been the magnetic needle. There is the compass by which we have been wont to steer on six days of the week whatever pole star of another heaven drew us on the seventh. In other words, the effective Spiritual Power of the Modern Age has been mainly built out of these doctrinal components. (67[c]). Carried along on the Car of State, this spiritual power has advanced with a movement that seemed to some a triumph of political progress; to others a passage of Juggernaut.

To return to the achievement of Prussia. Given the State as a form of the Absolute, the resulting doctrine was bound to realize itself in deed. The main credit for this creative phase belongs to the Prussian Government under Bismarck. Consequently, it is in Berlin that the outstanding monuments of the State cult occur. There in the pantheon of The Leviathan a central place is rightly given to the colossal statue of Bismarck with all its wealth of allegory and embellishment. How appropriate that a background should be furnished for the Bismarck statue by the façade of that Reichstag which he devised to be his creature. (68). The prophet who prepared the way for Bismarck is doubly commemorated in the Hegel Platz, with its central statue of the great dialectician. (69). And the demi-gods of the system are preserved in marble all along that Assyrioid Way, the *Sieges Allee*. (70). Correspondingly for the People of Berlin there have been provided an equipment of barrack-like tenements and tenement-like barracks far outrivalling

those of Westminster-London, at least so far as these latter had developed up to 1914. (70a, 70b).

But there is no reason in the inherent theory of the State why the detail of organisation should follow precisely the Junker model. Substitute for Junker minister an "expert" administrator and for the conscript army an industrial army. Substitute for the history of Empire and songs of the barracks and music-hall, the history of the People and Songs of Labour. Make these adaptations, and you have a State organisation of popularized type. In short, the ideal of socialism is for the Marxians to take over the organised bureaux of the Imperial State and run them in the interests of the People. The rapidity of certain changes in Berlin, which transformed Imperial Germany into a Democratic State, all, so to speak, within twenty-four hours, is thus in a measure explained. The example of Bolshevik Russia illustrates a more rigid adherence to the theory of the Class War, and consequently the more thoroughgoing substitution of a Proletarian Dictature for one of mingled patrician and bureaucratic elements.

THE DUEL OF ANARCHIST AND FINANCIER.

Thanks to the prestige of the Prussian Government, of Bismarck its protagonist, of Hegel its thinker, and Marx its popularizer and adapter, State Socialism became established as the orthodox faith inspiring progressive politics throughout Western Europe. The anti-state socialists were, so to speak, driven into dissent. But like all nonconformist bodies in active opposition, they throve and multiplied. (71). Thus it has come about that the vague term Anarchism is a covering cloak for dissenting groups and types, so far apart as bomb throwers and *dynamitards* at one end and, at the other, Franciscan humanists like Reclus and Kropotkin. (72). French syndicalism is to be understood as a vigorous central group within the wide and varied anarchist fold. For those interested in the historical development of these groups it may be noted that the contemporary opposition of state-socialists and anti-state syndicalists repeats and continues the original struggle of German versus French influence for control of the old "International."

(73). Between the two hostile camps of advanced labour there is happily a middle party of adjustment and possible reconciliation. This is the party of Guild Socialism which, we may suppose, owes its being to the British tradition of compromise.

But anarchism is more than an offshoot from pristine socialism. It has in it also an element of more spontaneous origin. For anarchism is also a repercussion from that phase of modern life which in the terse language of America is called "big business." As socialism is the people's complement and counterpart to state-bureaucracy, so anarchism is the people's rejoinder to "big

business." Against that Goliath this anarchist David is out with his sledge hammer of Direct Action. (73[a]). But it will be recalled that in a recent encounter with the hosts of the Philistines, the anarchist David did effective execution with the delicate instruments of the electrical craft. (73[b]). It was the occasion of the "light that failed" at the Albert Hall.

There was frequently witnessed during the war the phenomenon of the Disappearing Commodity. On Monday rabbits are plentiful at, say, 2s. 6d. On Tuesday the Government ordains 1s. 6d. as the maximum price. On Wednesday there is not a rabbit to be seen in the shops. But this is merely a dramatic instance of a general custom. The manufacturer speeds up his factory when prices are high, slackens it when they are low. "Big business" is the organisation of the small supply at the high price. To this machinery of the Darwinian ideal, the Americans have contributed most, but all the other nations of the western civilization in degree and kind. For it is the natural and inevitable tendency under our system of production for profit rather than for use. Success in business under this system turns upon skill in limiting the supply to the point where competition of the buyer is keenest. In other words, success depends on steady and continuous application of what Mr. Thorstein Veblen calls "judicious sabotage." And "big business" is the art of combining manufacturers and merchants for the better practise of judicious sabotage.

Increasingly is recognised, in this régime, the value of an apprenticeship to the bank and the stock exchange. These being the generalised markets that touch all others, it is through them that the Combine becomes the monopolist Trust. Big business is, therefore, in effect, a form of Finance. Now the financier is a skilled psychologist. He studies the working of the human mind. It is his business to play upon human weakness. Simultaneously with the limitation of Supply he organises the stimulation of Demand, and so creates a public mind attuned to his blandishments. Hence appear all those modern developments, which its cultivators call the science of Advertisement. As advertiser the man of Big Business hires the pen of the writer and the pencil of the artist. (74). But it is to tell, not the writer's story, nor show the artist's vision, but to serve the salesman. The picture of a handsome athlete, repeated in all your favourite journals, along with the legend that facile princeps cigarettes are at once a tonic and a sedative, persuades you almost that cigarettes and health are interchangeable terms. It is less easy to believe that the abounding vitality of a young queen among women is derived from Messrs. Bolus' purple pills.

In such ways does the advertiser appeal to the athlete and the

æsthete, actual or dormant in each of us. Let the advertiser combine these two grounds of appeal, reinforce them by the academic, salt the mixture with imperialist fervour, and he becomes one of the real spiritual powers of these days. Perhaps that ideal was not absent from the scheming brain of Cecil Rhodes, when he ordained that part of his munificent legacy to Oxford should go towards extending his old College to the main thoroughfare of the city and there providing it with an imposing façade. For Mr. Rhodes was more than an imperialist financier. He was representative of his times in amazingly complete fashion. Cosmopolitan in finance, imperialist in foreign policy, Home Ruler and therefore of the Liberal tradition in domestic policy, he combined in himself the three great temporalities of his age. And the greatest of these is finance, because the financier has achieved the highest perfection of finish in the corresponding spirituality, which is the science of advertisement, and its application in art. Contemplating in admiration the new Oriel façade, the sociologist when next he observes, by way of contrast, one of the many house fronts given over to the billsticker will not fail to classify this latter as an archaic survival from the early days of pre-scientific advertising.

In commemoration of his unprecedented benefaction to the University and to his old College, the pious donor, carved in stone, is pedestalled and canopied at the focal point of the new Oriel façade. (74[a]). By the undesigned symbolism of the time-spirit his statue squarely faces the porch of St. Mary's, the church which for centuries enshrined the soul of the University and kindled the imagination of a long line of prophets and preachers from Wcyliffe to Newman. Above the porch of St. Mary's stands the sacred statue of Her whom the University once honoured as Queen of Heaven and Mistress of Science. But the student of to-day as he perambulates "the High" will be reminded that the modern point of view looks rather to the King of the Market and the Master of Finance.

(75). Another simple mode in that art of the hoardings which constitutes the characteristic public art of our times, is to tell a story in *deshabille*. For an example of this you need not walk many yards in any up-to-date town. (76). Intermediate between unhandy beginnings and the finished products of advertising science are the somewhat facile triumphs won by the advertiser in the realm of clothing—especially underclothing. In the domestic field he also reaps a rich harvest from the homing instincts that play around furniture, and the subsequent demand for baby food.

(77). A final illustration of the subtle effects got by masked advertisement. You see on the walls of the Academy, hung on the line, a portrait of Sir Tono Bungay. It is an admirable speci-

men of modern portraiture by an artist who has achieved the rare distinction of being at once fashionable and a master. A figure, life-sized, august, almost pontifical, looms from a dark background, delicately suggestive of the mystic aura that surrounds the millionaire. A reproduction of this masterpiece naturally appears in all the illustrated papers, those cheap and popular, as well as the expensive ones. No motive, venal or servile, can reasonably be imputed to these editors, even though their journals draw a large revenue from giving publicity to the many wares (which range from mouth-wash and insect powder to motor cars and aeroplanes) "controlled" by Sir Tono, nor even if (as is not unlikely), he is a large shareholder in the various companies or syndicates that own the respective journals. No, on the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that the editor of each newspaper genuinely shares the common veneration for millionaires. And if so, what more natural than to publish the great man's portrait as a spontaneous act of editorial homage?

