CHAPTER FIFTEEN

HOW MANKIND IS TAUGHT AND DISCIPLINED

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§ 1. What Is Education?

So we come to the culminating chapter of our review of human activities. We have shown the factories at work, the houses being built, the armies drilled, the trains running, the food distributed, the population clothed, and the human race maintained and reproduced and increased from day to day, by the interplay of need and desire, guided by idea systems, by conceptions of how and why one ought to behave, and what is due to self and to others in this vast co-operation. We have introduced Jung’s convenient new term, the persona, in that exposition, and it has proved very useful indeed in handling this discussion. We have attempted a rough, obvious classification of the various types of persona by which human conduct is guided, and we have indicated how the social economic life of our communities is shaped by the multitudinous interplay of these various kinds of persona. But so far we have been vague upon the way in which these guiding personas are built up in human brains. Yet obviously, unless the entire psychological analysis on which we have based ourselves is wrong, the building of these personas and their associated ideology in the one thousand nine hundred-odd million brains of mankind is the central reality of human association.

Every human being is to some extent an educable creature. If it were not so, the loosely-knit world community which already exists would be impossible.

And here we use educable and education in the widest sense. We are using it in the biological sense of the modification and elaboration of instinct, of innate dispositions that is, to behave in this way or that, through experience. Experiences enhance or restrain the original mechanical responses; the creature learns. As the Science of Life explains very carefully, this educability is vastly greater in mammals than in any other creatures, greater in the primates than
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any other mammals and immensely greater in man. In all these "higher animals" there is a distinctive organ, the cerebral cortex, which is specially associated with this learning through experience. But in many animals, and particularly among the primates, there appear the rudiments of deliberate instruction. In man educability is carried to unprecedented levels by the use of symbols and particularly by the use of words. And now almost universally he draws and writes and so supplements his gestures and talking in their task of conveying and receiving suggestions. The education and instruction of even the highest anthropoid ape is quite immeasurably below the education of the most primitive savage.

The education of the savage, and also the education of a great proportion of simple and primitive people, is limited to the precept, examples and warnings of the small social group in which the individual is reared. He is shown and told what is needed for conduct in that restricted group in which he is to play his part. If he is a savage, he is shown the use of weapons, the simpler tactics of war and hunting, the use and manufacture of a few implements. It is suggested to him that certain things are things to be proud of and certain things are things to be ashamed of. And there are the imperatives of primitive law, the taboos, sexual limitations, respect for the property of others, minor specific restrictions, which must be observed under penalty. Everyone drums them into him. Everyone will see that he observes them. That suffices for his elemental needs. In the more restricted and specialized sense of the word, the normal sense of the word "educated," he is not educated at all. He is in ordinary language an uneducated person.

In that narrower sense he only begins to be educated when he is given definite and deliberate instruction in the exacter use of words, almost always with instruction in the elements of writing and counting, and when he is made to learn and remember histories which seem to explain the group and the world to him and assist him to play his part not only in the intimate domestic life, but in wider relationships. Even that much education is not yet administered to the whole of mankind. Up to a very recent date it was the privilege of comparatively limited classes even in the most advanced societies. Universal elementary education in a community is a thing of yesterday, and it is still imperfectly established. The extension of education to the whole of adult life in every class has hardly
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begun. Education is only dawning upon the world.

But education is being forced upon everyone by that rapid increase in the range, complexity and instability of social co-operation that is the fundamental characteristic of contemporary experience. Men have to read and write if only to understand messages, render accounts and adapt themselves to incessantly changing processes. You cannot train them and leave them. The traditional equipment of the peasant and the wandering herdsman and hunter has now to be enlarged and supplemented at a hundred points, if he is to maintain himself among the constantly multiplying exigencies of the present world. Everywhere, now, the teaching of reading and writing spreads: into the peasant life of Russia and Turkey, into the wilds of America and Siberia, into the dense peasant masses of India and China. That is to say, thin threads of understanding relationship are spreading into the minds of populations whose towns and villages were formerly as incoherent one with another, politically and economically, as grains of desert sand. The need for an extension of education created by the new economic life has been perceived, and perceived so plainly, in all the Western communities that, in spite of the jealous opposition of the baser sort of employer and of privileged people with limited ideas, it has already been carried through to the extent of creating an almost completely literate population. Nearly everybody in America and western Europe has learnt to read and write nowadays. Illiteracy recedes everywhere.

That an extension of the educational elements was bound to bring great changes in the ideology and the personas of the newly instructed was not at first evident. But reading and writing involved the penetration of general ideas into a majority of minds that had hitherto been untouched by them.

Instead of certain instructed and privileged classes the whole community is now accessible to wide general ideas and capable of incalculable interventions in the economic and political organization. The broadest ideology may appear now in action at any level in the social body. The educated persona which dominates the public services more and more, which has permeated even into the militant services, is now infecting and changing both the entrepreneur and the worker. The sense of service is spreading; it is becoming an ingredient in a growing proportion of personas. We
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are visibly moving towards an entirely literate and disciplined world, more and more clearly informed about its origins and its destinies.

The civilized world-state of the future will develop and can only develop in correlation with that spread of the educated persona. In the end that, with its variations, must become the universal human persona. The motive of service must replace the motives of profit and privilege altogether.

§ 2. The Nature of Primitive Education

When that encyclopædia of work and wealth we have projected is completed, or when our industrial museums have been extended to cover the whole field of human activities, there will be great sections devoted to education in its more specialized sense. They will show a continually broadening scope and a steady invasion of the everyday persona by large ideas.

The earliest formal education must have been instruction in the meaning of hieroglyphic signs and symbols, the teaching, that is, of reading and writing and the art of counting. There are learners' cuneiform writing tablets still in existence, four thousand years old and more, Sumerian pot-hooks and hangers. This was the substantial basis of all education for vast ages. To that was added a certain amount of explanatory lore. In our sufficiently spacious museum we should have models or paintings as well as specimens to illustrate types of primordial primary education; pictures of hedgerows and dame schools, samples of horn books and alphabets, the abacus in use, slates and slate pencils, copy books and the like. That great educational museum of ours, which has yet to find its Oskar von Miller, will show scores of charming groups of the world's children at work upon their "elements." Rabindranath Tagore described to me how, in the schools he endowed upon his family estates, little Indians sat under trees in the open air learning after the fashion of the past to make their letters with styles upon big leaves. I remember learning my A B C from my mother with the help of a sheet of letters which she had stuck up in the kitchen, and the first word I wrote was "butter" on a scrap of paper put against the window to trace over the copy she had made. From such

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primitive methods our museum will ascend to that more systematic and scientific training, not only in letters and figures, but in shapes, colours and outline, that has been developed from Froebel's initiatives in the kindergarten.

Many of my contemporaries got their "elements" in the same old-fashioned way as I. They learnt the numbers as shapes and their "tables" of multiplication, and so forth, long before they realized what it was all about. Such propositions as "five and two are seven" or "twice five are ten" were learnt as dogmas. A single unsoundness in the set of dogmas thus acquired was enough to send all their summing wrong and give them a life-long dread of the uncertainties of calculation and the perplexities of mathematics. Their "sums" came out wrong, and there was no way of checking and discovering the faulty tendency. A little boy who had slipped into the heresy that $5 + 7 = 11$ or that $7 \times 8 = 48$ might have his life embittered and suffer punishments and impositions for years through the operation of that one undetected defect.

Interesting modern developments will be displayed in these collections showing how the accidental misconceptions and physical idiosyncrasies of children can now be observed and detected and corrected. Hitherto astigmatism and other optical defects have made adding and such-like processes in column, and the swift recognition of figures, difficult for multitudes in every generation, and have stamped this swarm of unfortunates with an unjustifiable sense of their lack of "gift" in these matters. Defects of hearing and obscure mental resistances have led to a similar imputation of stupidity in the use of words. The old elementary teaching was a wasteful process because it was unobservant. At every stage it left crippled and uncompleted minds by the wayside.

Superposed on the necessary first-grade instruction in the codes of intercommunication comes the teaching of social explanations, the teaching of the common ideas that hold the community together, its history and its usages. This lore and the way in which it is imparted vary enormously throughout the educational spectacle. Here again we contemplate a vast region of fact that still awaits the labours of an army of investigators. The persona of the adult is made in the mould of this elucidatory and initiatory teaching, and through the aggregate of the personas of the community flow all its activities. At this most important part of our enquiry into the

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motive forces of the human ant-hill we find ourselves again in uncharted and unsettled territory.

That anthropological part of our coming encyclopaedia, that still uncrystallized Museum of Human Education, when it has been brought into being, will display, arranged in order, an intricate, strange variety of methods adopted by savage and barbaric peoples throughout the earth. Just as there was a stage in the development of agricultural processes when the sowing of seed and the beginning of a new year seem to have been inseparably associated with human sacrifices, so almost everywhere we find traces of cruel, dark and grotesque ceremonies at the dawn of sexual maturity. Fasts, vigils, torture, mutilations, the knocking out of teeth, the tattooing of the body were inflicted. And after various dire tests and strains, there generally appeared a pretence of imparting profound secrets. The incidence of these initiations varied widely. Some were the lot of everyone in the tribe, or they fell most heavily on the men, or they were restricted to particular ranks in the social body or made exceptionally onerous for those ranks. They were the crown of the popular education of all the folk concerned, or they were the culmination of the special education of the priests and medicine men.

The teaching of the young savage about himself and the conditions of his life, what he was, what the tribe was, what he might do, what he might not do, what powers he should respect and why, was manifestly threaded into this testing, straining, and breaking-in process. But at present our knowledge of the psychological forces concerned, what were the motives and ideas of the elders who imposed these ceremonies, and how they reacted upon the persona of the neophyte, is very obscure. Even our accounts of the actual rituals in many cases are extremely imperfect and unsatisfactory. More often than not the idea which led to the adoption of this or that ceremony is lost completely in the remote past. Each generation has gone on repeating what was done before, with occasional elaborations and mutations of the things done, reverence increasing and deepening as the last rays of rationality vanish. When the ceremony has become a mystery and a sacrament, then its establishment is secure.

There is a streak of original cruelty in the human make-up, a disposition to experiment upon our fellows, a taste for strange,
impressive, and terrifying behaviour. All peoples seem to like
grotesque masks, monstrous images and antics, throbbing and
menacing music and ceremonious dances for their own sake; but
the normal human disposition is all against admitting that these
things are mere play and purposeless excess; they are justified
therefore in inventing deep reasons and grave imperatives. In an
earlier chapter of this work (Chapter I, § 5) we have shown how the
human community grew against resistances and particularly
against the dispersive influence of the jealousy of senior for junior.
There may be an appeasing element mixed up in initiation; there
may be a vindictive and dominating factor in the primitive educa-
tional process. The jealousy of the seniors works itself off. We do
not merely teach the young, we “larn ’em.”

The disposition to inflict suffering and impose submission is still
plainly perceptible in our records of the education of the growing
civilizations of ancient and modern times. The teacher approached
his pupil in the mood of a snarling dog, hardly concealing the
implements of discipline, the rod, the cane, the birch, the leather
strap. It is all too plain that he did not mean to use them only in the
last resort; he meant to use them at the first opportunity. Our
Educational Museum will have cases and diagrams of these once
necessary instruments, and all literature will be ransacked for our
encyclopaedia to find illuminating quotations about this flagellatory
phase in the teaching of mankind.

Even the “elements” were taught harshly and clumsily in primit-
ive education, and the comparison of savage initiations with one
another and with classical and medieval educational methods will, I
think, reveal more and more that the second stage of education has
aimed partly indeed to impart a history and an explanation, but
mainly to cow, abase, break in, and so socialize the presumably
recalcitrant and insubordinate newcomer. Even to this day it is
charged against the English public schoolboy that he has been given
a morbidly exaggerated sense of “good form,” that he is a moral
coward, afraid to think for himself or look hostile public opinion in
the face. He is subjugated not only by the teaching staff, but by the
conservative influence of the senior forms entrusted with the
“traditions of the school”; he has all the individual “nonsense”
knocked out of him. So the prize boy becomes the orthodox
second-rate man. That particular indictment we will not discuss
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here. But it is plain in any realistic and circumstantial account of schools throughout the ages that the pedagogue has had a very aggressive way of leaping upon his human material and driving it before him. And much of the amelioration of upper-class schools in the last hundred years or so has been rather a relaxation of pedagogic energy, fierceness and clumsiness, under the protests of parents and public, than any very definite revolution in the teachers' conception of educational method.

The extensive disappearance of violence and dogmatic compulsion from education in recent times is apparently only one aspect of a general mitigation of the relations of human beings one to another. It has gone on parallel with the decline in the beating and ill-treatment of servants and workers, and the diminished arrogance of employers, and it is due to deeper causes than any specific educational reform. We have already indicated how far the greater prosperity of our species and the civilizing influence of the machine have contributed to this amelioration of life. "Democracy" is one of the terms we use to express this changed spirit in the world. We are not so sure who are inferiors and who are superiors as we used to be. Projects are explained to people instead of being imposed upon them, and the imperative mood gives place to persuasion.

The world has discovered that the common man is neither so stupid nor so obstinate as was once supposed; a large part of industrial progress has consisted in taking the worker into the confidence of the entrepreneur, and a quite parallel change in spirit has gone on throughout the educational organization. The declared object of education is no longer to make a suitable instrument for the carrying out of a subjugating and restraining tradition; it has become the stimulation and release of a willing collaborator in an adventurous enterprise.

This implies not only an extensive change in the spirit and method of teaching, but also a revolutionary change in the content of education. The persona evoked has not only to be of a different quality, but it has to look in a different direction.

To the development of that change of direction this entire work is devoted, and we now approach its concluding definition.
§ 3. Religions and Education

Here it is we must bring in the church spires, the towers, the minarets, the modest chapels, the cathedrals, cloisters and episcopal palaces, the church house, the monastery, the nunnery, the lamasery, the religious retreats, pilgrimage centres and wayside shrines, scattered about our world. Or rather we must bring in the activities of all the men, women and children which centre upon these, who perform ceremonies, celebrate occasions, chant, fast, pray, and watch in and protect these picturesque and often very beautiful aspects of the human landscape. What do they signify to us in our review of the human ensemble?

What in fact is the social significance of religion?

Let us recall the limitations we have set ourselves in this work. As we defined our scope in Chapter II, § 4, we are dealing with "man’s gradual and at last methodical extension of mastery over the forces and substances about him—in space and time as he experiences them, in existence as he knows it." We have refused to follow the new-fashioned mathematician or the old-fashioned theologian beyond this everyday life, and we are concerned with religion therefore only in so far as it now influences the activities of people and affords occupations for them. It is not for us to discuss here whether this universe has in fact existed for ever or (what is for all practical purposes the same thing) that it was flung into being in the year 4004 B.C. as a going concern so contrived that it implied an infinite past. It does not concern us whether (in some profoundly symbolic fashion, of course) the cosmos rests on a tortoise which rests on an elephant whose legs reach "all the way down," or that it is all a thought in the mind of a Jeans-like Deity whose symbol is the square root of minus one, who started his vast meditation with the simple proposition, "Let there be light" and gradually worked things out—a game of Patience played by a Being of Infinite Leisure—to produce a recognizable reflection of Himself in the mind of a popular savant. These and every other form of cosmic poetry, logomachy and "mystical" interpretation of Being are outside our scope altogether. We refuse all theological controversy. We do not interpret Being here. We accept Being. However Being may be interpreted, it remains for man mainly an affair of economic co-
operation in which his to-day is filled with the cares of to-morrow. That employs him, and that is what concerns us here. We deal with Being here only as it presents itself in the everyday life, and with religion only as a social fact in a spectacle of facts.

In fact, religion appears at first in the human story as something as practical as a flint arrowhead. Its gods were once as actual and material as men. Its chief festivals turned on seed-time and harvest, and its sacrifices and the benefits it promised were, so far as we are able to tell, entirely mundane. Even when the idea of immortality came in, it was to begin with a quite materialist immortality, a resurrection of the actual body, or a life in happy hunting grounds as real as earth.