It is this financial Goliath whom the anarchist David confronts. But the latter—if one may change the metaphor a little abruptly—has his own row to hoe. The crop he cultivates bears a natural resemblance to that of his opponents. Its first fruits are observable in the trade union policy of ca' canny. The bricklayer says "If I lay 500 bricks instead of 1,000 and prevent my mates from laying the other 500 then I can double my wages or halve my work at a stroke. Perhaps I can even do better, because the diminished supply will involve a more intense demand, and so I may actually double my wage for half the work." That is the leaf he takes from the manufacturer's book of judicious sabotage. And having discerned this key to success under the price system, the workman logically goes on to its grand scale application in the General Strike. There he parallels as well as may be with his clumsy technique the Trusts' policy of wholesale restriction of output in a falling market. But, it will be asked, what of the syndicalist sabotage which actually destroys property? The aggressive syndicalist may well reply, "what of the dismantling and closing down of productive plants which attend the birth of the great combines? What of the incredible waste through advertisement? What of habitual purchase and suppression of new patents and improved processes by monopolistic Trusts with a vested interest in antiquated processes and machinery?"

The anarchist ideal has been expressed and embodied in an ominous phrase. To "incinerate the documents" is this anarchist exhortation. The documents which it is proposed to put to the stake are those "securities" or legal claims on the national output which crowd the strong boxes of the leisure-class. The large-scale manufacture and sale of these securities is the business on

which the ablest financiers specialize. It is a business in which success often turns on skill in depreciating the value of rival securities. Hence there has developed a sabotage of the Stock Exchange with an elaborate technique. Its characteristic operation is appropriately termed "bearing," or in America "selling short." A certain refinement practised by the master broker is to depreciate not the securities of rival groups, but those of his own. Turning like a wolf on his own pack, he stampedes (often through a press campaign), the mass of security-holders (both professional and private), by a skilful "bearing" operation. He then buys up the deflated paper at a rubbish price. True that price may not be far from the real value of the article. But next follows the "bull" operation. Prices are again sent soaring, often by a press campaign of disguised advertisement termed "boosting" in America. The bated hook is swallowed by the public. The financier lands another big fish. Then the "bearing" begins anew, and the round of fortune-making continues by skilful alternation of sabotage and advertisement.

Human nature is prone to extremes. That weakness explains, without excusing the demand sometimes heard from a hardened anarchist that his party should pass from an incineration of documents to a combustion of the financier. This evil disposition has been voiced by vindictive oratory even in this land of mild animosities where the use of the stake for composing spiritual differences has long been discontinued. (78). The occasion was a mass meeting on Tower Hill, where impassioned men were proclaiming a flight to the new Eden on the wings of the General Strike.

Assuredly in the matter of sabotage, latent or patent, judicious or aggressive, the business man and the working man are in the same galley. And for companions they had recently the whole body of "militant" suffragettes, who in a society saturated with ideas of sabotage naturally used that weapon to get what was refused them. The truth, to be sure, is that "big business" men, scheming financiers, syndicalist workmen and militant feminists are alike victims of the same impulse and habit. Its tap root is nourished by that profiteering which since the war we have been learning to recognize as an inevitable characteristic of the price system. It is the impulse and habit of getting for oneself and one's group, much for little or even something for nothing, at no matter what cost to the community at large. (79). With the aid of Mr. Punch's discerning eye we recently saw Government Departments infected by the same disease.

(80). The saying of Goethe that one rich man makes many poor ones becomes more vivid when rendered in terms of housing. The millionaires have their palaces; the dis-millioned their doss-

houses. And for the nightly overflow of the dosshouses there are the seats on the Thames Embankment, if the policeman permits, being moved to relax the rigour of his instructions to protect what is provided for the repose of the respectable by day from defilement by the outcast at night.

There are many, to be sure, who break under the strain of poverty. Their sufferings touch the heart of the rich, and so these contribute generously to hospitals and asylums. Mental illness, it will be noted, excites less compassion than bodily. It therefore happens that asylums for the most part fall to the charge of the public purse. (81). But the hospitals maintained by private charity are conspicuous features of every great city. But be they never so many and so vast, the cry is always for more. And the heart of the millionaire responds. After all, is he not a human being with a craving for emotional outlets? True, he endows modern art on the hoardings and lavishly spends on archaic art for the adornment of his many mansions. Yet these outlets are far from exhausting his reservoirs of feeling. There remains ample material for a cult of philanthropy. And so Hospitals are added to Banks, Stock Exchanges, and Dosshouses as the characteristic buildings of the Financial Age.

Sabotage and Advertisement are the twin stars of the financial firmament. But the millionaire is merely their most manifest emanation. Their subtle influence has penetrated the structure of contemporary civilization; it pervades our habits of thought and deflects our outlook often when we are least aware of its insidious bias.

Practised covertly by men of business, advocated openly by the extremists of Labour, applied deliberately to political purpose by sensitive women, sabotage was one of the major forces that made for war. Like-minded allies were at hand in the "frightfulness" of Prussia, the "conspicuous waste" of the leisure class, and the cult of emulation in all classes, moral reflex of the rapacity that triumphs in competitive business. Here was a quadruple alliance, well calculated to eventuate in a world-wide War of Attrition, waged to the verge of famine, plague and collapse.[1] But how reconcile this mania of waste and carnage with the dictates of common-sense, the instincts of frugality, the sanctities of life, the

1. It will be observed that the analysis here given applies not to the outbreak of hostilities but to the pre-war state of so-called peace in which war was all the time latent. As to the proximate causes of the actual combat, evidence continues to accumulate in overwhelming mass confirming the popular verdict of the Central Empires' guilt. The facts as far as we know them point to a conspiracy of three plotters. Berlin, by long and sedulous care, prepared the torch of war; then in a moment of ambition and desperation, Vienna and Buda-Pesth lighted the torch and flung it into the European powder magazine.

traditions of Christendom? Assuredly a hard question awaiting the dispassionate thinking and chilled feeling of a later generation. But reflect that instantly on the outbreak of war the Advertiser cast his spell over the belligerent Governments. Under the enchantment of the billsticker they rushed to the hoardings. The paste-pot polluted, without protest from the public, even the semi-sacred walls of Whitehall. The art of the hoardings and the wiles of the advertisement column were adopted by Governments as fit instruments wherewith to persuade the minds and stir the emotions of their peoples. And this tuning of feelings and imagination, this stimulation of energies and ideas, was maintained at concert pitch during month after month, year after year. How natural therefore that one of these Government should develop this situation to its logical issue. In the climax were three notable events. In the first place it happened that when a Minister was needed as Director of Information, the Government selected for that intellectual effort a millionaire-financier. Again, to the almost priestly office of Enemy Propaganda was appointed a merchant in the traffic of advertisement. (82). And finally, that no dubiety might remain as to the sources of official inspiration, the Government distributed through the press a lengthily reasoned advertisement of which the central exhortation was to

FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THE
MEN WITH THE MILLIONS.

These things would be incredible if they were not facts. But they constitute a remarkable example of consistency. Perhaps it was necessary, in order to reduce completely to absurdity that fundamental tenet of modern politics, in which practically all parties concur, viz., the assumption by the State of Spiritual Authority as well as Temporal Sovereignty. Down that broad road of the descent to Avernus went all schools of "power politics" to their doom in the crash of 1914. And what precisely is this illusion of power politics? It is the temptation to Cæsarist rule that perenially besets now the patrician now the plebeian arm of the Temporal Power, or again their combination, parliamentary, bureaucratic or what not. The inevitable catastrophe that sooner or later befalls all such "Dictatures" is the scourge of the thwarted spirit. All who set up an Absolute State, as also those who accept it in any of its protean forms, repudiate the need for an independent Spiritual Power, and so violate the supreme condition of political advancement. Thus these modern politicians have been playing the part of the fool who said in his heart there is no God. Hence they have led their peoples into the slough of Militarism, from which these latter scramble out with grave risk of falling into a like bog of their own making which is Bolshevism.

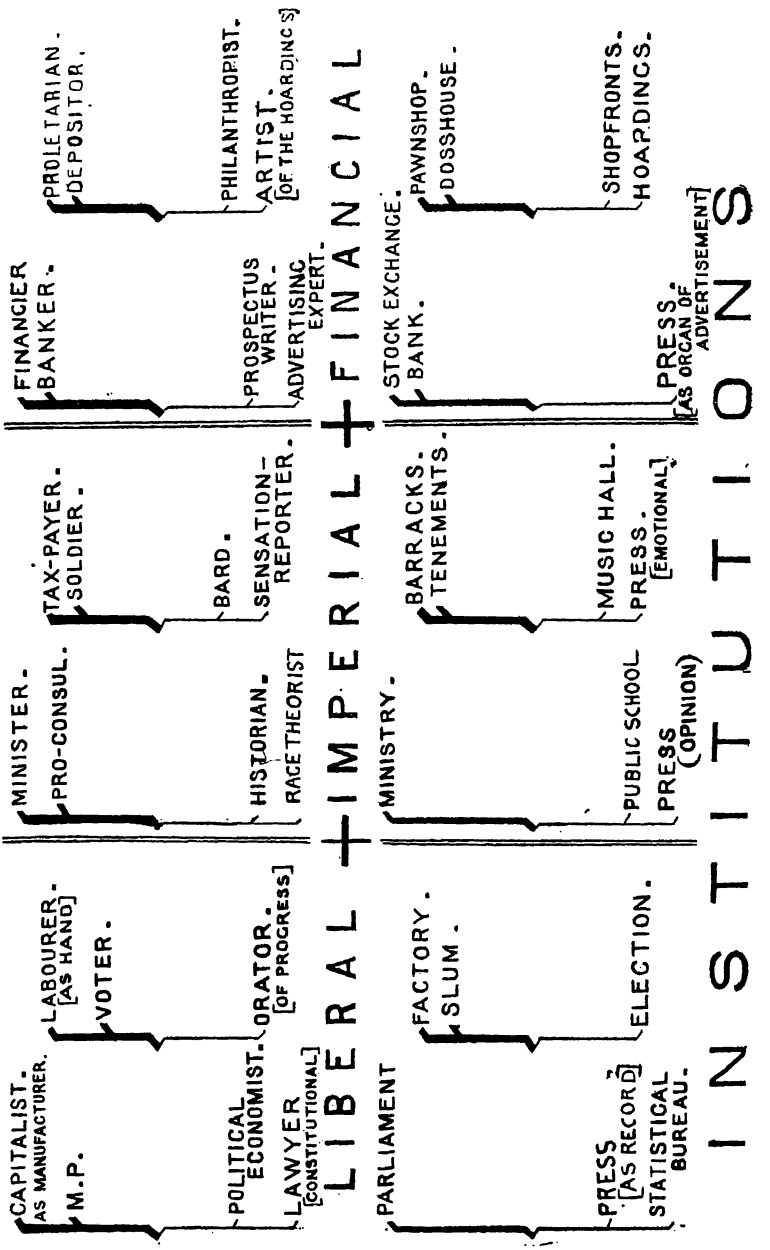
War, Revolution—or Eutopia.

The hell's broth on which the world has lately been supping had many cooks to prepare it. But the compounding of the ingredients was mainly in the hands of three groups. To designate them in cold formality like a naturalist labelling his species may savour of offence since it brings into juxtaposition unaccustomed bedfellows. But the sociologist must not shrink from his duties of nomenclature. Undeterred by susceptibilities, he will boldly name the political authors of the world crisis as disclosed by analysis impartially applied to all modernized States. The culprits thus arraigned are the conventional parties and their insurgent counter-parties. These are the Liberals paralleled yet opposed by the Radicals, the Imperialists similarly countered by the Socialists, and the Financials by the Anarchists.

But these same cooks have now become physicians prescribing remedies for the ills that have issued from their own concoctions. And the remedies that they offer to the patient, what are these? To the outside observer the cure smacks of homeopathy. The prescription looks uncommonly like "a hair of the dog that bit you." Our world of Western civilisation is thus threatened with schemes of "Re-construction," compounded of more Liberalism and Radicalism, more Imperialism and Socialism, more Financiering and Anarchism. The disease and its proffered remedies should be set out in clear and unmistakable terms. For that purpose let us use the fourfold analysis of the sociologist. Every social system has its "Chiefs" and its "People," or executive head and working body. It has also its "Intellectuals" and "Emotionals," who supply respectively the rationale of the system and its inspiring impulses. (83). In the Liberal order the Chiefs are the capitalists, the manufacturers, the M.P.s. These three roles are, to be sure, often combined in the same person. The corresponding "People" are, from the standpoint of the factory "hands," and from that of Parliament "voters." The Intellectuals who explain the working of the system are on the commercial side the political economists; on its political side the constitutional lawyers. The Emotionals are clearly those Orators of Progress whose eloquence implants faith in the past of this dispensation, and inspires to like effort in the future.

The strength and persistence of the Liberal movement are thus analysed, and in a measure explained. Diagram 83 shows Liberalism equipped with the instruments both intellectual and emotional of a spiritual power adapted to its purpose. This spiritual power was so well fitted for its work as to make the Liberal Chiefs and their People for long the foremost Temporal couple in the State. But as the economic centre of gravity shifted from

factory to market there came corresponding political changes. So there rose into prominence the Imperial Order with a temporal and spiritual equipment adapted to a double purpose. On the one side was the expansionist ideal and on the other the need for

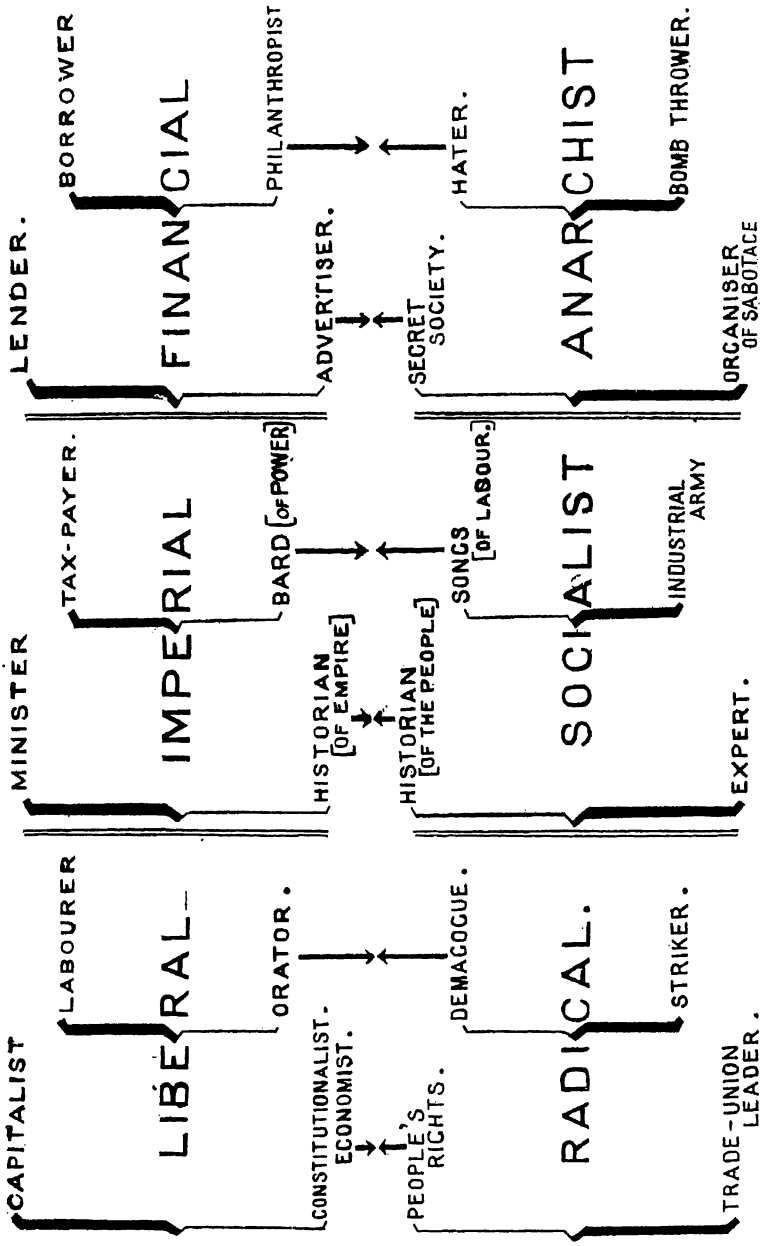


THE LIBERAL-IMPERIAL-FINANCIAL ORDER; ITS TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL POWERS (83).

a regulative system of government to correct the abuses of *laissez-faire*. But below these great secular movements we call Liberalism and Imperialism, there was all the time fermenting out a new social régime of portentous significance. Standing professedly aloof from politics, the Financial Order nevertheless had its political reaction, and far-reaching it proved. It polluted the springs of Liberalism. It debased the coinage of Imperialism. Thus was provided a platform of political chicane on which deteriorate Liberals and Imperialists could combine with one another and with outworn groups surviving from past dispensations, like intransigent Tories from the XVIIIth Century, and religious fanatics from the Reformation. Deceiving themselves, as well as their victims, by a masque of patriotism, all these lower political types were united by a common impulse and a uniform purpose in the financial exploitation of the masses at home and "foreigners" or "natives" abroad. This whole system, Liberal-Imperial-Financial, consecutive yet concurrent, is analysed systematically, and presented as a grouping of inter-related persons and institutions in Diagram 83. In the following Diagram, No. 84, is also set out what might be called the proletarian twin of each social order within the Liberal-Imperial-Financial system. The Radical, Socialist and Anarchist groups are each seen to be equipped with a temporal and spiritual outfit corresponding to that of its "class" antagonist but adapted of course to the supposed interests of the masses.