We are profoundly ignorant of the religion of palæolithic man. There are guesses that he had a sort of fetishism, and that he imagined minds and wills in everything. They are just guesses. It is doubtful if the present beliefs and customs of still savage people furnish very sound indications of the working of those archaic minds. A savage is as many generations away from primitive man as we are.

Still less do we understand the mental operations of the generations transitional to the early agricultural peoples. Advancing psychology may presently find acceptable explanations of the steps which led to the specialized priest and the altar. Through stage after stage we may build up again in our imaginations that mighty growth of fears and personifications, of symbols that were living realities to the worshipper, of vast overhanging imperatives and assurances. Now it is only in rare flashes of intuition that we glimpse the gods and spirits and powers that our ancestors knew for real. The early civilizations, as archaeology reveals them, show a threefold society of peasant, of nomad conqueror and trader and of initiated priest, already established, believing in the gods and in the guidance of those gods. The religion as prehistory displays it is intensely practical, and the priest monopolizes the thought and knowledge of the community. He is astronomer, man of science, doctor, lawyer, banker, architect and art director. He is subjugated to his god and to his order, and he is saturated with the idea of service. The whole mental life of the community is in fact at that early stage religious.

So, still very largely unexplained, Neolithic society breaks upon our knowledge.
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The collective mental life has long since lapsed from its homogeneity in the early communities, by the distinction and disentanglement of the learned and technical callings from the religious priesthood, pure and simple; by the escape through specialization of this great service and of that, from immediate association with the temple. The professions specialized away from the religious body, but the religious body to the best of its ability remained generalized and directive. It did not accept any specialization, though a sort of specialization was thrust upon it. By the later Middle Ages, the lawyer and the study of law, the medical profession, philosophy, science, finance, banking were all practically secularized, and the formal religious organization, though still the directive power of society, no longer permeated the whole net of intellectual activities.

Finance had indeed been secularized since classical times. When the great Semitic civilizations of Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean had collapsed before Aryan conquerors, the cruder religious organization of these latter never took over the banking, loaning and insurance of the ancient Temples. That remained in Semitic hands.

From the time of the Greek republics onward, whenever a class of independent gentlemen arose there was also an escape of philosophy and science from the priests. But though they escaped they were still subordinated. If men thought and experimented with a certain freedom they did so under God or under the gods. Plato, Socrates, Euripides pursued the most penetrating and subversive enquiries, but they saluted the gods with respect. They could think and say what they liked within limits and to their own special circle, but they had to respect the divine control of the general community. The earliest scientific society dedicated itself to the Muses.

Education has been the last field of intellectual activity to pass out of religious control, and it is still imperfectly and doubtfully released. General education was still almost entirely in consecrated hands in the sixteenth century, and most of the great statesmen were still clerics. There is a manifest reason why there should be this sustained association of school and altar. The lawyer could begin as a special sort of priest and presently cease to be a priest at all, because explaining the moral order of the universe and keeping contact with the gods had manifestly ceased to be any part of his business. But the teacher who began as a special sort of priest has remained priest because he has, even more than most
priests, to explain the moral order of the universe and keep up the contact between the learner and the gods.

In our own times in England and France we have seen a great movement to "secularize" education and a powerful resistance to that movement. The conflict has played a large part in the political life of both these countries for half a century, and the disentanglement of school and Church is still very incomplete. It is, in fact, an impossible disentanglement. The moral order of the community must be expounded in some fashion; if the gods and creeds are to go, there must be another story told and a fresh creed explained.

Secularism cannot do without the religious function; it cannot banish a rationalized devotion. Quite as much as religion it has to present life in an ordered series of values in which self takes a subordinate place.

If the reader will recall the chief religious revolutions, revivals and new beginnings throughout the world, he will, I think, agree that in all cases they were animated by the desire to restore the original comprehensiveness of religious direction. They are educational resumptions or attempted resumptions, a bracing up of education. They all arose in times of change and mental confusion, and either they sought to recall the old gods or formule in an invigorated state, or they attempted to substitute new ones. Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Communism arose, all of them, not as new and interesting discoveries (or denials) in the field of theology but as complete new ways of life, to which law, hygienic régime and medicine, social custom, thought and enquiry had to be reoriented. In each the convert had to be "born again." He had to come out from the City of Destruction. He had to learn a new way of life. They were all "teachings"; they were all in essence educational, a new sort of training for a new sort of living.

Throughout the ages religion in its various forms has always been providing or attempting to provide the common explanation of the community; to state, so to speak, the community's "articles of association." It has held communities together even if it has never, in historical times and so far as we know, completely and entirely bound them into perfect organized unities.

If we consider the histories of the main religious beginnings and reform movements of the historical period we shall find a sort of parallel development among them all. They arise with a sort of
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glory in men's souls. The common things of life are transfigured.
To begin with, the new faith is always intensely practical, always.
It demands a change of the whole life. Things have got into a
dreadful state, and they have to start afresh. Whatever the
revelations, theories and mysteries on which the new teaching
professes to be based, a new sort of behaviour is its substantial
aspect. The normal everyday life, the "world," has to be renounced
altogether. It is the new religious life or nothing. The rich young
man has to sell all that he has and follow in the footsteps of the
Teacher. All men are to be converted and brought under the yoke
of the faith. Manifestly all education has to be renewed from the
ground upward.

But soon the teaching is taken up by disciples who hand it on to
other disciples. They go out from the inspiration of the Master to
obdurate and inattentive people already set in established ways of
living but who, they feel, ought to be attracted and persuaded.
And presently the Master is no longer with his disciples to revive
their flagging zeal and criticize their interpretations. Compromise
creeps in. The new faith reduces its terms. Things are made easy
for those who will come part of the way but not all the way. A
distinction is made between those who lead a full religious life and
the lay adherent. Times and seasons are prescribed for religious
duties, and the rest of the daily life is tacitly released from the grip
of the advancing religion.

A process of "spiritualization" begins. The Master taught,
perhaps, that the spirit was more important than the letter, but
now this is interpreted to justify a mitigation of practical applica-
tions. A distinction is drawn between deadly sins, like denial,
blasphemy, failure to respect the prescribed sacraments and the
like, which break up the organization and so remain of vital im-
portance, and venial sins, which merely disregard the rules of
personal conduct. Sins of the flesh, usury, dishonesties, these the
religious specialist will forgive on reasonable terms so long as you
will not attack the fundamentals of his organization and creed.
Make the sign of the cross, or repeat the formula that Allah alone is
God, admit that your sins are sins, and you may sin in comparative
peace.

And not only is the practical influence of the spreading faith thus
attenuated and detached, but also it becomes "tolerant." It is
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tacitly admitted that it is, after all, not supremely i.m.portant. Islam, which began with the alternative of conversion or the sword, presently arrived at the more practicable alternative of conversion or tax-paying. The believer and the damned meet with increasing amiability as this attenuation of religion proceeds.

It becomes less and less possible to distinguish the converted by any external tests. Even their spiritualized religious exercises begin to be neglected. The formulæ remain devitalized and dying. Yet the organizations fight for existence, and the sincere believers fight against this broadening decadence. Many are diverted into partisanship and into a preservative persecution of the scoffer and the open unbeliever. There is a struggle against mixed marriages, against unsympathetic talk and books, against novel practices. Instead of the “glad tidings” of the opening phase appears orthodoxy indignant in an inattentive world. What was once an inspiration has become an obstruction; from conquest the creed has passed into opposition. Religions begin as the dawn of God and end with their backs to the wall.

Such is the common history of religions as the world has known them since history began. It is as true of sectarian departures, of Quakerism and Calvinism for example, as of Christianity as a whole. Religious impulses are always “fading out” and always being renewed. They do not disappear, but they lose emphasis. They lose fire and quality. They are great impulses in life, and they spread and spend themselves in conquest. The flash ends in ashes.

Yet the need of religion for a comprehensive statement of life and right conduct is perennial. Religion after religion is evoked by that need; each tries to recapture that completeness of control over life which was originally exercised by belief and fear in the early communities, and each in its turn fails.

At present great multitudes of us are living in a state of faded religiosity. The formal religious organizations of the Atlantic world are little more than the spiritualized husks and trappings of long abandoned efforts to begin a new way of living for mankind. About each there has clustered an accumulation of buildings, endowments and methods of feeling and behaviour. These things go on by a certain inertia and by the imponderable elements in the human make-up. The new way of living, the new rule of life has largely or entirely disappeared or become the “rule” of some

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professing order, but the “spiritualized” functions and ceremonies still exert an emotional and habitual appeal. So far from revolutionizing life and taking people out of worldly routines, religions in their last phase serve rather to allay restlessness, silence uneasy questionings and reassure by their atmosphere of conviction and ultimate knowledge.

Least faded of all the variations of Christianity is the Roman Catholic Church. This does maintain not merely a struggle for its own existence and an obstinate grip upon its schools, but a stout and definite attempt to control the lives of its adherents. Not in economic life. In economic life the control of the Church is and always has been very weak, it repudiates Socialism without any clear definition of the sin involved, but in things biological and intimate its determination to direct is real and living. We have noted this already in Chapter XIII, § 1. Upon the fundamental issue of birth control there was a phase of hesitation on the part of the Church. Bishop Bovier of Le Mans, for instance, in 1842 warned the Pope that to prohibit the practice of contraception would weaken the power of the Church in France. It was only in December, 1930, that the Pope finally slammed the door upon “toleration” in this matter and restored the sacrament of marriage to an unambiguous material significance.

The Roman Catholic Church thus remains as a body the most practical, the least “spiritualized,” of all the main sects of Christianity. It confronts its adherents with a definite way of living which in this respect at least is in plain antagonism to modern ideas. It has launched upon a deliberate struggle to deflect education from modern ends. Roman Catholics have now no choice but to obey, or to disobey and lie about it (which the confessional makes difficult) or to leave the Church.

In Moscow I have been told there is a Museum of Religion of a bitterly polemical type. But it is possible to imagine a Museum of Comparative Religion void of all polemical suggestion that would bring together in a very illuminating way the altars, rituals, symbols, costumes and prescribed types of building of all the world’s creeds from Rome to Hayti and from Tibet to Yucatan. We should trace how Persia, ancient Etruria, Hellenic Alexandria, have contributed to the temples of to-day. There could be gramophone records of music, of revivalist preaching and chants, working
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models of genuflexions and prostrations, and all the instruments and methods of purification, mortification and penance. All these things a museum could show, but no museum can recapture the hopes, the ecstasies and despairs, the passions of devotion, the abasement and the ennoblement of minds, of which these things are the sounds and hulls and instruments. Throughout the ages ten thousand million souls have been lit and have flamed upward, consoled and exalted by religion.

A myriad religious activities are in progress as this page is read, and our panorama of all that occupies mankind would not be complete without them. At Benares fakirs and saints are doing the strangest things, sitting cross-legged, their arms limp, their palms upward, squinting at the tips of their own noses in a meditative ecstasy, lying on beds of spikes, maintaining incredible attitudes; yellow-robed, shaven-headed men are tending the wind-driven praying wheels of Tibet; there are pilgrimages afoot in every quarter of the globe, chantings, kneeling, sacrifices. At Altötting, in Bavaria on nearly every day in the year there are men and women on their knees dragging heavy wooden crucifixes round the Chapel of the Black Virgin. Wherever you are, there are probably men and women fasting and praying within a few miles of you. There is exhortation going on at this moment in cathedrals, in great public halls, in little plain chapels, at the street corners, in forest clearings.

All this religious doing is as much a part of the world of work and wealth as the beating of foundry hammers and the clatter of looms. It may be withdrawn a little from the main stream of production and distribution and consumption, but it draws its impetus from the same sources, and it moves forward together with the rest of the living flood. It reacts upon production, consumption, buying and selling, population and practically all the material concerns of life.

Statistics, such as they are, suggest that the current of these ceremonies and devotions has dwindled relatively to the main stream of life in the past century or so. It is difficult to ascertain what proportion of the world’s population is now under vows, consecrated to a religious life. There do not seem to be any statistics to show the increase or decrease of the monastic and conventual life. The maximum, so far as Christendom goes, is believed to have occurred in the thirteenth century. Nor are there figures to show the waxing or waning of Buddhist monasticism. The Christian
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churches complain of diminished attendances of the laity. The churches open their doors for service, the church bells peal, but the swelling torrent of modern life seems to heed these invitations less and less.

Perhaps the most vital contemporary religion—as we have defined religion—is embodied in the disciplines of the Communist party. It is vital in the fact that it is still in continuous contact with conduct. It is elaborately protected against "spiritualization" by an insistent dogmatic materialism. It admits no significance for life whatever except here and now. The Communist prides himself upon this implacable materialism. He, at least, he is resolved, will not fall away from the intense practicality which all other religions have so conspicuously lost.

If he does fall away in the future, it will be in the name not of spirituality but of strategy and tactics. He may reculer pour mieux sauter, and then never return for the leap. Christianity started with a community of goods which it presently became convenient to disregard. The sense of this danger of "weakening off" haunts the Communist world and produces, just as it has produced in other religions, a heavy stressing of orthodoxy. The religion is fighting hard for great ends, and there is a heavy strategical disadvantage in any modifications of doctrine in the face of the "enemy." It fears criticism for exactly the same reason that the military type fears criticism, because it weakens discipline and breaks the fighting front.

Communism clings to orthodoxy, the true and only faith, and already there have been heresy hunts in the Communist body. There is a sort of Inquisition into the sincerity of professed believers and servants, and there has been a panic lest the faith be betrayed. Eminent officials are accused; they are subjected to rigorous enquiries, they confess and submit gratefully to discipline. If the Five Year Plan fails short, it will be through conspiracies and sabotage, for it is contrary to the creed that the Five Year Plan should fail through any inherent defect. For the edification of the weaker brethren there are now prophets and saints, Marx and Lenin to begin with, whose intelligence and character must no longer be questioned, whose every utterance was divine. And there is even a mystical communism, affecting the art and literature of Moscow profoundly, whose aim is self-identification with "the
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Proletarian." "The Proletarian" is a superhuman entity with whom the devout Marxist seeks and attains spiritual communion. The individuality of the worshipper is merged therein. From the Proletarian springs "Prolet-art," for example, among the first fruits of the new spirit. It is art without individuality. Proletarian thought, proletarian science, proletarian conduct have, it is believed by the devout Communist, strange and novel superiorities of their own.

Already Fülöp-Miller in the *Spirit and Face of Bolshevism* has initiated the study of these developments. The comparative theologian will find close and interesting analogies between these aspects of Communism and Christian and Moslem mysticism.

From our present point of view Communism is only the latest and not the last of the world religions. We may foretell, but it is difficult to anticipate, others. One guess may be permitted here. Communism may be the last wave of dogmatic religion. It seems probable to the writer that the development of religion in the future may differ in one important respect from the way in which all religions, up to and including Communism, have arisen in the past. In the future there may be a religious organization without a Founder or an initial inalterable Teaching.

All religions hitherto have begun with extreme definition; with the assumption that the final truth was now revealed. That was on all fours with the mental dispositions of the ages of tradition. But just as nowadays all sciences are consciously progressive, working towards more truth but never attaining absolute truth, so modern religion may become also a continually progressive thing. Do not modern conditions indeed necessitate such a new type of religious approach? Our world is now launched upon a perpetual investigation and innovation, and its ideal of education is no longer the establishment of a static ideology, but the creation of a receptive and co-operative alertness. For that no fixed inalterable teaching will suffice.

All those forms of mental service we have considered... our study of the priestly persona, that have escaped one by one, as we have said, from the original comprehensiveness of religion, need now to be brought back into a common understanding. They left organized and formulated religion behind very largely because of its inflexibility. They left it high and dry and flowed out into the world.
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So that the world has become more and more scattered in its ideals and aims. Education, law, finance, research, literature, all be-gotten by the priestly tradition, have ceased now to have ever ceremonies relations with organized religion. Liberal minds conceive education nowadays as divested of any existing religious form. Nevertheless, we realize the necessity of some more comprehensive teaching that shall restore the declining unity of human motives. If we cannot teach imperatives we have to teach aims. We have to restore unifying power to education. We seek a new education to achieve the synthesis of the new world community.