The two foregoing diagrams together present systematically what has been said in the text with a certain discursiveness incidental to a multiplicity of illustrative examples. Consider the situation as we know it. On the right of the stage stand the two conventional parties of modernized politics, the Liberals and the Imperialists. Ready to support them at call are drawn up at the back of the stage, the cohorts of Finance. On the left are arranged the three insurgent groups, eyeing each other furtively, and not less ready to contend amongst themselves than to combine against "the classes." The boast from which not one of the six parties, conventional or insurgent, shrinks is that it and its working philosophy embody the modern point of view. The outsider must grant the claim of all or none. On the former supposition, the modern point of view can be clearly defined and thus vividly pourtrayed as by a six-rayed star whose illumination guides the ship of State on its predestined course. But for judging the civilization value of this modern point of view the outsider demands, of course, criteria from beyond the six-fold system. Two sources would seem to be open to him. There are survivals from past dispensations. And amongst these the civilization value of what descends to us from the best of the renaissance, the mediæval, the classical and the Hebraic

orders ranks high. There are also certain newer growths (finer and more social arts, subtler and more vital sciences) which have little appeal for Liberalism, Imperialism and Finance, and hardly more for Radicalism, Socialism and Anarchism. But all that falls beyond the scope of this *Paper*; it will be the theme of other *Papers*.

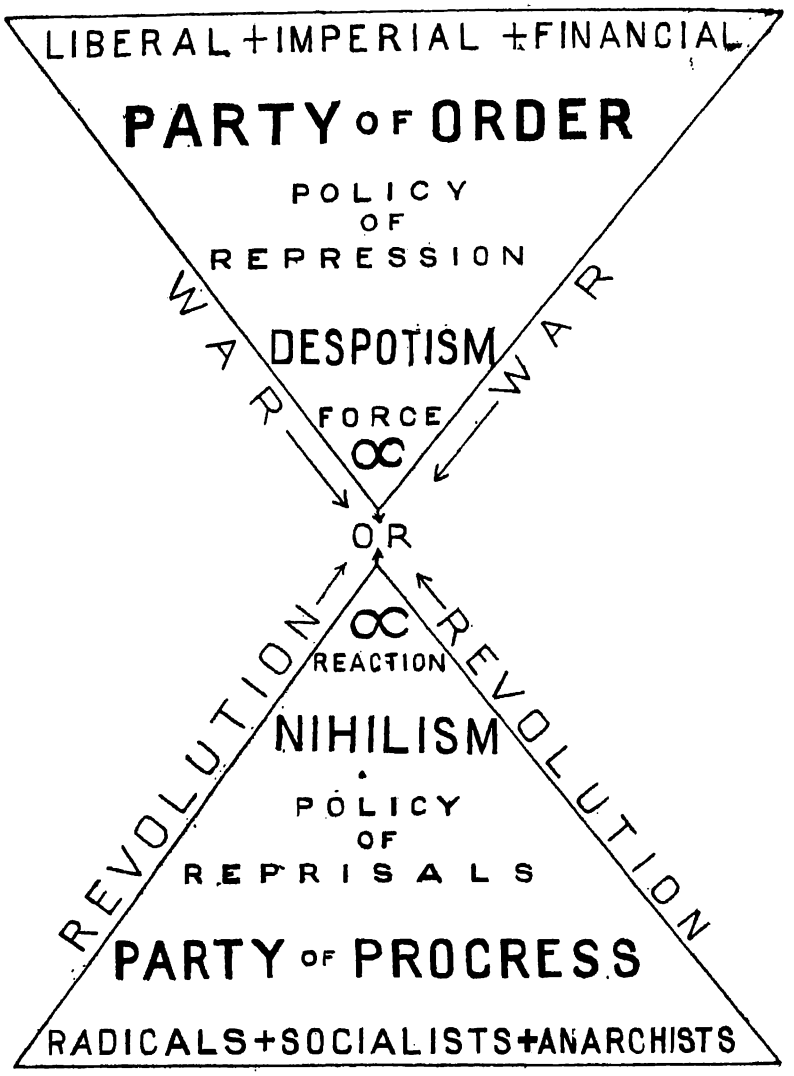


THE CONVENTIONAL PARTIES AND THEIR INSURGENT COUNTER-PARTIES (84).

As to the conventions of the diagrams a word. Each of the six social orders (three conventional and three insurgent) within the larger system is represented by a pair of brackets. A larger bracket stands for the Chiefs and the Intellectuals of each order, and a smaller one for the People and the Emotionals of the same order. The Temporal couple (Chiefs and People) are indicated by a thickening of the arms of their respective brackets, and similarly the Emotionals and Intellectuals of the corresponding Spiritual Power are indicated by slender arms. Ordinarily the temporal half of each pair of brackets stands uppermost, the spiritual power being shown below like an image reflected in a mirror. But this convention is reversed for a special reason in Diagram No. 84. There the intention is to show the opposition of Radicalism to Liberalism, of Socialism to Imperialism, of Anarchism to Finance as essentially one of ideas and emotions. Hence the respective spiritual powers of these social orders are brought together in the diagram, and the arrows in each case emphasize the clash of moral and intellectual interests. The suggestion is that from this conflict of mind and heart issues a revelation which sharpens and defines the antagonism of other and more material interests. Accepting an economic interpretation of history, one may still claim a certain initiating impulse for the more human and psychic aspects of life.

The pre-war system proved increasingly unable to adapt itself to the pressures of a rapidly changing situation. That was perhaps the nemesis of pride in modernity and satisfaction in the sufficiency of "the modern point of view." Many are the strains and stresses to which the system was subjected. There was the external pressure of rival "Great Powers" competing for world trade. There was the internal pressure of class interests and the predatory ambitions of groups and persons. Under these major forces a rift cuts the whole system from top to bottom. There develops a cleavage into two rival camps; and more or less explicitly appears the party of Order and the Party of Progress. The Liberals, Imperialists and Financials loosely coalesce to constitute the party of Order. The Radicals, Socialists and Anarchists unite to form a party of Progress. Ranged in hostility, expressed or implied, the one party contends with the other in a thousand ways. But broadly, the contest tends towards a Policy of Repression and a counter Policy of Reprisals. The logical issue of this clash is seen in a tendency to Despotism on the one side, answered by Nihilism on the other. To infinite force there is the necessary response of infinite reaction. Towards the resulting alternation of deadlock and overturn the whole system tends to drift. On the face of things there seem to be two ways of escape open. On one side the Party of Order

sees a way of escape through a "good" war, capable of uniting the whole nation against a common foe. From the standpoint of the Party of Progress the escape is through Revolution. This alternative was plainly put by the labour member of the war cabinet. It was Mr. Barnes who said :—" If we had gone on for a



THE POLITICAL DEADLOCK (85).

few years more without a war with Germany, we should have had a war with one another in this country, because the average man felt the sense of injustice as he had never felt before."

As things turned out, the respective Parties of Order in the Central Empires got the war for which they planned and worked.

The unforseen sequel was that the Parties of Progress in both of the Central Empires and in Russia also got the Revolution they had long hoped for and intermittently prepared. Are the Allies to follow the lead of their recent antagonists into the stormy sea of revolution? Surely the logic of the situation is otherwise.

Is it not now for the Allies to complete their victory in the field by a corresponding triumph in the Forum? Their temporal power having prevailed, it remains for their spiritual power to make manifest its superiority and to rise beyond the standpoint of any or all the clashing groups. May not the historic idealism of France, the common sense of England, the juristic spirit of Italy look for their reward in the discovery of the third alternative to war and revolution?

Assuredly there was and is a third alternative. Even before the war not a few discerned it with varying degrees of clearness. And in the light of the war its way should become plain to all; for in four years of Homeric strife, there has been woven on the weft of politics a revealing pattern. It shows with clearness not merely the defects of our age, but also its qualities; and so we may read therefrom the good that is in Liberalism, in Imperialism and even in Finance. It also shows how these qualities may be turned to account in the shaping of the future.

We have already recalled in a brief historic sketch the main inspirational element in English Liberalism. It was demiurgic joy in the creative energies of machine production. All that has been renewed by the war, and moreover with the enhancement of devotion to a vital and moving cause. Now it is the Imperialist, who taking him at his best, picks up, emphasises, develops the historic, the human, the collective factor, naturally a little overlooked by the Liberal manufacturer. To organise energies for communitary purpose is the prime concern of the good Imperialist. The watchword of his method is Organisation. He tries to shape the mechanical energies released by Liberalism into a worthy instrument of political power; and that at its best means the humanizing of the machine. Seen in this light, the Imperial ideal has the force of an epic. Add thereto the lyric of the Liberal ideal and there is generated an impulse of high intensity and noble purpose, as the war has abundantly shown.