But if we are seeking to frame out a new education in view of the new ways of living that open before us, we are thereby and at the same time starting religion anew.

§ 4. Universities

Just as the forms and methods of the new economic organization of mankind spring from the social order of the Atlantic civilizations, so the types of educational method that now prevail and spread over the earth are mainly the fruits of Western Christendom. The two things have gone together. In the educational museum of the future, the young Moslem shrilly learning the Koran by rote, the Chinese student toiling to recognize and shape one complex character after another and acquiring a miscellany of phrase and information in the process, will be found in side galleries leading nowhere. The main aisle will carry us from the schools of Rome through the schools of mediaeval and modern Europe to the world education of to-day.

Latin education under the Empire had separated itself very widely from religion. Religion had passed into one of its most attenuated phases, and the recognized worship of the gods was being supplemented by that variety of cults, Neoplatonism, Isis worship, Mithraism, primitive Christianity, and so forth, out of which orthodox Catholicism arose at last triumphant. The school and the pedagogue had practically nothing to do with these religious developments. Formal education concerned itself with the teaching of Greek and Latin and with rhetoric, and it was restricted to a limited class. What ideology the young received came to them from the world about them. There was no religious doctrine in
formal education. There was not, therefore, as Clodesley Brereton points out very clearly in his excellent article in the current Encyclopædia Britannica, any violent conflict between ascendent Christianity and the pagan schools. They were taken over by the Christian synthesis.

The dark ages of barbaric disorder and social confusion in Europe attenuated but did not break the Latin educational tradition. The curriculum of the schools that emerge in the ninth and tenth centuries is recognizably the same as that of the schools of the second century B.C. plus an ideology—to wit, doctrinal Christianity—and minus any Greek learning. The Latin language, some Latin literature, logical reasoning, an astrological astronomy, rudimentary (and quite bookish) science, counting and a little computation and vocal music, constituted the substantial equipment of an educated man. And even this much education did not extend far beyond the organized clergy.

From such schools, with the restoration of social order in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there presently arose those distinctive centralizing organs of the European educational systems, the universities. They were developed in close relation to the Church and monasticism; their organization was essentially monastic. Salerno stands out as an exception. It arose in the tolerant atmosphere of tenth-century Sicily, where Moslem Christian and Jew could meet and exchange ideas, and it was primarily a school of medicine. Its growth was fostered by that pioneer rebel against the Papacy, the Emperor Frederick II. The others were aggregates of scholars, aggregates growing out of local schools, as learning spread and the increasing social stability made law more important and a knowledge of law desirable.

The teachers and scholars in these expanding schools organized for mutual assistance in guilds under an elected rector. The typical university was, to begin with, a teachers’ and students’ association. It was not created by a ruling authority. At first the students lodged haphazard, but later came residential colleges. The method of teaching was chiefly by lecture and notebook. At these concentrations, law, bookish medicine and theology were studied, and at a lower level was the preparatory “arts” course for those insufficiently prepared for the major studies. The “arts” were Latin, logic, rhetoric, stale book-science, music, descriptive astronomy and
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a little summing. The arts student graduated B.A. and, if he meant to teach, M.A. The teaching in all faculties was the teaching of tradition.

"The methods of instruction," says Mr. Clodesley Brereton, in the article already cited, "—by lecture, or commentary on received texts; and by disputation, in which the scholars acquired dexterity in the use of the knowledge they had absorbed—were in harmony with this conception, and were undoubtedly thoroughly well suited to the requirements of an age in which the ideal of human thought was not discovery, but order, and in which knowledge was regarded as a set of established propositions, the work of reason being to harmonize these propositions in subordination to the authoritative doctrines of the Church."

The growth of the universities of this pattern throughout Europe was accompanied by a development of local schools preparing for the "arts" course. These, represented in England by the public schools and grammar schools, made no attempt to educate the general population. They simply prepared aspirants for the three great professions and supplied instruction in the "elements" and a smattering of learning for the sons of prosperous people. By the thirteenth century the formal education of Europe was firmly established upon these lines, and the essentially traditional universities had secured a controlling grip upon educational organization that endures to this day. Some reading and summing leaked out beyond the established schools, men and women learnt to write their names and so on, and an outline of Christian ideology was imparted to nearly everybody in the community by the priest, who used the painted walls of his church and its carved decorations as a picture book for the illiterate.

But this organization leading up to the clerical universities was not the only medium for the transmission of knowledge and ideas in the Middle Ages. By its side there were other educational processes going on, sometimes waxing and sometimes waning in relative importance. The rich and powerful employed private tutors for their children. There was an education of the castle as well as an education of the schools. The young gentleman began as page and learnt equestrian and military science; he learnt estate management; he was trained in instrumental music; versification and good manners. In the presence of the dingy erudite he carried himself

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with pride. He rarely went near a university to learn. His crowning graduation was foreign travel.

In the fifteenth century, the increase in the number of intelligent gentlemen was making this other line of education more and more important. They were reading and thinking. The education of the universities was fading, just as in the preceding section we have described religion as fading. It was failing to cover the realities of life. It was like a small cloak shrinking to the dimensions of a handkerchief on a growing body. The drive towards trade expansion and exploration in the fifteenth century and most of the intellectual stir of the time were not coming through the universities at all.

The acceptance of Greek and of a study of the Greek and Latin literatures for their own sakes, were forced upon the universities through the influence of the merchant princes of Italy, the princes of Germany and the sumptuous ecclesiastics of Rome. Tradition fought against these innovations. The convulsion of the Reformation saw a great decline in the entire university-school organization, and more especially in the Protestant countries. Education retreated for a time to the gentleman's library and study. It was the counter-reformation under the Jesuits that salvaged the schools and universities of the Catholic countries and set a pattern for the Anglican public school.

The attempt to reorganize education in the seventeenth century would make a long history. Oxford and Cambridge counted their students by hundreds then, where once they had counted thousands. Severe religious tests excluded the Catholic and the Nonconformist from these centres. The intellectual thrust of the new times was embodied in such new institutions as the Scientific Academies whose development we have already discussed in Chapter II, § 5. The most rigorous and energetic of the Protestant sects evolved their own teaching institutions. Max Weber in his Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism shows how closely the religious revivalism of the time, the "new life" of the Calvinists in particular, was associated in spirit with the business methods that are now grouped together under the name of Capitalism. It was not simply a religious break-away that occurred. It was an educational break-away. It was equally a break-away from the faded clerical tradition of the time embodied in the universities. In our analysis of social
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mottoes we have pointed out some of the results of this detachment of the entrepreneur from the clerical tradition. The “uneducated” man really had an advantage at that time over the “educated” in his boldness of initiative and in his closer grip upon reality. He had no use for “school learning” emasculated by generations of “scholars.” That he had certain moral deficiencies was not so apparent and interfered not at all with his crude success in that industrial revolution which preceded the mechanical.

It would be too long and subtle an undertaking to tell here how the European university-school system after its ebb towards the middle of the seventeenth century came back again to its present formal predominance in educational organization. This recovery has been made by a series of adaptive abandonments. Conspicuous among these has been the extensive abandonment of religious restrictions bringing the Nonconformist and the Jew, as well as in Protestant countries the exiled Roman Catholic, back to the depopulated lecture rooms.

This was only one aspect of a still profounder abandonment: the abandonment of the idea that the chief function of a university is to preserve traditional learning. Reluctantly but steadily during the last two centuries the idea of intellectual progress has been accepted. “Scholarship” has ceased to rule the teacher’s world. Side by side with the older disciplines the gymnastics of mathematics arose. The astronomy of the telescope followed mathematics into these centres. Then, as the nineteenth century ripened, the experimental sciences won their way to academic protection and encouragement. We have noted the fashion in which this came about in Chapter II, § 5. Now the universities of the world are conscientiously progressive. No man or woman of powerful intellectual initiative need despair nowadays of at least posthumous recognition by these chastened and reinvigorated institutions.

And as an aspect of this renascence the universities have taken up exterior teaching also—before it was too late. They have just prevented the development of a school system independent of them, planned on novel lines to meet new needs.

One may doubt whether this has been altogether a fortunate thing for the community. By great but measured concessions to the more formidable forces of our time they have brought the whole system of secondary education under their sway. The popular
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State schools that have spread about the world since the need of at least an elementary universal education has been recognized came into existence largely beyond their purview, but they are gradually bringing these also into relationship by means of a scholarship ladder and the infiltration of the ranks of teachers and inspectors with their graduates. If they have really begotten very little of modern education they have at least now enormously adopted it. New educational institutions have been shaped to their pattern. The new great University of London and scores of other modern educational centres throughout the civilized world, recall the more venerable institutions in a hundred particulars. They even ape their antiquated costumes and ceremonies; they imitate their "degrees" and courses.

With a difference. Imagine the encounter of a bright young modern-spirited girl in traditional doctor's cap and scarlet robes, dedicated by a scholarship at the London School of Economics to, let us say, "sociological research," with a learned doctor, robe, hood, and cap essentially the same, a monster of erudition, a great bag of quotations, a mighty "scholar" resuscitated from the dignified mental repletion of seventeenth-century Oxford. On the one hand we should have an effect of masquerading impertinence, on the other, I fear, apoplexy.

The universities of Christendom have survived because of the enormous concessions they have made, because of their sedulous propitiation of the strong and successful; they have spread all over the world with the general Europeanization of the world; but it is permissible to question whether they and the conceptions of education they embody are destined to any very prolonged pre-dominance over the intellectual processes of mankind.

In spite of all their apparent modernization the universities have never yet discovered how to lead a community. They have a timidity in their hearts; they would rather propitiate than dominate. They have simply substituted the tradition of yesterday for inalterable tradition to save themselves. They have almost come up to date, and they have been carried on prosperously by a hurrying and not too critical world. But they will always be by their very nature, by their instinct for following power instead of exercising it, not quite up to date. It is difficult to imagine how they can ever get beyond yesterday. With their fundamental hieratic prepossessions,
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their degrees and examinations, their curricula and direction of study, they must always remain organizations for the confirmation and transmission of what has already been accepted in the unorganized world of free intelligence. They cannot handle knowledge in this fashion until it is more or less traditionalized. They may be of service in stereotyping ideas for general distribution, but they can neither monopolize nor control the spontaneous directive processes of human thought. These last, in a world where there are no longer any educational limitations to class or type, must play freely through the general intellectual community.

The university in its origin and essence is the culmination of a great system of classrooms in which teachers talk and exercises are done. But is it necessary now that the classroom should extend up to the adult level? For the more or less systematized teaching of the elements and for the establishment of a common ideology the gathering of very young people into classrooms may still be desirable. This we will examine in a later section. But the present fashion of sending young men and women of from seventeen to twenty-two or three to universities for a modernized “arts” degree may give way very rapidly before a clearer conception of education.

The recovery of the universities from their decadence in the eighteenth century was due very largely to the growth of new social types, keenly aware of their educational deficiencies, but by no means clear about the education they needed. The primitive entrepreneur despised book learning, literature, science. His successor demanded education as he demanded a standing among the gentry.

The old universities were distended and reanimated by the requirements of these people. Rich men stirred by creative impulses, founded new ones in the naive persuasion that any learning was good knowledge. We have devoted a brief section already to the civilization of the entrepreneur (Chapter VIII, § 5). The wealth won by innovation bowed down in the halls of tradition and founded new halls. But as its intelligence grew it became critical, and then it was that the old universities began to affect that air and complexion of youth and achieved that remarkable rejuvenation we are dealing with now. The more fashionable became in effect concerns for the flattering of the prosperous old and the entertainment of the prosperous young. The classroom is at last

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only the venerable nucleus for institutions essentially modern, a formal centre for the playing fields, the boating, the picnicking, the making of helpful friendships, the amateur music, the amateur dramatic societies, the gay, fantastic ragging. Learning indeed is still pursued in real earnest, but only by a despised minority. These are like those persistent mystics attached to various religions who are understood to save all the sinners of the world by their unseen and unheeded exercises and mortifications.

The newer and less wealthy foundations to the best of their ability have imitated the pattern set them by the older ones. If they cannot be as meretricious as their great exemplars, they are at any rate as gay and sporting as their means and circumstances permit. The idea of training and breaking in people to disinterested service which was the sustaining idea of the mediæval university has evaporated altogether from the universities of to-day. They are an unstable rebirth, clad in the garments and buildings of ancient institutions. They impart no intelligible ideology because that would "arouse controversy." Modern universities are the last places in the world for controversy. They are impossibly frivolous. They flourish and are indicted.

Nowadays the intelligent rich are becoming more circumspect in their endowments and more careful with their sons. They endow special research institutions, and they begin to think out special courses of training for their own boys and girls. In many matters the fashion set by the rich to-day is taken up by the ordinarily prosperous classes to-morrow and becomes the general usage of the day after. This may be the case in education. The break-up of the universities may be at hand in their very phase of maximum expansion. The undergraduate body may melt away quite suddenly, dispersing to forms of work and training of a more specialized and continuous sort, and with that the university properly speaking, that immense obsolescent educational gesture, that miscellaneous great gathering of students and teachers, will achieve a culminating gala of sport and splendour—and cease.

For "research universities" and "post-graduate universities" are clearly a contradiction in terms; they are something new. We are not writing of them here. We are not writing of the working, thinking and innovating minority which is found in nearly every university in the world. The original university knew no more of
research than it did of athleticism. It taught, and you learnt, and when you had learnt everything you were a "doctor," and its task was done.

An encyclopaedia of work and wealth might supply us here with a mass of statistics about university and college funds and attendances throughout the world. They would be impressive, but useless for the ends we have in view, and so would be lists of various types of continuation schools, technical schools and the like. Classification and nomenclature have still to be brought into line with reality in the field of education. What is called a college here may be classed as a school there; the schools in one country may be doing the "arts" work of the universities in another. All comparisons between the educational level of one country and that of another are unsound, and most of them very irritating to the country which appears at a disadvantage.

More interesting would be that part of the Museum of Education containing pictures and plans of university layout and a display of the architecture and sanitation of existing universities, from Oxford's dreaming spires to the single great skyscraper of forty storeys designed to hold the entire University of Pittsburgh. The Museum of Education would have to assemble great masses of detail and range widely, to make its presentation complete. There might be gramophone records of the discourses of typical university lectures and studies of actual laboratory instruction, and there would certainly be a display of the use of the talking film as a substitute for anatomical and other scientific demonstrations. A picturesque side section would display the peculiar costumes that students wear, the spatterdashes of Lisbon, the corps caps of Germany and the red gowns of Glasgow, and a complete collection of academic robes, hoods and decorations.

A large and striking range of the museum galleries would be devoted to university sports and the rôle of scholarly athleticism in relation to the sporting world. All the present abundance of university sport surged up out of the unpretending relaxations of the mediæval student at a quite recent date. It became conspicuous about the middle of the nineteenth century, and it has since played a large part in advertising and popularizing the modernized university. The training of athletes is now a recognized function of universities, a function that would have shocked Roger
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Ascham beyond measure. For to the tutor of Queen Elizabeth all sports but archery were "vile."
The Oxford and Cambridge boat race rowed every spring at Putney must not be forgotten in the story of university athleticism. It marked the first public display and popularization of the university as a sporting centre. The first inter-university boat race was as early as 1828, though it did not become a regular public function until later. Since then, as we have told in Chapter XIV, § 3, the expansion of the play side of the universities has been—magnificent. In America the faculties have frankly adopted sport as a main business of a university; the sports coach is as important as any other professor, and the sporting side is supposed to develop the distinctive qualities of American public life in their highest manifestation. Great stadia are a feature of all the wealthier American universities—that of Stanford University is capable of holding 88,000 people. But we have already described these developments and noted the claims made on their behalf.
The whole effect of this mélange of bright activities, youthful exuberance and picturesque tradition, this exhibition of schools and universities, would, I think, be indeed one of rapid and spontaneous development but also one of imperfect adjustment, of much energy misdirected, aiming awry or aiming not at all at the realization through mental training of the vast possibilities of man's present attainment.

§ 5. Education Outside the Classroom

In the preceding short history of formal education it has been made clear that never at any time since reading and writing began has formal education been the whole of education. This is a very important distinction on which we would lay the utmost stress. People nowadays have a habit of associating education with the classroom, the professor and the schoolmaster. But the professor and schoolmaster are no more inseparable from education than the galley slave and the mule are inseparable from transport. They are just the operators of one way of education. They are connected with education, but it is not an essential connection. Great intelligent communities have carried on without them. Hellas knew of no schools, as we understand schools to-day, and we have noted

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how the universities seemed to be fading out in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Not only has the intellectual process of mankind gone on steadily far beyond the boundaries of professional intellectual activities, whenever there were security and leisure, but also there have always been more or less informal transmission and communication of the results of this free, extra-mural thinking to the general body of mentally active people. The advent of the printed book and the diffusion of reading, the newspaper and the popular press have progressively increased this external educational work, and now such new devices as the cinema and broadcasting are carrying the informal diffusion of fact and ideas still further.

The proportion of stuff in the mind of the "educated" man and woman of to-day, which is of school or college origin, to the stuff that has come to them from extra scholastic sources, is enormously less to-day than it would have been in the case of their social equivalents a century ago. Turn out the mind of a bachelor of arts to-day and see how much his school and university have given him. A little store of Latin, rusting through disuse, a scrap or so of Greek, a very imperfect knowledge of one or two foreign languages and literatures, the views of various learned gentlemen on his own language and literature, scraps of ten-year-old science, the incomplete foundations of mathematical computation, and some "period" history.

But a word here about that "period" history. If so many of us had not experienced it, few would believe it possible. It is partly like heavy stale gossip about incredible individuals, partly like trying to get interested in the litigation of unknown people in a remote country, and partly like watching a university don playing soldiers on his study floor. (How he loves his "Decisive Battles of the World") The murder or execution of one or another of the more tiresome characters in the story comes as an all too rare relief. A certain feverish liveliness is sought by grossly patriotic appeals. In the growing citizen's childhood, home, governesses, playfellows, friends and a world beflagged, have conspired to distend to the utmost his natural disposition towards tribal partisanship. The "period" historian whenever possible plays upon this predisposition, because by giving a certain pseudo-personal flavour to his narrative he hopes to redeem its essential dreariness. He
incites his students to say "we." "We," it seems. were the Royalists or the Puritans or the Balts or the Medici or the Knights of Malta. "We" conquered India; "we" defeated the French; "we" crossed the plains to the Pacific and bested the Spanish. In this mouldering paste of corrupting facts dates are set like pebbles on an unappetizing cake. They are for production under examination in evidence that the stuff has been swallowed. Such is academic history to this day. Happily this is not now any large part of the mental content of a modern man. It fades and lies forgotten after his last "exam." Beyond that, and with no vital connection with it, he has a score of skills he has acquired, and a whole universe of ideas, in which this poor little old "education" of his lies like a worm-eaten nut that has been dropped by chance into a salad.

Nowhere, in these after-school and out-of-school acquisitions, is a large and still uncharted region for the sociological observer. We have no orderly account, no working classification of the actual educational influences that play over the minds of girls and boys and adolescents in the world to-day. They are various, unequal, good and evil, unpremeditated as educational influences, and mostly quite accidental. They are controlled in the feeblest way. There are certain censorships, the contracted vestiges of far more extensive restrictions in the past. Everywhere there still exists a standard of sexual decency maintained by the law, that is justified wholly and solely by educational considerations. Youth must not be stimulated prematurely: that is the generally accepted idea; it is good for social growth to delay and minimize sexual adolescence. Conceptions of stimulation vary widely, but that we cannot discuss here; the general agreement against deliberate and even careless stimulation is undeniable. Apart from these legal restraints there is scarcely any screen now between the young and the relatively immense conflict of suggestions, the information, the appeals that rain upon them from the world beyond the schoolmaster's collection of exhibits. The illustrated newspapers, books, magazines, the cinema and a multitude of shows, an immense clangour of advertisement, build up a vision of the round world in their minds infinitely more vivid than the instruction of the schoolroom. Discussion of a hundred urgent questions, from birth control to tariff reform and from military service to immortality, is forbidden nowhere except in the academic preparation for life.
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Within the schoolhouse, at least, the orthodox religious formulas are treated with infinite solicitude, and only examiners may ask questions about them. School is no longer an enlargement but a withdrawal. It is like an embanked canal running far out into the lake of adult life and keeping the current needlessly apart from the waters with which it must ultimately mix.

Moreover, it has to be noted that the "educated" man whose mental content we are considering is still actively learning. There again we have a remarkable change that has happened to us by swift yet almost imperceptible degrees. The old order was permeated with the idea that for every rank of life there was a definite, sufficient, once-for-all education. You graduated, and the task was over. You learnt, and you stopped learning and worked out the consequences. But now we never stop learning. We add to our ideas, we modify and replace them daily. The process of informal education that begins directly a child opens its eyes upon the world proceeds crescendo throughout its entire life. Schools and universities are losing their importance because, so far as ideas and information go, the whole community is now in fact its own school. It is an undisciplined, ill-planned school, if you will, but it is vocal, explanatory and directive as no community has ever been before.

Let us attempt a brief survey of what this ultra-scholastic education consists and of the nature and quality of its principal media. Three main things it gives the citizen. In the first place he gets News, that is to say a constant development, correction and elaboration of his view of the world about him. History is written and revised under his nose. The things he knew before are recalled to him, brightened, emphasized, added to. He gets fresh intimations of human character and conduct; he learns of discoveries and inventions; daily, geography unfolds itself anew before him, and particularly the human side of geography. Map, diagram and picture, in newspaper and in the increasing multitude of ephemeral books about contemporary things, informed and inform him, and now the cinema and the radio increase the service. He makes the tour of the world in an armchair.

On the whole, it is sound stuff he gets. We have traced the sordid origins of the newspaper, we have noted how the spirit of propaganda and the influence of the advertiser can deflect and censor particular streaks of news; nevertheless, the bulk of trustworthy
statement that gets through is very great. A newspaper cannot lie comprehensively; its lies are no good to it unless it is generally credible, and every propaganda from its very nature goes on in the teeth of counter propaganda. Concealment is special and occasional. Newspaper history is far more veracious than the dogmas of some biassed pedagogue unchecked in his classroom. So far as libel goes there is law, even in the United States, faint but pursuing.

No doubt the modern newspaper has found retailing the unimportant and exciting, more to its advantage than studiously balanced statement. But how far newspapers, even if they are conducted on absolutely mercenary lines, can venture to be trivial depends upon the general moral and intellectual atmosphere. Even our most tawdry and sensational prints retain the affectation of a certain dignity. The common man may be a fool in a hurry, readier to laugh or marvel than learn, but he is not an absolute fool, he takes thought occasionally, and his apologists can point to a fairly steady improvement in the quality of the world’s news service in the last hundred years. More and better news gets now to more people than it ever did before.

It would need a specialist who was a very subtle psychologist to expound all the mysteries and complications of a journalist’s honour. But the most base, overbearing, energetic and subtle of newspaper proprietors will still find himself with intractable material between himself and the public he would hoodwink and control. And for the other side of the medal, the honest realization of his duties as well as his opportunities, is his sure and certain way to wealth, influence and the conspicuous and splendid service of mankind.

The second educational thing that the ordinary man gets from the ultra-scholastic educational influences of the time is a constant revision and extension of his general ideas. He need not go, as the Greek had to do, to the Agora to hear of some new thing; all about him is the Agora, the Forum. The increase of public discussion in the last decade or so is one of the most remarkable of contemporary phenomena. The character of the newspaper has changed completely with regard to opinion. There was a time when there was about as much free thinking in the columns of a newspaper as there is in Little Bethel. The editor did the thinking, with his staff well under control; he told his readers what they thought about things,
and if the strain became too great they changed their paper. If anyone objected to the pronouncements of the paper they could write a letter on the chance of its being printed, without pay, in the "Correspondence." But within the past quarter century, it dawned upon various newspaper directors that it would attract quite a number of the curious and arouse very little resentment among the faithful if they opened their columns to heterodox views, provided these were properly disavowed in an editorial note. This ventilation of opinion has developed very rapidly. It was a draw; it made the paper exciting in a new direction. The philosophers, religious teachers, radicals and scientific men were very reasonable about fees, and these debates cost far less than, for example, sending special correspondents and commissioners to investigate the latest murder. The usage was established very rapidly and now it would be difficult to abandon it. For the ordinary man wants to have his views discussed and reanimated just as he wants to know and to vivify his knowledge. The note of interrogation which is born in the nature of every human being has been released.

The newspaper changes continually. In the early nineteenth century, when printing was a comparatively primitive business, newspapers were largely the creation of "great journalists," and their influence was relatively much greater than their capital value. Their mentality was of more importance than their machinery. But they reached only to the middle class. The masses had no newspaper at all. Like every other social concern, the newspaper has experienced the "change of scale" of our period. The change reached it late because it was first necessary that the elementary education of the working masses should prepare a public to justify large-scale production. That wider public only became effective in the 'eighties and 'nineties of last century. Then came, first the mechanization, and then the popularization of the "new" newspaper. The mechanical advances that made the printing house of a modern newspaper a great factory of costly and beautiful machines, not simply printing but folding and counting and packing, made newspapers huge business enterprises demanding an immense initial outlay of capital. The traditions of the old type of journalist proprietor were all against a ready adaptation to the new requirements. Because of this the newspaper passed very largely into the hands and is still in the hands of highly individualized entre-
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entrepreneurs, much more akin in their character to the ordinary financial adventurer than the older type of newspaper owner.

The contemporary press is a new thing and not a real continuation of the nineteenth-century press—even when old periodicals have been made over to the new methods. It is still very largely dominated by the commercialized development of the peasant persona. It is in the first phase of industrialization. Its conscientiousness about the quality of its goods and the use of flavour, colour, diluents and substitutes is at about the same level as that of the jam trade noted in our chapter on Food. There the new press follows behind other great industrial organizations, such as the steel or chemical industry, which are for the most part passing from individual to group ownership and control, coming under the "service" mentality of the official and paying a close regard to the quality and purity of their products.

Some great periodicals indeed are now owned and directed by special organizations; the Christian Science Monitor, the property of a sect, is a very attractive and trustworthy daily, and the London Times has become a quasi-public institution whose ownership is controlled by a body of trustees designed to save it from falling under merely profiteering influences. But these periodicals are exceptions to current conditions.

It is possible that a movement towards responsibility in the newspaper world may be developing behind the scenes similar to that which has made banking and insurance semi-official and public-minded. Much will certainly happen to change the newspaper in the days before us. If it becomes semi-official and responsible-minded, its trustworthiness may increase at the expense of its liveliness, and it may cease either to discuss boldly or to entertain. There may be a definite split and distinction between the responsible papers we shall buy and trust and the irresponsible papers we shall buy to entertain, excite or irritate us. Or Opinion, after its present rush into the newspaper columns, may presently find the editors growing restrictive, interfering or stingy, and resort to the intermittent instead of the periodical press, to pamphlets and special periodicals. We want the news every morning, but it may be to the taste of many of us to have our arguments by the week or occasionally, for us to take up when we are so disposed. What concerns us here is whether the common man is likely to get as
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good news or better in the future than he does now and whether there is likely to be any diminution of his present free access to every sort of opinion about every possible subject. There is little or no indication of any reversal of the general advance in these matters.

In imaginative works about the future, the writers are apt to abolish the newspaper altogether and represent the news and so forth as being distributed entirely by wireless, cinemas and the like ultra-modern devices. But it may be doubted whether such contrivances will ever do more than act as supplements and stimulants to the reading of books and newspapers. For all these other things you must go to an appointed place or listen at an appointed time. You cannot choose your programme or consider your own convenience. But the book and newspaper, with an almost canine fidelity, follow you meekly everywhere and brighten up when you turn to them, at any hour.

Within their limitations and on account of certain advantages of presentation the newer media are extraordinarily helpful accessories in the general task of informing and quickening men’s minds. In Great Britain the distribution of sound by radio is the monopoly of the British Broadcasting Corporation, and there have been some very lively contests at the headquarters of the organization between the educationists and the entertainers. These struggles are very illuminating when the educational value of these new media is under discussion. The B.B.C. has made a great feature of talks by the most stimulating thinkers in the world. Keenly appreciated by many hearers, these talks are bitterly denounced by others, who want light music and facetiae all the time, and who do not wish to have their guiding ideas loosened or modified insidiously. The Roman Catholic hierarchy wishes to confine the discussion of theology and the deeper things of life to qualified specialists, which it naturally identifies with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The war rages with varying fortunes, and the educational light of the B.B.C. flares and waxes. Possibly it may be blown out altogether.

The educational film is equally a part of a programme and equally subject to suppression, if a majority, or even a truculent minority, objects. And always there are the limitations of a set time and place for each item.

Listening-in and the cinema, so far as they are educational at all,
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seem likely to supply only high lights in education, and tend less to sate curiosity than to send men and women back with quickened appetites to the printed word. In the immediate future, as in the recent past, the press seems likely to be the main medium of news and the principal forum for popular discussion, and the editorial journalist, whether he likes it or not, one of the most important agents in the education of the world.

News and the forum: these are the first and second things that the shows, noises and newspapers of our contemporary world bring to the normal man. But, as we have already suggested in the Introduction of this work, his mind has been rather stimulated than satisfied by the incoherent masses of news that come to it, and the battles of thought, propaganda and persuasion that go on round and about himself. He wants to know in a more orderly fashion. He asks for education—adult education—long before education goes out to find him. In response to this demand, a considerable and increasing mass of published matter has developed which is neither trivial nor original, which summarizes what is known in this or that wide field of reality and puts it forth in a plain, assimilable, trustworthy fashion. This present work with its associates, the Outline of History and the Science of Life, and various collateral works, is a sample of this new literature of information. Other works of the same character will occur to the reader. So far such enterprises have had to be produced upon strictly commercial lines, and they have many of the characteristic defects of a production for profit. But the need for such comprehensive digests for ordinary intelligent people is so manifest that in due time these pioneer attempts to state a complete modern ideology are bound to be replaced by sounder and more authoritative successors.

Besides these "outlines" and "summaries," which give a mental framework and stand-by, there is and there has been now for half a century a steady production of informative books in series, by various firms of publishers. There seems to be an insatiable market for little books that will give, or appear to give, the latest results of modern research and discussion in this department or that, in an assimilable form. More often than not they are written by eminent specialists and are generally years in advance of the textbooks used in our schools.

This literature of information is only one aspect of the way in
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which the demand for after-school education has outrun the supply. We have to put beside it also the spectacle of the classroom, abandoning school and university, so to speak, and starting off across country, in pursuit of adults still eager to learn but unable to afford the time and money needed for residence at an educational centre. At the proper time, school and university missed these people, and now they are learning in a pseudo-academic manner from extension teachers. So we get also in a loose co-operation with those educational Ishmaelites we have noted, "Adult Education," a sincere attempt of the university to recover this lost clientele. We find, for example, a British Institute of Adult Education, and a World Association for Adult Education, active in developing the organization of the ordinary man's after-school thought and reading.

By Adult Education here is meant, of course, real post-school education and not merely the belated teaching of the "elements" to totally uneducated grown-up people such as is going on now in Russia and Anatolia. Adult Education is a rapidly expanding movement. It is not a substitute for general reading, but its value in directing, steadying, confirming and disciplining such reading must be very great.

The English universities (since Oxford initiated the movement in 1907), working in association with the Board of Education, developed Tutorial Classes, of which in 1925 there were 500 with 12,000 students. All these students were volunteers, with no immediate mercenary reward in view. The classes have usually a weekly hour’s lecture throughout the winter followed by an hour’s discussion, and the student undertakes to follow the course for three years, and to read and to do written work for it. Similar activities are to be found in most intellectually living countries. *An Adventure in Working Class Education*, by Albert Mansbridge, who is the chairman of the World Association for Adult Education, gives the spirit and intention of, and fuller particulars about, this type of educational enterprise, which is after all, considerable as it is in itself, merely one intimation of the wide hunger for real knowledge and mental disciplines in the contemporary world.