In this play of heroic drama what has been the part of the financier? Well, he, taking him also at his best, is a co-ordinator of dispersive activities. He, too, is a complementary type to the Liberal. The latter demands a free stage for that subdivision of labour and specialisation of function which are the breath of the machine industry. On this free stage the financier appears as a specialist in the return movement of co-ordination. He has built up a co-ordinating mechanism of marvellous power

and delicacy. It is called the Credit System. By its working the whole resources of the Allies and to a considerable extent of friendly neutrals, were focussed on the objects of the war with a wonder-working effect.

The lesson of the war is therefore that, given opportunity of high public endeavour, and the conditions of honorific service, Liberal, Imperialist and Financier, compose into a workmanlike trio of real political efficiency. How then in the coming reconstruction to contrive from the experience of war a situation in which Liberal Manufacturer, Imperialist Administrator and Financial Magnate will stand on their best behaviour, and display their finer gestures? In the previous era of so-called peace there was some malign influence at work which seemed to evoke the defects and repress the qualities of Liberals, Imperialists and Financials alike. To the invidious task of exposing that devil's advocacy the bulk of this Paper has been devoted. A complementary analysis of redemptive and constructive elements in the war, as also of similar tendencies in the pre-war era, and a forecast and demonstration of their possible synthesis, will be the subject of two succeeding papers, entitled "Masters of our Fate," and "Eutopia or Hell." Meantime we close this Paper by sharply contrasting in a challenging fashion the parts respectively played in the Great War and in the Victorian Peace by our trio of political chiefs.

In the war the Financier, without ceasing altogether to be the Gain Chief operating on a Pawned People, was transmuted for the time being into something akin to an Accountant Chief doing service for a Credited People. The Imperialistic Chief, without altogether ceasing to be a bureaucrat arbitrarily regulating a Servile People, became an Organising Chief planning for an Organised People. The Manufacturer, without ceasing altogether to be a Profiteering Chief exploiting a Worked People, became also an Industrial Chief labouring for an Equipped People. It is true the equipment of the People was mainly with the instruments of death and destruction, but far from only so. It is true the crediting of the People was in terms of a depreciated paper currency, but still their pocket-books bulged with "John Bradburys," and there were many and excellent things to be purchased, from pianos to jewellery that made for the quickening of life. It is true the organising was for war, but still a war of noble purpose.

The problem of the third alternative is to escape alike the Scylla of War and the Charybdis of Revolution by boldly steering for a peace which contains within itself the "moral equivalents of war." We have to find the formula of a peace that is not the negative thing, the mere War-Peace of the Victorian era, but is something positive, charged to complete the process of conversion begun in war, by carrying the ferment of idealism on into a

peace-war, a "holy" war, constructive, evocatory, militant, yet also campaigning ruthlessly against diseases, poverties, ignorances, follies, vices, crimes. How, in other words, organise a society of such high-power intensity as to effect the transmutation of Gain Chiefs and a Pawned People into Accountant Chiefs and a Credited People, of War Chiefs and a Warred People, into Organising Chiefs and an Organised People, of Profiteering Chiefs and an Exploited People into Industrial Chiefs and an Equipped People. All this, it may be said, is just what the Radicals, Socialists and Anarchists, taking them at their best, are and were "out for." Granted. But our contention is that this sort of social transmutation, being essentially psychic, *i.e.*, religious, it follows that a spiritual power of wider resource, deeper reach and loftier appeal, is needed than fell within the ken of Radicals, Socialists and Anarchists in their pre-war phase. That they also, like the countering trio, have moved onwards and upwards through the experience of the war is doubtless to be assumed and hopefully reckoned on. In any case one must recognise the valid element in the revolutionary ideal, as also in the appeal of war. The two are strangely alike, being in each case an enhancement of life by drama that runs on the edge of tragedy. It is the absence of any such inspiration that condemns to futility the piecemeal procedure called Social Reform. Because it is piecemeal and consequently lacking in vision of the whole, this stodgy method leaves the masses of the people cold, however tragic the fate of the reformer. The third alternative to War and Revolution is not Reform. It is something nearer akin to what the religious call Conversion. That holds vision of life more abundant and also promise of heroic drama. The new heaven calls for attainment by strenuous action; the old hell has to be resolutely escaped from. Now the peoples of Europe have been through the old hell; they are eager to be shown the new heaven. It must be no facile Utopia of outworn doctrine; it must be vision of a City of God that can be built with human hands. And the design of its plans we may call Eutopia,[1] which is the opposite of Utopia, since the latter refers to no place and the former to every place that can be made good to live and work in, beautiful to see, and all in the here and now.

The quest of this third alternative, if it is to be successful at home must be pursued also and simultaneously abroad. In the paradise below as in the heaven above many mansions are needed if all ranks and classes are to be moved to attainment and all nations, creeds and races drawn to it as to a goal. The oneness in manifoldness of western civilisation implies fullest and widest

1. See the "Coming Polity," Chaps. i, xi, xii, xiii. 2nd edition. (Williams and Norgate). Also *Papers for the Present*, No. 8. "A Rustic View of War and Peace." (Headley Bros.).

co-operation. The diversity of Europe ensured by geography and the unity of Europe ensured by history cannot be cast out by the respective pitchforks of levelling internationalism and dishevelling nationalism. There is needed for the full orchestration of occidental resources on the problem of a militant peace the traditional compromise of England, the logic and imagination of France, the genius of Italy, the fervour of Russia, the initiative of the small nations, and also the militancy of America. Nor can we dispense with the organizing power of a penitent Germany. And similarly, no solution is possible, no way through the impasse will be found, unless the other co-operants also undergo purgation. We need for a real Society of Nations an awakened England, a purified France, a forelooking Italy, a reasonable Russia, and also a sobered America.

War as we now know it by actual sample is no mystical monster that descends upon us out of the unknown. Modern war has been unveiled as a state of mental stress that overtakes societies intent on pitiless competition. In the rebound there ensues a mood of exaltation which yields a crop of magnanimities, generosities, heroisms. Amongst the more unconventional audacities thus liberated is an impulse to place the energies of the warring societies at the disposal of their chemists, physicists, engineers, chartered accountants. Suppose now these chemists, physicists, engineers, chartered accountants having come into the public service be persuaded to remain there, but under other direction than that of utilitarian politicians. There are available for this higher statesmanship Rural Planners like Horace Plunkett, and Educationists like Baden Powell and Margaret Macmillan. There is also, in John Burns, even a personage of Cabinet rank who has taken the pains to acquire the art of Town-Planning. These are but exemplary names chosen from the seniors. Amongst juniors of both sexes there is a growing body, but half used or unused, of first-rate competence in Rural Economy, in Civic Economy and in the Life Economies we call Health, Education, Art, Religion. Is it extravagant beyond hope to suppose a day will come when these men and women of the post-utilitarian school will share to the full in the guidance and inspiration of public life and so help to determine the course of business and the modes of private life? When that day comes a peace will break out that leads towards Eutopia. But like other great conquests, Eutopia has to be won by definitely planned campaigns, that proceed region by region, city by city. And let us not forget that there are those who can, if they will, set men's hearts ablaze with passion for these enhancements of life and betterments of environment, that will signalize real peace. These are our singers, painters, sculptors, musicians, poets, story-tellers, dramatists.

APPENDIX.

LANTERN SLIDES.

1. Jeremy Bentham and Robert Burns.
2. Samuel Smiles.
3. Herbert Spencer.
3a. A modern utilitarian and an ancient theorist.
4. Adam Smith.
5. Statue of James Watt in Westminster Abbey.
5a. A typical Factory.
6. Watt's engine and Bolton's Factory where the first workable engine was made.
7. Spinning woman.
8. Spinster of 18th century.
9. Hargreaves' Spinning Jenny.
10. Spinning Factory.
11. Arkwright.
12. His steam Factory.
13. The Manchester Cotton Exchange.
14. Weaving Factory and Calico printing.
14a. Fine fabrics.
15. Blake's "Pitt guiding Behemoth."
16. The first Sir Robert Peel and W. E. Gladstone.
16a. A Japanese view of the strike.
16b. Cobden and Bright.
17. The Crystal Palace.
18. Gateway, Euston Station.
18a. (*a*) Frith's "Paddington Station."
(*b*) Cannon Street Station, as "Smoke Hall."
19. David Ricardo.
20. Stock Broker's Offices.
20a. Jupiter Capitalinus and his Temple.
21. Rembrandt's "Jesus expelling the Money Changers from the Temple."
22. The Stock Exchange: interior.
23. Interior: St. Paul's.
24. Karl Marx.
25. Scenes in the East End of London.
26. Scenes of gaiety in the East End.
27. The transit of goods through "the City."
28. London Clearing House.
29. The Banker and his capital.
30. "The lady's" performance of Leisure.
31. The Clubman and his daily round.
32. West End Clubs and Map of Clubland.
33. House of Commons.
34. Parliamentary Lobby.
36. Interior Scenes, House of Commons.
37. (*a*) Effect of Division Bell in the Smoking Room.
(*b*) M.P.'s going home.
38. The Capitol, Washington.
39. Houses of Parliament, Berlin, Vienna, Buda Pesth.
40. Houses of Parliament, with Westminster Abbey in the background.
41. India Office.
42. (*a*) Sale Room of East India Company.
(*b*) Trading Fort.
43. Colonial Office.
44. Local Government Board.
45. Turret of Local Government Board Office, seen through the arch of fountain.
46. Profile of Whitehall towards St. James' Park
47. War Office.
48. Wireless Installation of Admiralty.
49. Maritime Provinces of the British Empire.
50. Pitt and Napoleon.
51. Disraeli's Statue on Primrose Day.
52. Seeley and Kipling.
53. Lord Cromer.
54. "John Bull."
55. Rear View of a Modern Theatre.
56. Theatrical Machinery with inset of Greek Theatre.
57. Theatrical Poster.
58. Music Hall Poster.
59. Tenements in Westminster, with Public House at street corner.