It is interesting to contrast the Workers' Educational Association, which is a frank attempt to shepherd back this widespread appetite for self-education into the university fold, with what is called the
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Labour College movement. The Workers' Educational Association was a development of the University Extension movement, and although, in response to the demand of many of its working-class students in the industrial centres, the classes carried on under its auspices often deal with economics, history and the social sciences, it has always tried to stress the importance of bringing general culture—in the quite orthodox sense—into working-class life. It would teach about Italian art or Gothic architecture with extreme readiness. The Labour College movement (formerly the Plebs League) is on the contrary frankly and aggressively independent of both academic organization and inspiration. It claims to be a spontaneous expression of the need felt by manual workers themselves—miners, railwaymen, engineers, building workers—for an education based on an attitude critical of the existing social order, and it concentrates primarily on such subjects as will fit its students to think and act politically. To which my friend Professor Carr-Saunders adds, on reading these proofs, that the Labour Colleges claim freeom in one form in order to abandon it in another. They teach the religion of Marx. They are theological colleges.

§ 6. Mental Training

So far our account of the world's formal education amounts very largely to a summary of insufficiencies and to a compensatory display of the very extensive and growing system of activities outside it and independent of it, which now supply the bulk of the material of a contemporary ideology. We have shown how, concurrently with this shrinkage of the primary roles of school and college, these bodies have taken on a secondary function in the organization of athleticism. We have shown them, indeed, as diverting rather than directing energy. But is this a condemnation of formal education? Is it a glorification of press and show as the only education needed? By no means. It is indeed a very grave criticism of the existing organs of general education throughout the world, as a stocktaking encyclopædia would have to display them. But the criticism is that they fail to supply the formal education they should supply: not that a formal education is unwanted. To-day still there is everywhere a clear distinction in people's minds between an "educated" and an "uneducated" man, and to the nature of that difference
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we will now give our attention.

In our analysis of the personae operative in our world we have stressed the rôle played in the progressive development of society by what we have called the "educated" or priestly type. The essential fact about that type, as we have defined it for the purposes of this book, is that its dominating motive is service as distinguished from the peasant's motive of gain by toil and the nomad's motive of gain by gallant violence. The gist indeed of our study of the working of the human ant-hill has been to accentuate the primary importance of this educated element as priest, administrator, lawyer, in keeping the co-operations going, and to show how the conception of conscientious service has ruled professional medicine and law, saturated the official classes, and passed over to the professional scientific and technical worker and even to the man of letters and the artist of to-day. We have pointed out again and again how the grade of social organization possible at any time or in any country is dependent upon the educational level of a community and we have maintained throughout that our hope of our racial future--our sole reason for hope--lies in the extension of this "educated" quality to the whole of mankind.

Our gravamen therefore is not against formal education, but against the existing organs of formal education, because they are insufficient and beside the mark. Our study of the present "faded" state of religion is manifestly associated with this exposure of the inadequacy of deliberate education. Formal education to-day is also in a faded phase. We have shown how immensely exterior forces now supplement the schools so far as knowledge and suggestion go, but that substitution of newspaper, book and cinema for the classroom lesson does not in any way abolish the need for a drilling, ordering and invigoration of the minds subjected to this tumultuous invasion. Rather it intensifies that need. The establishment, confirmation and diffusion of the spirit of service are more than ever necessary in the presence of this stupendous froth of knowledge and ideas.

A certain moral disinterestedness is not the only characteristic we evoke when we speak of an "educated" man. We also imply a certain mental power and fastidiousness. Through the ages, a proper use of language has been a main objective in education. This world-wide contemporary education, deriving from the European
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schools, has, even in its weariest, most decadent phases, set itself to that end. The attempt to make language an instrument of precision and to keep thinking lucid and exact, has never been altogether relaxed. For all the informative-suggestive uproar of our time there is very little training to be got outside school and university in the exactitudes of mathematics. Our complaint is that there is not enough within those institutions. It is our gravest accusation against present-day universities that they will now graduate men and women who speak and write inexactiy, have no framework of general ideas, and think no better than labourers who have left school at twelve or thirteen. It is the most damning charge that can be brought against them.

So that for our complete encyclopaedia of Work and Wealth, in addition to that broad review of the visible apparatus of education we have made in the preceding sections, there must be a more difficult and profounder study. We have to go into the precise details of the mental processes involved. How is language taught, its grammatical and its logical use? Language is far less important as a means of talking about things than as a means of thinking about things, but we use it now almost entirely as a means of talking about things. What might be done with human minds in sharpening and tempering this instrument, and what is done? Do any real exercises in thought survive at all in an ordinary education? How are they supplied? How can they be supplied? Mathematical studies can be a fine exercise in precision. How far are they used in that way? But they do not cover the whole field of thought; they do not quicken the observation or strengthen the judgment. We have roundly asserted (in Chapter II, § 2) that the world to-day suffers greatly from the shelving of the discussion between Realism and Nominalism at the Renascence. To that we return. The issue between the one and the many is an issue of perennial importance—and our alleged education does not even raise it. There can be no fine thought or fine understanding widespread throughout the community until that has been understood and remedied.

Everyone has heard that Plato and Aristotle were exceedingly wise men and that our world is infinitely in their debt. And everybody knows that Plato wrote divers dialogues that are understood to have a beauty no modern writing can rival. (Everyone should try a dialogue or so in translation.) And these two were associated
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with a certain Socrates who so irritated the public of his time by insisting upon clear thinking so far as he understood it, that he was obliged to drink an infusion of hemlock and die. But how many people in a cinema theatre know why or want to know why we are so profoundly in debt to Plato and Aristotle and what these unparalleled people were talking about so continuously in their academy? If it was unimportant, the Academy ought to be forgotten by this time, and if it was important, the gist of its teaching ought to have got by now to the ears of all the men and women in the cinema theatre.

These Greek philosophers were, in fact, opening out that same debate between the one and the many, the species and the individual, which also exercised the schoolmen. It has never been altogether dropped, but it goes on now in other forms. Modern biology has had to rediscover and revive these fundamental exercises in its examination of the nature of individuality, and modern physics in its rediscovery of the uniqueness of "events." There is no lack of material nor of means of approach to these mind-sharpening issues, but the truth about our present education is that they are not even approached. Even the university honours-man with pretensions to philosophy is not put through these disciplines at all effectively. Directly the old issues appear in modern dress, he seems unprepared for them. Nothing is more amazing to the enquiring and intelligent humble in the pursuit of understanding than the realization of the intellectual sloppiness and defensiveness of the academic dignitary.

I believe that an exhaustive enquiry into the intellectual training that is going on in our world to-day would reveal an amazing deficiency of sound, thorough instruction in the processes and dangers of thinking. There is a certain amount of logical training in Catholic seminaries, but to judge from contemporary controversies it is of the thirteenth-century Realist type. Contemporary thinking, alas! outside those circles "comes by nature." One may go through school and college to-day and never once be reproached for a foolish generalization, an unjustifiable inference, an unsound conclusion. We ought to have experts everywhere, like food and drink inspectors, exposing the torrent of invalidity in the newspapers and public utterances of the day. But few people are sufficiently keen on lucidity to follow such exposures. The public would be restive. It would say these experts were splitting hairs, that they were high-
brows; they would be bawled down by loud journalists. We pick up good or bad habits of thinking as luck and our natural brightness may determine. In truth and statement we are all untrained amateurs. A very large part of contemporary discussion is spent in misunderstandings due to our universal intellectual slovenliness.

And it is not simply that we are untrained amateurs; we are also conceited amateurs. We resent correction. We like the rich confused stuff in our minds. When we hear a thing repeated twenty times with emphasis we believe it. It would trouble us not to believe it. It does not trouble us in the least that it should be entirely incompatible with some other equally emphatic belief we have adopted. We have not had that sort of training. We need it badly. At present a few adult classes in logic and methods of reasoning are all we have in the world to set against the undisciplined confusions of modern thought.

§ 7. The Education Needed for the Modern Progressive Community

After this résumé of the world’s education to-day we can turn to its objectives and consider the actual needs of the nineteen hundred-odd million human beings who are being drawn together, dangerously and with infinite complication and difficulty, by the forces of mechanical invention into one great economic community.

Suppose we allow ourselves a brief respite from the crowded assemblage of fact and imagine we have a free hand to plan an education for all the world. We have studied education in the preceding sections, faint but pursuing, toiling along behind the disappearance of distance, the acceleration of communications, the mechanical revolution of the world, to preserve understanding and a proper spirit in our human co-operations. Let us now imagine the schoolmaster not kicked along by powers beyond his control, but coming to meet and assist them. What would that new, helpful education give, and what would be the machinery it would use?

First let us plan out what it would give and what it would impose upon the normal human persona.

The foundations of education are laid in early infancy. The psychological work of the past thirty years has brought out the immense importance to the adult of his infantile impressions. It is by them that the foundations of his character are laid, and his dis-
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positions established. By the time the young human being goes to school, he has already gone far either along the road of adapting himself happily to the requirements of civilization or towards failure, towards the establishment of those instabilities whose consequences we consider in the last section of this chapter. Pre-school education in a civilized world will be based upon a scientific knowledge of children’s minds. That is not a thing of to-morrow. For it presupposes parents not only educated in a general sense but equipped for their task with a certain definite body of training and information—information which can hardly be considered accessible at present. To attain it one must still wade through a mass of highly technical psychological literature, fiercely polemical in character and made particularly repugnant to the ordinary mind by its lack of grace and literary dexterity. And even when that literature is read the enquirer will find that what he is studying is the treatment of abnormality rather than the needs of the normal child. The normal child, however, is also being studied—a few courageous schoolmasters here and there are actively experimenting in the treatment of more normal types. It becomes manifest that a great proportion of later recalcitrance, inadequacy, dullness, irresponsibility and actual physical illness is due to the mishandling, with the best intentions, of children’s minds. For the pre-school education of the days ahead we may reasonably hope for a body of principles simple and clear enough to be understood and applied by men and women who are not specialists. Modern methods of dissemination will make that body of principles part of the mental equipment of the entire population. And through the application of these principles the mass of the children of the future will arrive at their formal education with free and balanced minds. To that formal education, to the schooling of the modern state, as it should be, we will now proceed.

To begin this we require universal elementary teaching. That use of language which is picked up from the circle of folks immediately around a child must be made finer and fuller and extended to reading, writing and calculation. How that can best be taught is a highly technical question. It can be done, educationists assure us, much more swiftly and efficiently than it is usually done. And they tell us too that every normal child can learn to draw. An educational world net, by the bye, would also be very convenient in noting
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and doing what is possible to correct various physical defects (of eyes, ears, teeth and so forth) and hereditary taints. That is not education, but a good thing that can be very conveniently saddled upon an educational institution. Moreover, there is a phase somewhere between five and sixteen when children are most apt to learn foreign languages and, with modern methods and means (gramophones, the radio lesson, etc.), it would not be any very great additional burden on the educational machine to give every child a sound and practical knowledge of at least one of the great world languages, English, French, German, Spanish, Russian, in addition to its mother tongue. The possibility of one of these languages becoming so widely understood as to serve as a world lingua franca is not very remote.

Need children go to school continuously for a number of years for these elements? This is a question for the expert. But there is a widespread persuasion now that classroom work should be intensive and restricted to brief periods. Children should go into a bright, well-lit and well-ventilated classroom only when they are fresh and alert; they should meet keen, active and highly competent teachers, and the teaching and learning alike should be vigorous and direct. One should go into a class-room as one goes on to a tennis court, for brisk, continuous action. In a classroom one should work hard. Learning is a special exertion. The future world citizen cannot acquire too early the idea that effort is required in learning. If schools are to be used as places where the young are to spend whole days and long periods of time, they must have rooms other than classrooms; they must have rest rooms and playrooms and playgrounds where the activities are not intense. Here the less specific factors of the educational process come into play. Here is where the youngster acquires a regard for others, civility, sociability and a habit of reciprocal and co-operative action. Here is where the impulse to make, to draw, to write and invent is given scope and satisfaction. The rôle of the teacher here is to be supervisor and helper; encouraging tactfully, restraining bad conduct, but compelling not at all.

For this primary stage of education, large, beautiful, healthy schools are required throughout the world with a proper equipment, toys, books, apparatus, the gramophone, the demonstration cinema. Music and singing will play a large part in this schooling phase. The
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productive energy of the world is now fully able to provide all this for every child on earth. If you would know why this is not done now, go back to Chapter X again and read what has been told about Hetty Green, Loewenstein, and the Great Slump of 1930-31. Read too of Sir Basil Zaharoff in Chapter XII and of the paradox of over-production in Chapter XI. We cannot afford this manifestly necessary education, although all the material is ready and the workers stand idle. That is the absurd truth, the idiotic truth, of our situation. When the world has found its way to collective buying, the weaving of this planetary net of schools will be its first concern.

Next, using perhaps those same school buildings, the children of the new age will be learning to think. Logic should not be separated from grammatical teaching, and both should be associated with an acute attention to precise meaning. The boy or girl should be accustomed to use language like a rapier, should despise a clumsiness in inference as if it were a foul in a game. The classes should collect blunders, disingenuous statements and false conclusions from public discussion. They should botanize for errors and bring the precious finds to the classroom for dissection. They will also go as far as their willingness and aptitudes will take them in the exact and rigid reasoning processes of mathematics. And they will learn of the growth of knowledge and the methods of the scientific investigator with his measurements, his experiments, and his controls. They will do some exemplary scientific work at this stage, not for the sake of knowledge but as mental exercise. The discussion of theories and generalizations will be more important here than the accumulation of facts. Far more important than scientific knowledge is scientific method. This much, and watchfully directed bodily exercise, is surely all that there need to be in the universal primary education of mankind.

But this is merely equipment and the sharpening of the human instrument. Next follows the socially more important part of the task of education, the establishment of a persona which will lead to the service of the race and protect the individual from social mischief, economic offences, political delusions, frustrations, disappointments and evil conduct towards others. A picture of the world and of the ways of the world in relation to the self, and what is honourable and right for the self, has to be imposed upon the
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growing mind. The foundations of its ideology have to be laid.

Now, as we have made perfectly clear in § 6, the school alone can contribute only a small part of a contemporary ideology. That grows and changes day by day under the thousandfold impacts of reality. But we are speaking here of certain foundation ideas upon which this living and developing fabric can be poised. First there is the idea of man’s history as one whole. A child has to be guarded against early infection by picturesque, false, and short-sighted national traditions. The effectual exorcism for that sort of thing is the plain, straightforward teaching of human history as one progressive adventure in which all races have helped and all have sinned. Picture and book, story and lecture, cinema and school museum must converge upon that rational presentation of man’s collective life. And secondly the citizen of the world must have a sound conception of the evolution of life and its nature, that is, he must have learnt elementary biology thoroughly. Thirdly, he must learn geography and the economic layout of the world as one co-operative field of enterprise. These are the three pillars of a modern ideology, the three branches of knowledge which constitute that “New Education,” of which I have already written something in my Introduction. This is the essential instructional material for a modern world vision. All the rest is training and equipment.

Here we will not expand the suggestions already made in the chapter on Housing, that the primitive “home” in which a swarm of children, servants and poor relations centre upon father and mother has already broken up for a great majority of the European peoples and given way to new social units. All prosperous people in the advanced communities entrust their children to nurses, tutors and governesses wherever they can, and send them away to preparatory schools; the continuous contact of parent and child does not seem to be either desirable or desired. In the case of the small family there is also a considerable educational advantage in associating children with their equals in strength and age. All this points to the ordinary general school as having a third function as the modern form of “home.” In many cases it may be a boarding school; or in a town or village it may be a day home. In the happier world-state to which we look forward, the struggle of various “faded” religious organizations to capture and control as many schools as possible in order to preserve the distinctive “atmosphere,”

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the graceless legends and misleading assurances of this or that cult, will, we presume, have died away.

The "elements," a foreign language or so, directed opportunities for artistic "play," mental training and the elementary knowledge of history, biology and social relations necessary as a basis for a modern ideology: this is really as much as the general school need give a human being.

I do not know how far it may be possible or desirable to control some of this general education by examinations. That is a question for the sociological educationist. Maybe the common citizen of the future will have to pass a leaving examination before he sets about his special adventure in life. Maybe he will have to pass a matriculation test before he embarks upon various definite callings. Or it may be found that the compulsion of these tests is not required.

But from the end of the school stage onward—which ought to be completed at latest in the middle teens—I can see no use for any further general education in school. Everything necessary for a common mental foundation will be there. The ordinary "arts" course in our older universities to-day is merely a wasteful prolongation of puerility.

In Chapter XII, at the end of § 11, we have noted a suggestion made long ago by Professor William James that everyone should do a year or so of compulsory service for the State. We may refer to that suggestion again here. Such a term of service might do very much to strengthen the sense of citizenship in the individual. We shall return to that idea when we deal with certain difficulties in the staffing of public institutions in § 10.

After, or concurrently with, the closing years of the general school course in the middle teens, specialization will begin. But special and technical instruction is not a task for the upper forms of general schools where the stabilizing, standardizing, unstimulating scholastic mentality is bound to prevail, but for schools carefully planned to achieve the particular end in view and in close contact with real activities. The adolescent citizen will take up his or her technical (or professional) education, and that may or may not be combined with actual productive work. In Chapter VII, § 6, we pointed out how the organizations of great industrial enterprises are becoming interlocked with technical schools, and how continuation schools supplying scientific instruction can carry on through the whole
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career of a worker and keep his knowledge up-to-date and effective. For the worker ceases now to be a hand; he is chemist in a thousand forms, he is electrician, he is engineer, he is artist. The various sorts of scientific investigator for which the coming order will have an insatiable demand, the medical man, the cultivator of plants and animals, the sociologist, policeman and lawyer, the architect and local administrator, the industrial organizer, the statistician and banker, and all the multitudinous variations of the active citizen, will follow their special trainings from the general school onward and the nature of those trainings, the methods of qualification and graduation, will vary as endlessly as the occupation. Training will be given where it is most conveniently given. Educational vacations, when workers from one region of the world may visit the museums and hold conferences with those of another, interprofessional gatherings when, for example, the student-practitioners of medicine may meet lawyers and sociologists, may play a very important part in this lifelong educational process.

But though the common citizen will have done with the general school and turned to specialized work and study by the time he is adolescent, he will not have done with general education. He will now be carrying it on—or the world about him will be carrying it on—through all those multifarious agencies of suggestion and information to which we have referred in § 6. He will go on being educated until he dies.

We have touched upon those agencies outside the classrooms and their development at various points in this work. We have glanced at current developments of book and newspaper and their new educational auxiliaries. We are describing the present and not imagining the future in this survey, and so we will refrain from any Utopian speculations about the educational community of the years to come, the community that will be in itself educational. How can one mind foretell where thousands of minds of the liveliest sort are inventing, contriving, trying and judging new methods of presentation, distribution and stimulus? But we may at least go so far as to anticipate that the information and suggestions that will beat upon the minds of our grandchildren will be far less confused and confusing, unequal and casual, than those amidst which our own generation lives. In this chapter, thus far, we have noted an immense amount of incoherent learning in progress; a clamour of

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statement, misstatement and counter-statement; summaries of knowledge read by perhaps one man in a hundred and counted great successes, and innumerable series of little books and radio talks, flying, hit or miss, through the mental atmosphere. It is possible that the presentation of reality to the mind of the ordinary man may presently become much less haphazard, much more orderly and deliberate. There may be a systematic ordering and drawing together of human thought and knowledge. To that possibility we will now address ourselves. It is a possibility all too little apprehended at the present time.

§ 8. The Rôle of an Encyclopædia in a Progressive Civilization

The importance of the encyclopædia as a necessary educational organ and the possibilities and probabilities of considerable developments of the encyclopædic idea are still very imperfectly understood. For some centuries a limited number of men have been aware of the importance of a general summary of thought and knowledge which will serve as the basis for common understandings between specialists and for the ideology of education, and so become a guiding centre for the intellectual activities of mankind. But the mass of the public is still quite heedless of this need. It takes its knowledge as it takes its milk, without enquiring how it came to the door.

Attempts to get ideas and knowledge together for general use were made in the classical world, and the peculiarities of the Chinese writing made encyclopædic lexicons a natural development of Chinese learning. The great Chinese encyclopædias, however, are something different from our current idea of an encyclopædia; they are collections of extracts from the classics rather than summaries of knowledge, and most of them were overwhelmingly vast. Condensation and simplification are Western tendencies. I do not know why it should be so, but the Chinese seem to have a real preference for elaboration, in their games, in their art, in their life; they have nothing like the Western aptitude for short cuts. A failure to simplify writing is probably, as the Outline of History explains, the main reason for the Western advantage over China to-day. Even to-day the Chinese find themselves unable to send telegrams in their own language because it has no alphabet adapted
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to the purpose. The various Chinese literary and scientific collections, for that is really what they should be called—the Yung Lo assemblage ran to 22,937 volumes—date from the tenth to the seventeenth century and they are not really equivalent to our modern European encyclopædias at all. We mention them because the reader is sure to have heard of them, simply to note that they are beside our present discussion.

The first important movement towards encyclopædism—which, however, did not actually produce an encyclopædia—was due largely to the initiatives of Aristotle. Perhaps he was one of the first of men to be altogether possessed and directed by the passion for assembling and ordering knowledge. To him we must ascribe Alexander’s foundation of the Museum at Alexandria, with its great library and its book-copying organization. It was plainly modelled on the pattern of the Lyceum at Athens, which also was dedicated to the Muses, and had a library, maps and possibly other assembled material. (And, says Mr. Ernest Barker, it had its college dinners and even its own plate.) This home of the Muses at Alexandria was much more like the encyclopædic world-organization we shall presently foreshadow than any mediæval university. The Outline of History tells of its achievements and its decline. Latin culture produced nothing to compare with the Hellenic initiative at Alexandria, but it can claim at least to have produced the first encyclopædic book, Pliny’s Natural History.

Manifestly while hand-copying was the only means of multiplying a work, an encyclopædia was a thing of very limited effect. The bigger, more comprehensive it was, the more impossible it was to distribute it to many people. It was a rarity for the erudite, and not an educational instrument. It was easier for the student to go to the knowledge at the museum or the university than for the knowledge to place itself at the disposal of the student in book form. It was only with the onset of printing on paper from movable type that the thing we call an encyclopædia to-day became a practical possibility.

First came “dictionaries” with long explicit articles. John Harris, the first secretary of the Royal Society, produced a Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences in 1704 and Zedler’s Universal Lexicon in 64 volumes (Leipzig, 1732–50) was a great and comprehensive work. The Encyclopædia Britannica lists a number of
parallel undertakings. It was the genius of Diderot (1713-84) which first revealed the power and importance latent in these great gatherings of fact and theory. Comenius, the Bohemian educationist, had, however, anticipated his idea of a synthesis of current knowledge in a pamphlet published at Oxford in 1637 (Comenii Comenianorum Præludia), but he was unable to carry out his scheme. Diderot was invited to revise and rearrange the translation of an English work, Chambers's Cyclopædia (of the Arts and Sciences), and it is clear that the light of a great opportunity dawned upon him as he struggled with this task. He proposed to the bookseller who had brought it to him to scrap the English original entirely and embark upon an altogether bolder, more comprehensive undertaking. He had definite ideas and much enthusiasm, and he won a considerable amount of support among the liberal spirits of his time.

His scheme was plainly to make his encyclopædia the substantial basis of a modernized ideology, gather together the accumulating criticism of tradition and established usage, and organize the new and growing knowledge of the age into an effective instrument for social, political and religious reconstruction. His Encyclopædie was something new; the Encyclopédistes constituted a definite movement towards a new education and a new social life. The first volume was issued in 1751. It was only as the subsequent volumes appeared that the full force of his design became apparent. The story of its production is a complicated and stormy one. The work was held up after the second volume appeared in 1752, as a danger to religion and the King's authority, but after a delay of a year its resumption was permitted. In 1759 the still incomplete Encyclopædie was formally suppressed and its sale forbidden. It was continued furtively and in fear of the police. The last volume of letterpress was published in 1765, and the final volume of plates only reached the subscribers in 1772. The work was distributed secretly in Paris and Versailles. Altogether 4,250 people subscribed to it: a formidable body of opinion for that time. The later volumes were emasculated by the cowardice and treachery of the printer Lebreton. He had the articles set up in type exactly as the authors sent them in, and when the final proofs had been corrected by Diderot, "he and his foreman, hastily, secretly and by night... cut out whatever seemed to them daring, or likely to give offence, mutilated most
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of the best articles without any regard to the consecutiveness of what was left, and burnt the manuscript. . . . "* Diderot knew nothing of what was going on until he saw the printed book. What an amazing, embittering, heartbreaking experience it must have been for him to turn from page to page and find clear statement and crucial argument, blunted, weakened, made absurd!

So, crippled, damaged, uneven, the first encyclopædia of power came into the world. Defective as it was, it was of cardinal importance in the great intellectual movements of the time. There was enough left to get through to men’s imaginations. Its influence in giving an ideological content to the first French Revolution was immense. It radiated far beyond France; it released minds and steadied progressive thought everywhere where men read books; it set a pattern for all kindred enterprises—in this respect at least, that henceforth they treated ideas historically and recognized diversity of opinion.

The first edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica appeared in 1768 onward, and its very title shows its indebtedness to and its competition with its French predecessor. The ideology was conservative and patriotic, and the dedication to a supplement to the third edition, in 1800, refers to the Encyclopédie as a “pestiferous work.” But the likeness to the parent increased with each edition and compensated for this ungracious repudiation. It is against nature that a comprehensive survey of reality should be reactionary. In 1812 we hear a very different note; we find general introductions being planned to show the progress of science since Bacon, similar to “the excellent discourse prefixed by D’Alembert to the French Encyclopédie.” The breadth and power of each new edition increased. It is a question whether the ninth (with supplements, the tenth) or the eleventh (with successive supplements, the twelfth and the thirteenth) edition is to be counted the better and more influential. Both were widely distributed by modern methods of marketing and still constitute a sort of intellectual backbone for the body of English speaking and writing, for teachers, preachers, journalists, authors and intelligent people generally.

The article in the fourteenth edition to which we are indebted for these present facts gives a résumé of the other leading encyclopædias that have served the Atlantic world since our age of organized

* Encyclopædia Britannica: Article, Encyclopædia

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knowledge commenced. The Konversations-Lexikon of Brockhaus is the chief among these, but there is scarcely a European language now without a reasonably good encyclopædia. The contemporary French mind has been moulded to a very remarkable extent by the dictionaries and encyclopædias initiated by Pierre Larousse. There is a pre-revolutionary Russian encyclopædia based on Brockhaus and a Communist Bolshaya Sovietskaya Entsiklopediya is now said to be in hand. That should prove an exceptionally interesting production. The Jesuits have produced a Catholic Encyclopædia of their own which is also very characteristic in its spirit and quality.

But if Diderot could return to this world, learn the vast potentialities of our age, and sense our present intellectual atmosphere, I doubt if he would be content with the current phase of "encyclopaedia," widespread though it is. Encyclopædias have multiplied and spread considerably, but the mechanical structure of our world and our economic and social organization have developed out of all proportion to their increase. The modern encyclopædia should bear the same relation to the Encyclopædie or the early Encyclopædia Britannica that a transcontinental railway engine bears to Cugnot's steam road car. But does it do so? Let us take, for example, the current edition (the fourteenth) of the Encyclopædia Britannica as the last achievement in this great movement towards a guiding synthesis of human knowledge and ask whether it is not capable of further very great invigoration and development.

We are criticizing a fairly good thing here to which indeed we are manifestly indebted, and when we criticize, it is not to say that the work is bad but to suggest that it has not fully realized the measure of contemporary necessity. You will find in it some magnificent articles to stir the creative imagination, the article upon architecture, for example. It is full of the stimulating statement of concrete achievements and possibilities. I repeat it is impossible for any encyclopædia to be truly reactionary. Such articles as the one on pottery and porcelain are marvels of illustration and copious information. But they are out of proportion. Full justice is done to the actual wealth and vigour of our times. But when it comes to a question of directive general ideas such as the idea of property, or the creative possibilities of financial or political reorganization, it is mute or unstimulating; it speaks with an uncertain mind. For the most part, and in its preface and general scheme, it seems to
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assume political institutions and financial methods that even the man in the street is questioning. And one discovers odd gaps. I wanted some particulars about the enquiry into the labour atrocities of Putumayo and its outcome, and I could find nothing. Nor is there a word about Sanderson of Oundle, most original and stimulating of British schoolmasters. This latest compilation is to say the least of it lacking in just that stirring sense of a better ordering of things at hand, ours for the effort of realization, which was the heroic quality, the essential and power-giving quality, of Diderot’s great endeavour. And indeed, in his Preface, Mr. J. L. Garvin, the editor, frankly abandons the Encyclopédiste ambition. The world, he says, has become so multitudinous, so overwhelming that a directive synthesis is impossible. It is as if a general had failed to conceive a plan of campaign and ordered his army very eloquently to advance in all directions. It is a diffusion, not a synthesis. He had great difficulties in his task, one can understand. Perhaps his hands were not altogether free. But his encyclopædia, in its abandonment of synthesis, is a reversion to the cyclopædias and universal dictionaries that existed before the days of Diderot, rather than an advance beyond its predecessors. It is an all too characteristic product of our time. It is multitudinous, defective and discursive in just this present phase of the world’s history when the need for directive general concepts, gripped firmly and held steadfastly, is the supreme need of our race.

But impermanence is the lot of all encyclopædias, and though the Britannica, after some decades of virtuous excitement, shows now these marks of advanced maturity, of “middle-aged spread,” that is no reason for supposing that the spirit of Diderot is dead, or that this impulse towards comprehensive intellectual co-ordination, which has been going on through the past two centuries as if it were a natural necessity for the human mind, will not continue. Perhaps the days when the making and issuing of encyclopædias could be regarded as legitimate business enterprises are drawing to an end, and our world is near realizing that the assembling and presentation of knowledge and ideas, of ideological material, that is, should become a primary function of the educational community.

The encyclopædia of the future may conceivably be prepared and kept by an endowed organization employing thousands of workers permanently, spending and recovering millions of pounds yearly.
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mediating between the original thinker, the scientific investigator, the statistician, the creative worker and the reporter of realities on the one hand and the general intelligence of the public on the other. But such an organization would outgrow in scale and influence alike any single university that exists, and it would inevitably tend to take the place of the loose-knit university system of the world in the concentration of research and thought and the direction of the general education of mankind.

The World Encyclopædia organization as we are here conceiving it would reach down to direct the ideological side of human education. But it could scarcely come into existence without on the other hand creating organic relations with the main statistical activities of the world. It would almost inevitably develop a centralized system of world statistics in direct relation to its needs. It would have its Year Book volumes. So it would be a natural collaborator with Lubin’s pioneer Institute in Rome for an annual world census of cultivation and staple production generally. Moreover, it would be a natural nucleus about which specific researches could cluster very conveniently, and it could undertake with advantage that systematic indexing, abstracting and exchange of research publications, to which Madame Curie has directed the attention of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. At present the old universities, in spite of their encumbrance with tradition, sport, entertainment and the belated unspecialized education of backward young men and women, are the natural recipients of endowments for research, because they still seem to be the only possible agents in the matter. An encyclopædia organization, reviving on a modern scale the high ambitions of the Alexandria Museum, would change all that. It would become the logical nucleus of the world’s research universities and post-graduate studies. It would be the central Museum of a world, Hellenized anew after the long twilight of Latin predominance.

In another direction one sees this convenient centre annexing or duplicating the League of Nations’ registry of treaties and organizing a world digest of laws.