60. (*a*) Provisioning of a Dreadnought.
(*b*) Barracks in Westminster.
61. (*a*) Scenes in school playgrounds.
(*b*) Mother of absentee child in Magistrates' Court.
62. Mr. Punch on struggle of the Clerical Groups for the School Child.
63. "Liberty and Privilege," from "New York Life."
63a. Richard West's "The Frown" and "The Dame's School."
64. The Learning of the Schools.
65. Karl Marx and Bismarck.
66. Hobbes.
67. Title Page of the "Leviathan."
67a. Watts' Mammon.
67b. Moloch.
67c. The Car of State.
68. Bismarck's statue before the Reichstag.
69. Hegel's statue in Hegel Platz.
70. Statues from Sieges Allée.
70a. Tenements in Berlin.
70b. Barracks in Berlin.
71. Kropotkin.
72. Syndicalist postcard.
73. Placard of Guild Socialism.
73a. The Goliath of Big Business and the Anarchist David.
73b. The light that failed.
74. Advertisements :—
(*a*) Facile Princeps cigarettes.
(*b*) Messrs. Bolus' Purple Pills.
(*c*) New Façade of Oriel College, Oxford.
(*d*) House front used for advertisement.
74a. Statues on St. Mary's Porch, Oxford, and on Oriel front.
75. A Story in Déshabille.
76. Sundry advertisements.
77. Sir Tono Bungay.
78. Syndicalist meeting on Tower Hill.
79. "Punch" Cartoon on Government Profiteering.
80. (*a*) Interior of Doss House.
(*b*) Outcasts on Thames Embankment.
(*c*) Lunatic Asylum.
81. Two London Hospitals.
82. War Bonds advertisement.
83. The Liberal—Imperial—Financial Order.
84. The Conventional Parties and their Insurgent Counter-parties.
85. War or Revolution.

RECENT FRENCH RECONSTRUCTION LITERATURE.

By Huntly Carter.

Ideas must move swiftly in the sun, or if they loiter in the shadow they must either become interesting historical relics, or fossilized. The French Regionalist idea, no less than the others. This is the conclusion suggested by a book which had the privilege of issuing from a Paris publishing house during the bombardment. It is a little book whose pocket size, paper covers, and clear type present an ideal format for historical surveys. Its aim is to record the progress of French Regionalism during the last fifty years or so, and it is accordingly entitled "L'Evolution Régionaliste." (Du Félibrige au Fédéralisme. Essai sur la Reorganisation Regionaliste de la France, suivie d'une étude sur le Régionalisme appliqué a l'Enseignement.) The preface is by M. Charles Goffic. The book is signed F. Jean-Desthieux, and is published by "Editions Bossard," 43 rue Madame, Paris, at 4 francs

Nearly two hundred and fifty pages of valuable facts on the development of a transforming movement are dedicated to M. Charles Brun, "l'animateur des Provinces françaises," as M. Maurice Barrès puts it. The whole serves as an engaging frame for a picture, with full explanatory text, of regionalism in the making, in which the war, as disintegrating force, is seen to be taking an active part. As such, the book may be said to form an essential appendix to M. Charles Brun's classical definition of Regionalism embodied in "Le Régionalisme" (Bloud, Paris), which is thus brought up to date.

The first thing that strikes one on opening the book, is the new definition of regionalism showing that the movement is being borne nearer to realisation by a deputation of all sorts and conditions of French thinkers, as the supreme reward of its unifying virtues. This definition assures us that regionalism is no other than federalism. And of course one definition leads to another, by which means we are brought to beginnings. To simplify the examination of the book, one might begin with the beginnings and end with the ends. Then the subject falls into two definite divisions of the regionalist idea and policy.

M. Desthieux gives the idea of regionalism to Frédéric Mistral, the Provençal poet. But, as there is no need for me to point out, Mistral was not the first regionalist. It is possible indeed that the idea of regionalism dates from the Flood or from Adam, if not earlier. At all events, it was in the air long before Mistral was born, and no doubt what M. Desthieux means to say is that Mistral formulated it. The poet also took sufficient care to bequeath to posterity a just idea of the grandeur of his formula. The most glorious proposals for the restoration of natural rights, as he conceived them to be contained in full and free individual and collective expression, and culminating in an Empire of the Sun, as the federated regions of the Midi were to be called, were handed by him to others to be preserved in unending development. He considered it good for the propagation of his regional proposals to form a society which should help to nurture the main idea with the poetic taste, the deep fervour, and the noble simplicity which give their value to the social reform he initiated. To that end, as M. Desthieux relates, he invited the formation of the Félibrige. So in 1854 seven poets met together in the castelet of Font-Ségune, for the primary purpose of deciding on means to resurrect their native language and that of the Latin race. Here it is appropriate to recall M. Charles Brun's definition of a félibre, as each of the seven was called, as "a Frenchman of the langue d'oc (or south), who seeks to maintain and develop the proper existence of his region, as being, in his belief, indissolubly united to that of his dialect d'oc." M. Brun observes further, "of the trilogy: history, manners, language, which support

the regionalist movement, they, the félibres, retain the third factor as principal, without in any way depreciating the others, but as being the point where the current supports their claims more personally and powerfully." With the formation of the Félibrige the first act of regional decentralisation was achieved.

Subsequent events are concerned with a rapidly growing adhesion to the regional federalist idea; the broadening of the Félibrige base to admit both local and universal federation; the determination of a practical policy together with the introduction of parliamentary measures to give it effect; and wartime application. As M. Desthieux's pages show, a very great number of persons of varied experience have accepted the general idea of regionalism. They are agreed on the need of a new France exhibiting as far as possible the old eternal characteristics of French quality and unity in local diversity. But a common policy is wanted. Instead of being agreed as to how France is to be divided, how many regions it is to contain, their size, combination, and kind, how the particular is to unite with the international, they are still divided on these issues. Hence the proposals arising are many and varied. Most of them appear as starting points. Thus there is the attempt to determine the cell of the regional combination, which M. Desthieux is disposed to think is the village or "pays." This naturally expands to commune, canton, department and region. Then there is the attempt to extract from the soil, as it were, a main function, a predominant feature of regional life and labour, capable of being realised as a centralizing institution, and of realising federation. For instance, there is the project of economic regionalism of M. Clementel, the Minister of Commerce, who seeks to unite the regional Chambers of Commerce: He considers it to be possible, seeing that they are not bound to the administration of the Ministry of Commerce, nor to each other. This arrangement, according to M. Clementel's map, yields 16 economic regions; but not harmony. M. Desthieux foresees trouble among the regions arising from it. Besançon for one will refuse to be subordinated to Dijon. It is no doubt for this reason that he omits to mention that two regions have already been constituted, those of Nancy and Clermont-Ferrand, and that the whole matter is fully dealt with in an official document on the "Projet de Division de la France en Regions Economiques," issued by the Ministry of Commerce, in a comprehensive study by Professor Henri Hauser, of "Les Regions économiques" (Librairie Bernard Grasset, Paris) in a supporting article by the same author, in "L'Union Economique de l'Est," for May 15th, and in an exposition, with maps and tables, by M. Clementel in the same journal for August 1st (40 rue Gambetta, Nancy). The diversity of the regions and the treasure of French equality make federation a hard nut to crack. Not only the frenchness of France, but its particular requirements forbid any attempt to following existing models, like that of Switzerland. After careful consideration of facts, M. Desthieux appears to favour spontaneous federation. Given the right opportunity, regions will, he thinks, assert their affinities, and thus expand Mistral's Latin federation to a European one, and beyond. So the treasures of antiquity are to be transmitted from the Latin race to the human race. Thus he sees Normandy which has affinities with the Anglo-Saxon race, obliterating the Channel and merging in England. Perhaps a more practical outcome is to be expected from the acceptance by certain regionalists of Prudhon's principle of federation, and the formation of a society, under the presidency of M. Jean Hennessey, for studying it and giving it effect. On the whole, M. Desthieux's book is one which regionalists, English and French, cannot afford to neglect.