How far this establishment of an encyclopædia as a recognized central organ in the mental life of mankind may be attainable by a transformation of university activities, by the formation of special societies and groups of learned, wealthy and influential people, by
inspired feats of publication, and by state action, I will not venture
to speculate; nor how closely it may be associated with a world
system of informative and demonstrative museums. Nor do I know
how closely it will be linked with the research laboratories, experi-
mental farms and reserves and statistical bureaux of the advancing
world. But the need for it and the existence of forces making for it
are undeniable. And whatever other functions it had, its main
function would be to irradiate the ideological teaching of every
common school in the world.

If no great catastrophe arrests or delays the present prosperous
advance of our race, the coming of a world encyclopedia is a matter
—it may be—only of decades. It is an enterprise that the League
of Nations’ Institute of Intellectual Co-operation might very well
consider. That body, given the necessary organizing ability, is in
a position of exceptional advantage to bring together large groups
of publishers, writers and universities for such an associated pro-
duction. And we can prophesy with considerable assurance that so
soon as it comes into existence this culminating Encyclopedia will
be made available in all the chief languages (the Konversations-
Lexikon of Brockhaus, with wide variations of title and considerable
local adaptation, has gone into most of them already), and that it
will be undergoing constant revision and reprinting. This suggests
the desirability of considerable detachability and interchangeability
between its parts. A faint prevision of the rows of volumes of this
coming encyclopedia is evoked by these considerations. We can
even foretell some probable details of arrangement. Many of the
earlier encyclopædias did not have numbered pages—perhaps in
view of possible insertions—and it may be desirable at any rate not
to have numbered volumes. There seems little reason for retaining
the alphabetical arrangement of the whole book. It might be
divided into main sections which could be lettered and there could
be one or more numbered volumes under each letter. Then any
section could be revised independently and its one or two volumes
replaced by three or four without disturbing the general arrange-
ment. Within a section there might be a retention of the convenient
system of major articles and alphabetically arranged minor articles
characteristic of the Britannica.

To speculate in this fashion about the form in which a world
encyclopaedia may presently appear falls very properly into our
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present design. We may ever make an anticipatory summary of the arrangement and contents of the work. Such a summary is not in the least irrelevant to our enterprise, for it enables us to make a survey of all contemporary knowledge and all contemporary ideas, and so evoke another set of figures to add to our grand ensemble of human activities, which would be otherwise difficult to introduce. There are the men and women, more men as yet than women, who are engaged in original thought. They are the men and women who know best, the men and women who think and express best, the sources. What sort of people are they?

For the most part they will have to be presented sitting at well-lit writing tables and desks in conveniently appointed apartments lined with books. They read, they make notes, the pen scratches over the paper, some perhaps dictate to stenographers, and within easy reach of many of them are typists with their typewriters, the first step towards print, towards stereo plates and the roaring presses that will bring the new idea, the novel suggestion, the illuminating comment into the common mental life. One sheet of manuscript follows another, and presently the day’s work or the night’s work is done and pinned together.

The rooms of these individuals are sometimes in the dignified colleges of universities, sometimes in carefully sought country retreats, sometimes in the quieter streets of great towns. An increasing number work in laboratories now, and in the reserved rooms of the ever-extending museums of our time. The laboratories may be of the largest or smallest type, elaborate with the most extraordinary apparatus, or simple with some little object rendering its secret under examination. Others of these intellectual workers watch in observatories or scrutinize the stellar photographs observatories have made under their directions. Many of these men and women who are “sources” explore now and excavate with teams of trained workers, amidst Arctic severities or under a tropical sun. Then back they come with their finds, to explain, write up what they have done, compare and discuss.

These fundamental people are not very gregarious as a rule; they have not much time to spare for small talk; but they have their sociable moments and may even ventilate their preoccupations by two’s and three’s or in little groups, or you may find them assembled in attentive roomfuls while one of them reads a paper and ideas are
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interchanged. Some are negligently dressed and distraught in their bearing, but for the most part they look fairly well cared for and have little or nothing to mark them off from the ordinary bourgeoisie. You may pass Mr. Einstein, who upset all our ideas of space and movement, carrying his violin in the streets of Berlin and take him for nothing but a smiling fiddler on his way to a recital; you may dine with the Royal Society, and it looks remarkably like the company at an ordinary city dinner. In the more inaccessible parts of the sunny East we are given to understand that beautiful sages of manifest and immediately recognizable sagacity, meditate profoundly in propitious attitudes amidst their adoring disciples. Little that is worth while comes through to us from them, and until it does, it is to those other scattered, busy, unposed, unpretentious and often quite obscure-looking Westerners, that we must ascribe the essential living thought of the world. Altogether their actual thinking is physically a very unobtrusive series of activities. A single shipyard at work makes more noise than all the original thought of the world nut together.

But generally these individuals we have termed the "sources" are not in direct communication with the general mind. They will contribute to the World Encyclopædia, no doubt, and they will in their own sphere of interest exercise powers of revision and criticism of its contents, but much even of that work of explanation and correlation can be done by their student associates as well as or even better than they can do it themselves. But such a vigorous and original thinker as Professor T. H. Huxley (Darwin's Huxley) found the delivery of a course of elementary lectures or the occasional production of a textbook a very illuminating and beneficial exercise for himself because it obliged him to put his abbreviated technical thoughts into plain and simple language. There are endless pitfalls in technicality, and many temptations to retire from the general intelligence into a cloud where one's proceedings can no longer be checked.

Between the original "sources" and the common thought of the world there intervenes a much more abundant and almost as various a multitude of busy individuals. There are interpreters, would-be interpreters and mis-interpreters. There are also the sham sages, the presumptuous, conceited and ambitious among the intellectual workers. Some serve a useful purpose, some sting and stimulate
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and some obstruct and corrupt. In all the big centres of population are great libraries, as, for example, the British Museum library, and thither converge daily a swarm of preoccupied individuals, with portfolios and notebooks. Some of these may be original workers of importance, "sources" themselves. Most of them are of the transmitting, intervening, checking categories. Manifestly this present work you are reading falls into this mediatory grade of transmission. And from these we pass on to such types as the specially qualified interviewer consulting the savant for the press. He brings us to scientific and technical journalism, a little world in itself, still very under-developed, and so to all these popular means of diffusion we have already discussed. One of the most useful and unpretending of transmission organs is that weekly paper Nature, which serves for intellectual exchanges, as far as science goes, throughout the whole English-speaking, English-reading world. A World Encyclopaedia kept sedulously in direct contact with as many as possible of these fundamental minds we have considered would be of enormous value in steadying, controlling and informing this secondary network of transmission, correlation and interpretation.

And if we think of all these primary intellectual activities on which the progress of the world depends, gathered together and summarized into a World Encyclopaedia, what are the main sections of that work likely to be? Let us sketch a provisional answer to that question.

Manifestly the opening section would have to be an account of the philosophies of the world, compared critically and searchingly in an Introduction. Then, in separate articles, there would be accounts of the main systems of philosophy with their variants and the lives of the chief philosophers. There would have to be a history of philosophies and of the development of general ideas. There would be an account of logic, of what used to be called "signifies," the values of language. Philosophical and comparative philology would be dealt with, for we are approaching a time when a real history of languages becomes possible, and a study of grammar and idiom in relation to turns and habits of thought. Then would come the origins and development of writing. Number and the mathematical exploitation of form and conceptions of space and time would follow, and an account of mathematical signs and symbols and their relation to realities. A history, classification and analysis
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of fallacies and of superstitions and prevalent errors arising out of the incautious use of symbols would seem to be indicated. This would constitute the opening section.

From it there would probably branch off a section devoted to specific languages and the literary cultures associated with them, and a third section would deal with the detailed development of pure mathematics.

The fourth section would be a compendium of pure physics, chemistry and astronomy, the whole of what is still best called "material science." Biographies of the men who have built up this body of science would be given, and a history of its development.

Next would come a fifth section—the general science of life and a great series of articles devoted to the forms of life. Biographies of biologists and a history of biological science would be added.

From this fifth section there might branch off a sixth. Health and medicine would be dealt with in this, mental health as well as bodily health, and with that might come an account of sport, exercise and pastimes.

Then in a seventh section there would be a fuller treatment of human biology and the general history of mankind. The history of exploration would form a subsection of this.

The histories of various peoples and political systems, e.g., Greek and Roman history, would make an eighth section, and here would come a political Atlas and general biography, the stories of outstanding men and women, except the artists and men of science whose lives will be treated elsewhere.

The ninth section would deal with education, religion and ethics treated objectively and historically, the science and art of education, the laws of conduct and the treatment of crime.

Then two huge parallel sections would give a double-barreled treatment of economic life, one from the point of view of production and industrial organization, and the other from the points of view of distribution and finance. Here the principles and laws of property would be dealt with and here would come an economic geography and Atlas of the world. These really constitute that as yet imaginary Science of Work and Wealth which has served so useful a purpose in easing the burthen of detail in this work.

The twelfth section of our World Encyclopædia would stand somewhat apart in spirit from the rest of the enterprise, and it
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would deal with beauty. It "would be devoted to the aesthetic concepts and accomplishments of our race, with music, with every form of art, with poetry and all that can be called creative literature. In it aesthetic criticism would pursue its wild, incalculable, unstandardized career, mystically distributing praise and blame. Here would come the lives and critical studies of the work of poets and artists of every kind; the history of the drama; of opera; architecture considered as cultural expression; the high mystery of the Novel, as it was understood by Henry James. And here the multiplying new resources of artistry, the cinema, radio, gramophone and the like, of which the mechanical and financial sides would have been considered elsewhere, would be treated from the point of view of their aesthetic possibilities. The artist in his studio, the composer in his music room and all the multitude who invent and write down their inventions, have hardly figured as yet in our world panorama, and even now we can give them but a passing sentence or so. They are an efflorescence, a lovely and purifying efflorescence on life. And still more of an efflorescence is that vastly greater multitude of painters who cannot paint, of sculptors who leave us colder than their marble, of musicians who have but to approach a piano to put us to insincerely apologetic flight, and of an endlessly brawling, posturing, insulting, lusciously appreciating swarm of people—for the most part of small independent means—who write, talk, fight and bore about art. All this clamorous obscurity we glance at under the lower edge of this twelfth section of our World Encyclopædia, contemplate ambiguously for a moment and dismiss.

With that twelfth volume the great survey of human wisdom and initiatives would be complete. Then would come a dictionary index, with brief definitions for use as a dictionary, and the fullest index references to the encyclopædia. Good indexing is absolutely essential to an efficient encyclopædia. Every section should be indexed, every main article should have an index and a full bibliography, and in addition there should be this comprehensive general dictionary index, a section in itself.

Manifestly this is a much completer enterprise than any encyclopædia hitherto attempted. But then the resources of our world are vastly greater than they were in the days of Diderot and the first Encyclopædia Britannica. It would indeed do little more than bring those gallant pioneer essays properly up to date and
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scale. It would need as much money to bring it into existence as would launch a modern battleship. Are there no anti-Zaharoffs to bring back money to these better uses? And when it was launched it would need half a million pounds a year at least to keep it under constant revision. It would maintain as large a permanent staff as all the faculties of three or four great universities and unless it sold by the million sets it would not possibly pay. It would probably have to be a stupendously endowed enterprise. Yet in relation to Diderot's achievement it would be in no greater proportion than a modern liner is to the little sailing ships that lay in the Downs waiting for a change in the wind a century and a half ago.

And consider its certain effects. It would become the central ganglion, as it were, of the collective human brain. It would keep the thought of the world in a perpetual lively interchange. It would be the living source of a true Outline of History, instead of the poor sketch the world buys to-day, of a lucid Science of Life, of an understandable summary of the business of the world. It would sustain the common ideology of mankind. It would be the world organ of our correlated activities. And after all, at its most magnificent, if it used some thousands of men continually, it would not cost a tithe of the money spent upon such aimless, excessively dangerous extravagances as the French army which may never fight, or the American fleet, or the British fleet, or the militant forces the Germans are now endeavouring to restore.

§ 9. Open Conspiracy

And now that this great spectacle of human toil and effort rises to its culmination a crowning question becomes manifest. Wherein does true sovereignty reside? What is ruling and directing this millionfold diversity of activity towards its objective of synthesis order and power?

It is clear that existing governments do not really govern. We have shown how provisional and sometimes how obstructive and dangerous are these formal governments of our time. Their origin was combative. They drift by an inherited necessity towards war. They are not really governing any more than our formal educational organizations are really educating, or our religious bodies really inspiring and shaping human lives.

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The world needs a world government to supplement, control or supersede these traditional governments, a recasting of its schools to meet the needs of a new education, and a formulation of modern religious feeling that will free us from the entangling rags of ancient superstitions. And the strange thing is that in spite of the conscious and unconscious resistance of governments, schools and religious bodies, and the whole machinery of mental and material direction, in spite of the absence of any real progressive organization of the world, mankind does move forwards towards that new world, has moved indeed with increasing rapidity for the past two centuries, and still struggles with gathering vigour and effect against the restraints of the past. What is the power that sustains this forward urge? What is it that inspires so many of us with the hope of presently making an end to war and of so marshalling our present confusions as to achieve a world of justice, health, achievement and happiness such as life has never known before?

In our analysis of the social motives of humanity, we have already found some intimations of an answer. We have drawn attention to the peculiar effect, the almost paradoxical effect, of the priestly training in turning minds to the scrutiny and revision of tradition. Men can be broken in to all sorts of submissions but the last thing you can break in is thinking. Every system of shams, every system once living that has become unreal, carries with it that ferment of scepticism. In spite of profit and advantage, in spite of the universal longing for peace and comfort, there is a disposition—it is as deep almost as an instinct—for truth, at work in us all. But that is not the only strain that is making for the revision of our world. The nomad, the autocrat, has never come into civilization submissively. He may not be a noble creature—Homo sapiens is not as yet a noble animal—but he has pride. His tradition is all against suppressions and smothered whispers. Tell the truth though the heavens fall, is the heroic phrasing of it.

And further, man has brought down from his arboreal ancestry, an unsleeping curiosity, an incessant disposition to experiment and invent.

Now these various sources of unrest have worked together, altogether unconsciously, to frame out this new world civilization that dawns upon us amidst the institutions and traditions of the old. The critical man, the inventive man, the adventurous and out-
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spoken man, have worked together for consequences greater than they knew. When Stephenson watched his "Active" pull out the first passenger train upon the Stockton & Darlington Railway, it did not dawn upon him that this puffing and hissing contraption was destined to ensure the unity of the United States and make every frontier in Europe too tight. When Franklin flew his kite on a thundery day and drew sparks from the key at the end of his string, he had no idea that he was one small link in the huge chain of thought and realizations that was to throw a mantle of instant intelligence about the whole world. One step of curious enquiry, one act of simple mental integrity, multiplied a millionfold, has made the possibilities and opportunities of to-day. Behind these more recent and more successful innovators are others, more tragic and heroic. These are the men who told the truth as they conceived it about the heavens, though the churchmen of the time and all the established powers thundered together against them; there is Socrates drinking his hemlock because his genius had forced him to quicken the minds of the young.

Before that unpromeditated convergence of criticism, enquiry, suggestions, experiment and outspoken denial, the traditional order has become unreal in our minds to-day, and a new way of living opens before us. All that innovating, subversive activity was an unconscious conspiracy to evoke a new world.

But latterly that once unconscious conspiracy has been developing an awareness of itself, at first dimly but now more clearly. For a century and a half, at least, the idea of a conscious handling of the future of humanity has been establishing itself in our minds. Man, finding knowledge and power growing in his hands and his range of possibilities increasing continually, has gone on to the obvious next step of putting his knowledge in order and making his attainment of yet more knowledge and yet more power, purposive and systematic. For that new apprehension we have made Diderot, with his poor burked and mangled and persecuted Encyclopédie, our symbol. We would put him against his monarch, making the latter, with his preposterous robes and ceremonies, his pretentious magnificence, his infinite self-complacency, his "foreign policy," his diplomats, his mistresses and his piety, the very crown and embodiment of vulgar tradition. Who at that time would have imagined that Diderot would be alive to-day, a power and an inspiration, and his

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gorgeous sovereign as gone and happily gone out of human admiration and imitation as Nero or Cambyses before him.