The pursuit of regional and national quality is carried on by reconstruction books and societies of which only brief mention can be made here. Three books on city re-making deserve to be widely known. The President of L'Art de France, M. Léon Rosenthal, has published a book embodying his enthusiastic vision of a

France composed of noble cities and towns, made possible by the devastating hand of war. His appeal is contained in the following words which bring "Villes et Villages Français" (Payot), to a fitting close: Au sortir d'un long martyre, elles, (les régions envahies), renaitront plus puissantes et plus belles. Un pas immense y sera accompli. Tout le pays applaudira à cette résurrection et bénéficiera de ce progrés. Le France se démentirait elle-meme si, au lendemain de l'épreuve qui l'a magnifiée, elle reprenait le cours médiocre de sa vie antérieure. Digne de ceux qui l'ont defendue, fidèle à ses morts, elle déploiera dans les arts de la paix une activité accrue. Pour cette activité il faut des cadres améliorés et élargis et c'est pourquoi le réorganisation des cités doit s'operér à travers tout le territoire." France is worthy of such an appeal.

Then there is "L'Exposition de la Cité reconstituée," published by an association of enquirers, 3 rue Palatine, Paris, which contains a full description and plans of the exhibition which was held in Paris in 1916, with lectures on regionalism, except those which I heard Professor Geddes and Professor Fleure contribute. Professor Fleure's paper on France, however, appears in his volume on "Human Geography in Western Europe."

A third significant book appears in "La Nouvelle Cité de France" (Alcan). M. Henri Mazel's object is to analyse the vast domain of vital, physical, political, economic and social causes of the fall and rise, so to speak, of present-day France. The book with its full conclusions carefully arranged in order and full bibliography is invaluable for study and reference. Mention should be made of the section on the political reorganisation of the economic region, contained in M. Biard D'Aunet's able "La Politique et les Affaires" (Payot). As to societies, there is one called La Renaissance des Cités (41 rue Cambon, Paris), which dates only from 1916, and has been formed with the desirable aim of getting together a body of classified information, plans, documents, books, etc.,—and uniting experienced persons for the purpose of re-planning and re-building devastated regions on the best architectural, hygienic and social models. Accordingly all who have anything good to contribute to the re-building of France are invited to organise themselves in corporate association so that this particular form of restoration may be the outcome of the best brains.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BELGIUM.

Just before going to press we have received an extremely important set of papers and reports on this most pressing of all problems from the "Netherland-Belgic Committee of Civic Art." This Committee, whose purview is much more general than what its title might suggest to English ears, is under the chairmanship of M. Paul Otlet. (The devoted secretary is M. van der Swaelman, Rijks Museum, Amsterdam.) M. Otlet is a well-known Brussels banker, who has for many years devoted his leisure and his considerable means to the development of international associations, interested mainly in civic problems. The committee is in touch with reconstructive and developmental agencies in all the allied countries and in the U.S.A., for example the "Garden City Association" here, the landscape gardening institutes and associations of America, and also with Danish and Swiss societies. It has started the production of an "Encyclopædia of Towns and Civic Art," and has, during the years of war, worked out by study and comparison here and elsewhere the general lines of the reconstructive policy for the cities and countryside of Belgium which it is now putting forward. We note with satisfaction the importance given in this scheme to the national and regional surveys on which the whole rests. The first aim is to make such a general survey from all points of view as will enable the nation and the localities to realise their resources. To this

register of the state of civic development they attribute the first importance, quoting, we note with interest, the English terms, "Regional Survey of National Resources," and "Civic Development Survey," brought into use by the Cities Committee of the Sociological Society and the Regional Association. The chief heads with which they deal are expressed in a letter and report to the Belgian Government :—

(1) Reorganisation of the urban plan.
(2) Restoration of monuments.
(3) The problem of temporary dwellings, both for working and middle classes.
(4) Reconstruction of churches, etc.
(5) Rural buildings and plans of villages.
(6) Technical and industrial construction and means of communications.
(7) General economic account of the country.
(8) Laws and rules for organisation of reconstruction.

The Encyclopædia and other papers are published in French and Flemish, and will constitute valuable reference books, not only for reconstruction abroad, but for the development so sadly needed in our own country, which has suffered since the industrial revolution almost as much in many parts from the horrors of what has been called "peace" as Belgium from the horrors of war.

Since the above was written notice has reached us of the 'Brussels Exhibition of Reconstruction,' largely organised by the Society referred to, and to be held as early as may be this year. It is to be an International Exhibition of plans and methods suggested for dealing with devastated cities and districts, and also for more general development, and will obviously be of the greatest value and interest.

We note that all particulars may be had from the Secretary, Union des Villes et Communes Belges, 3bis Rue de la Régence, Brussels.

REVIEWS.

A SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW OF INDIAN CIVILISATION.

THE WEB OF INDIAN LIFE. By the late Sister Nivedita of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda. With an Introduction by Sir Rabindranath Tagore. New Edition, 1918. Longmans. 5s. net.

IT is related that the great god Siva, who is the very soul of gentleness, refusing none, has gathered around him in his home in the Himalayas all those who have found no acceptance among the fortunate,

> "all those men and women who are turbulent and troublesome and queer, the bad boys and girls of the grown up world, as it were. All the people who are so ugly that no one wants to see them; those who do things clumsily, and talk loudly, and upset everything, though they mean no harm, and the poor things who are ridden by one idea, so that they never can see straight, but always seem a little mad—such are the souls on whom He alone has mercy."

Such is the Indian conception of the great God; but greater still than the pity and succour of the despised, is their vindication and the recognition of a greatness that has been neglected and a goodness that has been ignored; and this is the work that has been attempted by Sister Nivedita in this beautiful book. She had unrivalled powers for her chosen task—deep insight, generous sympathy, unfailing devotion, and a rare combination of idealism and practical good sense. And to these qualities must be added unrivalled opportunities of knowing the very heart of India. When the

Wimbledon school-mistress, the daughter of an Irish Congregational minister, "found salvation," in the only meaning she would attach to the words, as the disciple of Vivekananda, and through him of his master Ramakrishna, and went to live and teach among the people of India as one of themselves, she became—though this was no part of her original intention—the best possible interpreter of Indian life to the Western world. And the new interests that came to her in her new home, while they strengthened immeasurably her attachment to the religious teachings of the East, sent her back for interpretation to the Sociologists of the West, to Comte and Le Play, so that in the works of Sister Nivedita, and especially in the one before us, we have Indian civilisation described by a student of sociology, with all the powers of a great writer and with an intimate knowledge greater probably than any European has yet had, and which on certain subjects, none but a woman could attain.

It is natural, therefore, to seek enlightenment on the Family and the position of women in India from one who has had such unusual opportunities of study; and in the nearer view possible to Sister Nivedita, the Indian family has many qualities hitherto unseen by Western eyes. There is no pretence that in the situation of Indian women everything is perfect. The East is less flexible than the West, and needs flexibility rather than any definite change. "European communities, in consequence of the mobility of structure, enjoy a power of intelligent co-operation towards new but agreed ends which is universally desirable. India has the power to act, but the end must be familiar." And the better organisation for public convenience has had the effect of hampering the formation of a consolidated feminine opinion, for it was amongst the women gathered about the well that the civic life, so far as they were concerned, found expression. Yet in the Indian home, there is great scope for women's power, and its varied tasks are in themselves an education. Sister Nivedita claims that "the orthodox Hindu household is the only one in the world which combines a high degree of civilisation with the complete elimination of any form of domestic slavery." Nor is greater honour given anywhere to motherhood. With the coming of the young wife's first-born, be it boy or girl, "it is as if the whole world recognises that henceforth there will be one soul at least to whom her every act is holy, before whom she is entirely without fault, and enters into the conspiracy of maintaining her child's reverence." Even the position of the widow has its compensation both for the individual and for society: "it is in this terrible blight of love that the strong woman finds her widest scope"; widows are more free for the civic life than others; she "can stretch hands across her own mourning to those who are ill, or in poverty, and desolation." Above all the Indian family is a great school of subordination of oneself to others: "the eyes of bride and bridegroom are to be directed towards the welfare of the family and not of themselves... it is the great springs of helpfulness and service, rather than those of mutual love and romantic happiness that marriage is expected to unloose."

Much might be said, did space allow, concerning Sister Nivedita's treatment of caste, the inflexibility of which she admits as an evil, but points out that in the past this institution enabled the Indians to receive without fear all who sought refuge amongst them, and that even now it represents the historic sense, the dignity of tradition and of purpose for the future; nor does she agree that it renders civic co-operation impossible or even difficult. Like a true follower of Ramakrishna, she shows no trace of narrowness in her religious sympathies. Among the most eloquent passages in her book are those devoted to Buddha and Mohammed, the Empires of Asoka and Akbar the Great. Indeed, her account of the effect of Mohammed's environment on his thought and his constructive work is a fine sociological study. Of the Moslem conquerors she says: "The whole opportunity of a conqueror lies in the loyal submission of himself to the past of the conquered. Failing this, the structure that he rears must be, if not destructive, at least evanescent." Far from

looking on the later history of the country as revolving round the opposition between Moslem and Hindu, she insists on the underlying unity of their religious feelings and the correspondence of so many of their social customs. As far back as the *Gita*, it was affirmed that all religions express a single truth. But as compared with the religions of the West, she affirms that tried by moral and intellectual tests, Hinduism has on many vital issues been the more successful. Yet in a changing world, it is exposed to many dangers. "To give a religion to the world may be a sufficient proof that one's past was not in vain, but evidently it is no sort of safeguard for the future." The Indian people have permitted themselves to lose sight of their national and civic responsibilities. They have become imitative either of their own past or of the foreigner. What, then, are the remedies Sister Nivedita proposed? Certainly not blindly shutting their eyes to all human progress outside India. On the contrary, "Western Science must be recognised as holy"—all the easier because thought in India has ever been free. But more important still, it must be recognised that above all special movements of reform, political, social, economic or religious, "there stands a greater reality dominating and co-ordinating the whole, the Indian idea, of which each is a part." S. H. SWINNY.

THE WOMAN'S PART. A RECORD OF MUNITIONS WORK. By L. K. Yates. Hodder and Stoughton, 1918. 1/3 net.

WOMEN IN THE ENGINEERING TRADES. By Barbara Drake. Fabian Research Department, 1917.

MISS YATES tells a wonderful story of the re-organisation of modern industry for purposes of war, and of the great part played by women in what is now happily consummated in the defeat of Germany. The principle of "dilution," which in fact is nothing but the most recent development of our old friend, the "industrial revolution," so-called, has enabled masses of women workers to undertake engineering work and munition making. Machinery has been introduced, and immensely improved and developed under the stimulus of war; women have come into new groups of occupations; and the skilled men have been carefully sorted out for the most specialised and high-class work. Many women have been found capable of work where the nicest manipulation, finish to a fraction of a hair's breadth was essential, and many have done work demanding a degree even of physical strength which in pre-war days would have been judged altogether beyond the woman's standard. Much courage and heroism has been shewn by women when suffering some painful accident. The war has been a great stimulus to employers to improve conditions within the factory. Ambulance and rest-rooms have been opened, cloak-room accommodation improved, canteens established, etc.; in short, the woman worker has been of more account than previously. Miss Yates describes this ameliorative work with a genuine enthusiasm and knowledge, and her sympathy at once with the splendid part played by women and with the efforts made to improve their state make her book both delightful and inspiring.

Mrs. Drake's report is concerned with a different aspect of the matter, and one involuntarily recalls the old fable of the two knights and the shield on turning from Miss Yates' book to hers. The pictures are extremely different, yet both are probably true, for the relation of women to industry has from the invention of textile machinery onwards borne a dual character. The traditional isolation and dependence of women makes it a great gain for them to achieve even moderately well paid work outside the home and thus become economically independent. But women are mostly unorganised; thus with the introduction of machinery they can be easily played off against male organised workers by the offer of what to them is a considerable advance, while undercutting the rates customary for men. At the outbreak of war it was recognized that women must be admitted to various kinds of

work not hitherto permitted them by the men's unions. The trade unions patriotically agreed to suspend their rules for the period of the war, but demanded a guarantee that women employed in the place of skilled men should receive the usual rates of pay. The interpretation in practice of this agreement is described in detail by Mrs. Drake, and it is not pleasant reading. Evasions have been easy and breaches abundant. Although women are employed on work "customarily done by men" in every branch of engineering concerned in munitions of war, the rate "customarily paid for the job" is not secured (p. 79). In practice the men's piece-rate tends to disappear with each readjustment of process; while the men's time-rate, granted only in skilled trades, tends to be confined to women employed in the place of fully qualified or apprenticed tradesmen. Piece-workers earn sometimes comparatively high wages, but the large body of women employed in men's trades earn only the statutory minimum, with a few shillings extra on piece-work, less by about a third than what men earn for similar work. Mrs. Drake has spared no pains to ascertain her facts and has recorded them with absolute faithfulness; she permits herself an ironical remark on p. 80, which one can but admit to be justified. Mr. Lloyd George, in a book description of women's munition work wrote in 1916 of the "loyal co-operation and splendid assistance" the men were giving to women in the engineering shops. But the sequel, as Mrs. Drake says, shewing "how the men's rate is observed, with the loyal co-operation and splendid assistance of the employer," remains yet to be written. Until women are better organised, it is evident, even patriotism and war enthusiasm will not secure justice. B. L. H.

LESSONS OF THE WORLD WAR. By Augustin Hamon. Translated by Bernard Miall. (Fisher Unwin & Co.)

IN these days of unparalleled change and sudden victory it might seem that a book on the war and its lessons, written during 1915 and 1916, except for the last chapter which dates from the summer of 1917, must be already out of date, but when a writer can truthfully claim that in 1916 he anticipated President Wilson's conditions of peace and foresaw the triumph of democracy owing to the war, we must feel that he well deserves our attention now, and will be able to warn us from yielding to the clamour of those who would twist the peace to selfish purpose. It is noteworthy that the British Censorship actually prevented the publication of this book in English for some months during the autumn of 1917. Yet it is not a "pacifist" publication, it is strongly pro-Ally, and its writer urges the need for crushing German militarism first, and sees that the war for the masses of the British people and the Dominions has rightly partaken of the nature of a crusade. But M. Hamon has committed the crime of opposing not only German militarism, but all militarism. He urges strongly that only by complete disarmament can Europe meet the crushing economic situation caused by the war, without tremendous hardship and constant fear of new wars. Further, M. Hamon is not only an enemy of militarism, but also of the absolute state, that conception which German influence has done so much to impress upon modern thought. He shows in detail how German influence has driven the Socialists in this direction, in spite of the opposition of French and Russian Socialists with other tendencies. In fact, like the Cities Committee of the Sociological Society (in *Papers for the Present*), he sees the Socialists of Germany as the other side of the shield to the Imperialists. The book is remarkable throughout for its sanity and balance of outlook. It puts forward without heat or prejudice the real facts about the nature of war and shows the urgency of peaceful development for Europe. At the present time there is perhaps no subject which it is more important to consider than disarmament. It is so obvious that, whatever the terms of peace may be, if "national armies" continue war will come sooner or later.

M. Hamon's book helps its readers to see the urgency of this matter from every point of view, and does the service of raising the question of possibility of complete disarmament. The book, therefore, is full of actuality for the present moment and should be a useful ally for those who aim at a reconstituted Europe. S. B.

SOCIAL LIFE IN BRITAIN FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE REFORMATION. By G. C. Coulton. (Cambridge University Press.)

THIS book of extracts from mediæval and early Renaissance writers is one that should be in the hands of all who want to know more of that comparatively christianised world which preceded our own epoch. But readers should beware of thinking that it covers the whole ground; there are grievous lacunæ, of which perhaps the chief and most characteristic is the omission to describe the craft or the merchant guilds, and the great part these played in the framework of society. Except for a few references, which could not well be avoided, the mediæval guild system might not have existed. The writer clearly does not recognise the essential difference between the mediæval epoch and the Renaissance period from whose decay we are now emerging, which is that the former was a period of associated action under the ægis of christian principles, and the latter of individualism and revolt from traditional authority. An extreme yet typical instance of this latter frame of mind is the well-known adage that "business is business," expressing the reply of the business man to any plea of considération for others. The guildsman who acted on such sentiments was in danger of punishment by the guild as offending against its honour which was, for example, concerned in the making of good bread and the giving of full measure. The Church consecrated the guilds and maintained this standard just as it turned the warrior into the knight sworn "to protect the Church, to fight against treachery, to reverence the priesthood, to fend off injustice from the poor, to make peace in your own province, to shed your blood for your brethren, and, if needs must, to lay down your life." Mr. Coulton, though he gives us this extract, gives as his only other extract on knighthood a fourteenth century complaint against decay from its ideals. No doubt he thinks Chaucer's knight too well known for quotation, yet the description might well have been inserted for contrast.

In general we may note that too large a proportion of the quotations are fourteenth century and onwards, expressing that very decay of the mediæval order which led to its breakdown and supersession. No mistake is commoner than to attribute to uediæval times evils which should be attributed to the Renaissance period, and this is true in many directions from the despotism of princes to the overcrowding of towns. The book, valuable as it is, would have been far more so had an attempt been made to contrast the mediæval system at its best and to compare this with the period of decay. The change may be seen as beginning even in such a delightful passage as that from Stow on London Pastimes, part of which is from FitzStephen's twelfth century description of London. S. B.