With Diderot at last, that hitherto unconscious conspiracy for progress began to know itself for what it was. The nineteenth century was the century of liberalism, of the undermining of privilege and restriction. Progress came to be regarded as a necessary, rather than a merely possible, good. Lord Tennyson was the laureate not only of progress but of that limited reactionary little lady, Queen Victoria; and he reconciled the two without a qualm by presenting her as a veritable queen of light and guidance. Since he felt the world must surely "broaden down from precedent to precedent," how could she be anything but that? It was only a limited number of people who realized the finer truth that the secular development of a world civilization is not inevitable, but the outcome of constant effort and critical vigilance. Progress went on in that age of good fortune as though it went on by itself. It was the catastrophe of the Great War which has recalled us to the fact that the malignant possibilities of tradition had also been enhanced amidst the accumulated opportunities of that prolific awakening century which revealed to man all that he might hope and dare. After the Great War the impulse towards planned effort, towards the timely repudiation of obsolete institutions and towards educational reorganization has grown exceedingly. And it still grows. The word "plan" grows upon us. The Five Year Plan is only the first of many such plans to come.

To-day it is impossible to estimate how far human affairs are still drifting by hazard and material forces, and how far conscious scientific construction is making head against the adverse elements, within us and without, that would turn us back to outworn methods and racial recession. Our review of human affairs has been a display of almost unqualified growth under the influence of what we have just styled the "unconscious conspiracy" of original thought and innovation and experiment. But throughout we have had to note defects and waste in the working of this developing ant-hill for which no inevitable compensations appear, and dangers that have grown at least as vigorously as the rest of man's concerns. We have had at every step to qualify the confident effortless progressivism of the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century was a run of luck for mankind, a gust of good fortune, that may never recur.
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We see now plainly that we live in a world advancing still—but advancing dangerously and stumbling as it advances. We have shown political and financial science and method, lagging behind mechanical invention, and education faltering at its task. It seems that we can no longer rely upon the successful working of that "unconscious conspiracy" alone, to carry our intricate politico-economic system through the great dangers and stresses, so manifestly ahead, so rapidly drawing near. There is a quickening sense of this need for more concerted action, that is to say, for a new way of living, if the promise of humanity is to be fulfilled.

What are the activities to which men and women should now address and adjust their lives? They are, we shall find, activities that cannot be done by isolated men in out-of-the-way places or by energetic groups working for partial ends and heedless of the general drift of things. Railways could be spread by such groups—the governments of the time and the bulk of men scarcely heeding the network that grew about them and their planet—telegraphs, automobile and aeroplane could arrive without asking for any general consent. But the organization of a world peace can come into existence only through the previous acquiescence of at least all the chief governments in the world. That change must come about in a different fashion from the preceding changes. Men must be brought to a common mind in the matter, and that can be done only by the concerted efforts of a great number of influential and devoted people organizing propaganda and action. They must know themselves and each other, for that action to be effectual. There must be a Five Year Plan or a Ten Year Plan for all the world to understand if world pacification and disarmament are to be achieved. And similarly the readjustment of our cash-credit arrangements whose entanglements promise to strangle our growing prosperity, must be a world-wide, conscious undertaking to which governments must assent. You cannot introduce a new economic method in New Jersey or Denmark while the rest of the world abstains. The failure of a score of hopeful Utopian experiments in the nineteenth century demonstrated that. Concerted action by numbers of energetic men in all the great communities can alone meet this occasion. The world must have a plan like a banner that all men may follow, if the tariff walls are to crumble out of sight and a new money serve all the planet. Both these great tasks, the
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political and the economic, which mankind must perform or perish, are associated with and dependent on a concurrent world-wide renewal of education, which must equally be planned and carried out in the light of day. Restriction of population too must be world-wide.

We are forced therefore towards the conclusion that the phase of the "unconscious conspiracy" is drawing to its end, and that the further stages in the development of the new order of human life have to be achieved only through a world-wide movement conscious of itself.

Elsewhere I have used the term "open conspiracy" to express such a movement of men of ability and understanding towards world-wide concerted effort. As I conceive it, "open conspiracy" is not in itself the name of a defined project, but a term to accentuate and to help people to the realization of this present need for conscious and stated creative co-operations. It is something already going on; the unconscious conspiracy of effort and circumstance in the past becomes open conspiracy by imperceptible degrees, as the necessity for combined effort becomes plain and its recognition outspoken. All political, economic, and social service that is free and unhampered by patriotic limitations is open conspiracy. All biological work is that, all physical science and all straightforward industrial innovation, in so far as it sets no limits to its inferences and makes an unrestrained communication of its results and suggestions to the whole world. All these forces will gain enormously in effectiveness by common protection and support, one for the other, and by a clear formulation of their common end.

As I conceive it this open conspiracy of the educated is dawning now. Unless I misread the signs of the time it should grow articulate and spread very rapidly through the world's educational organizations. It should find a response and expression in literature and art. It should quicken the imaginations of financial and industrial directors and organizers, and it should bring them into understanding relation with the civil services of the world's governments. It should become the dominating idea of an increasing multitude of active personalities. In our Chapter XII, § 13, the problem of world unity was discussed, and it was shown how pressing and probable great world commissions for world planning in such fields as disarmament and international trade have become. These must bring to a head, into a common constellation of activities, just such
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elements as I have indicated here as the formative threads of this open conspiracy. The open conspiracy is not a remote Utopian project; it is something very probable, almost actual, close at hand.

In this idea of a concerted world-wide effort to sustain and continue the progress of the past two centuries, we have surely just that criterion of the value of conduct, that indication of an end for our activities, that the decay of the old faiths and explanations has deprived us of. We have the call for a new type of devotion and the indications for a new system of disciplines. We have indeed, at the practical level at which all this book is written—for life in space and time—the working elements of a new religion. But it is a religion that emerges, without founder or dogma or any finality, from the factors of social effort and desire that have been fostered and elaborated in the mind of man, by and throughout his developing social life. If man is to continue and still progress, it can only be by such a direct and simple apprehension of his world of work and achievement.

If the line of thought pursued in this book is sound, then what is here called open conspiracy is the practical form modern religion must assume, and the aim of modern education, as we have unfolded it here, must be to make every possible man and woman in the world an open conspirator.

§ 10. The Recalcitrant

In the preceding section we have ventured in criticism and forecast far beyond our enterprise of presentation. Let us return now to some very hard and serious realities in the shadow of the human community with which our enumeration of human life schemes must conclude.

The community breaks in the individual by education, and sometimes that education involves disciplines of some severity. Education passes by insensible degrees into adult government, into the public control of conduct, into the infliction of restraints, pains and penalties. There is no gap, no real dividing line between education proper and the prevention and punishment of crime; they are two aspects of one thing.*

* A good recent work on the repression or cure of the recalcitrant is Dr. Pailthorpe's What We Put in Prison; published by the London Association for the Scientific Treatment of Criminals.

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Let us consider what crime is, in the light of contemporary knowledge. Man at the level of Sianthropus probably had no more conception of crime and sin than any other animal. He had still to begin to be broken in to organized social life. He was like a dog which will commit incest, murder another dog, steal a bone—without feeling a stain upon its character. He may have had a certain awe of his master or his assembled fellows, as a dog has. We can only guess about that. We have stated the broad facts of the prehistoric process of breaking-in of Homo in our Chapter I telling how Man became an economic animal. Restraint was imposed upon him by taboos. He was brought to restrain his sexual impulses by the incest taboo, and to respect property by the taboos of this object or that to all but its owner. He had to restrict his impulse to violence. There is no instinct, psychologists tell us, against murder, robbery, theft or incest. There is no natural inherent virtue. Virtue is an artificial thing, an achievement, which is why we praise it to one another. A system of inhibitions is built up in our minds from our earliest days against these society-destroying impulses. For most of us, this system of inhibitions is sufficiently strong, under normal conditions, to keep us out of mischief. But it helps almost all of us to know that behind these acquired dispositions of ours is the law, with its pains and penalties.

So long as our moral education holds, and reasonable social circumstances and our good fortune keep us out of temptation, we do not release the potential murderer or robber within us, but there he is, nevertheless. Our ideologies, our conception of ourselves and our world, keep him out of sight even of our introspection. But whenever a murderer goes to be hanged, “there but for the grace of God” go the reader and the writer.

There was a fashion some years ago for denying this fairly evident truth. An Italian psychologist, Cesare Lombroso, produced a book, L’Uomo Delinquente, in which he declared that for the most part criminals had distinctive physical traits, “criminal” ears, thumbs and so forth. This idea carried out to its proper conclusion would enable us to hang our murderers on anthropometric ground before they killed anyone. He modified his views later, but that qualification was less exciting “news” and did not get the same publicity. After his book on criminals Lombroso published a book in which he attempted to show that men of genius are defectives and
akin to the insane. As everybody who writes believes himself or herself to be a genius, this gave Lombroso what literary circles call a "bad press," and his reputation collapsed. But his views have been more convincingly disposed of by Dr. Goring (The English Convict, 1913) who has shown that there is no distinctive physical or mental criminal type. Dr. Kischway (Encyclopædia Britannica, under Criminology) questions the latter half of Dr. Goring's conclusion, namely that there is no mental difference. The truth of the matter may lie in the fact that though there is no innate criminal quality there are probably certain distinctive qualities in the ideology established in the mind which resorts to crime. There may be unstable types in which a criminal ideology is established with facility. Professor Burt lays stress on this in his Young Delinquent. The practical distinction of innate and acquired qualities may be a difficult one. There are certainly criminal types of persona.

We return to our assumption that crimes and offences are artificial, they are restrictions imposed upon the normal "natural man" in order that the community may exist and work. There is no real difference in anything but degree between the man who outrages and robs his aunt, the man who deliberately drives an automobile round a corner on the wrong side of the road in order to get a thrill, the man who pulls a railway communication cord without proper excuse, and the man who uses a cleaned-up postage stamp over again. Each is giving way to his own impulses regardless of conventions established for the general good. The right or wrong of what they do is relative to society; there is no absolute right or wrong. A certain sanctity has been imposed upon the lives of aunts and the defacement of postage stamps, and the offender has refused to respect it. The social organization cannot afford to ignore this disregard. The artificial nature of crime becomes very plain when we consider such an offence as forgery. The precise imitation of a bank note or of a private signature on a cheque is made a serious offence in order to keep our cash and credit systems in working order. Otherwise it would be merely an elegant accomplishment. As a magistrate I have committed forgers for trial without feeling the slightest moral disapproval of them. There was a case came before the Folkestone bench: A prosperous gipsy woman bought a horse and almost immediately went mad; her nephew who worked with her, took her cheque book and signed her
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name to pay for the horse. It is perfect good faith. He did not even try to imitate her signature. What could have been more straightforward? How many women suddenly left penniless by a husband's insanity must have been disposed to do likewise? But the law has never been able to devise special arrangements for such hard cases, and so "forger" is established in our minds side by side with "robber" and "murderer" as a specially tainted being.

Crime, then, is that much of recalcitrance to the established processes and regulations, laws and by-laws of the social organization, which is punishable by law, and our best way of approaching it is by some preliminary considerations about recalcitrance in general. Why do people suddenly or of set habit and disposition refuse to "play the game" and disorganize the social operations about them?

This is a question that can be addressed in precisely the same terms to a school disciplinarian. The problem of order in society is one with the problem of order in the school. The latter is only the former in an earlier and simpler phase. The educationist's discipline is merely the prelude to the policeman and the criminal law. His science, which has advanced immensely in the last century, tells him to get just as much of right conduct as possible into the persona, to build up continually by example and precept, encouragement and disapproval, the suggestion that this is "done" and that is "not done." As far as possible he avoids reasoning about things; there is less friction if a type of act is established as being in itself "right" or "wrong." Telling the truth, avoiding and objecting to cruelty, playing fair, can all be put into a mind as handsome and creditable things by a competent teacher without any discussion at all. One of his most important disciplinary forces, is "the tone of the school." Individual ideas float on ideas generally prevalent. The preservation of the tone of the school is his constant solicitude. He resorts nowadays to compulsion and punishment only when the equipment of the persona is inadequate. But the youngster over whom he rules are not passive wax for his moulding. His example and precept must be a consistent system in itself and consistent also with the general conception of the world that is developing in the developing mind. Suggest that one must be brave and independent, and some of the subordinations you are imposing may take on a timid look; suggest that one must be loyal and you raise perplexing
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issues between the clum in trouble a.ud the law. The schoolmaster has to discriminate between individuals. Some are more vigorously egotistical than others, some are reserved and secretive. The former sort are apt to clamour for justice and consideration, exclusively directed to themselves. They are excitable; they flare up and rebel easily. They are dramatic. They clamour for popular approval or defy it. The subtle ones make their private reservations about right and wrong.

The school is already dealing in miniature with the two chief types of recalcitrant. The former is the open recalcitrant, the rebel, the violent breaker of rules, the type which needs open suppression, and the latter is the incredulous sneak, who accepts outwardly all the conventions of the community for the advantage of contravening them while others do not do so. But these two main classes by no means exhaust the disciplinary problems of the schoolmaster. There are exceptional types which seem to have an inherent mental twist against the restraints of social life, they are extravagantly egoistic and fail to "adjust," or they are dull and brutish and cannot establish or cannot sustain the necessary nervous connections. These are the mentally unstable and defective. The schoolmaster rejects the more marked individuals of this group; they must go to special institutions for such special compensatory or curative treatment as may be possible. Already across the crowd of normal educable youth in a school fall the shadows of rebellion, crime, defectiveness and lunacy. These shadows darken but do not change in their essential forms as we pass up to adult life.

The schoolmaster has got a certain proportion of the new generation morally educated. In no case, however, will he have suppressed the primordial human being altogether. The adolescent he turns out as one of his successes, is still an egotist, but now with his anti-social impulses sufficiently minimized to remain ineffective or altogether latent throughout life. He wants sincerely to be a good citizen. He would be a good citizen because of his education, were there no law, no policeman, no gaol. But that is the more perfect product in the educationist's output. Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven—and the Utopia of the anarchist. A number, probably a larger number, are sufficiently tamed and well disposed to refrain from anti-social behaviour while there is a reasonable prospect of
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detection, unpopularity and punishment. Finally there are those who will give trouble anyhow, the recalcitrants and the "mental cases."

The proportion of the recalcitrants to the rest of the population will vary enormously with the social atmosphere, which is the adult equivalent of the schoolmaster's "tone of the school." Where the community is saturated with common understandings, where the law and social usage are but little questioned and in harmony with the prevailing temperament, recalcitrants may fall to a very low percentage of the community. We get what is called a law-abiding community. A generally accepted law is what is called a "just" law, and the administration in a justly organized community can carry on its work with an air of righteousness and justice. Everyone helps and nobody hinders.

Where, on the other hand, the law is widely vexatious in any respect, as, for instance, Prohibition is vexatious in the United States of America; where there is a mixed population or an alien government with a consequent conflict of ideals and the suspicion of partiality; or where economic stresses fall unequally, the essential artificiality of right and wrong becomes apparent, the administration loses moral prestige and the proportion of recalcitrants rises. As recalcitrance rises the administration necessarily becomes more and more repressive. A community with a large proportion of recalcitrants is parallel to a school of which the tone has degenerated through mismanagement or has still to be raised to a high level, and which is consequently "out of hand." Punishment has to be vivid and unsparing, the forces of law and order vigorously aggressive.

We have shown that in the past education was a much more violent breaking-in than it is to-day. The modern teacher has a subtlety, gentleness and success of which no previous age ever dreamt. The treatment of social recalcitrance has undergone and is still undergoing a parallel amelioration.

The methods adopted in the past to maintain the health of the social body, to educate the community to seemly co-operation, make a terrible chapter in the history of mankind. The main purpose of all punishment is exemplary. The plain logical thing to do therefore, it seemed, was to exhibit the punishment to the crowd and make it as impressive as possible. "Do likewise and so it shall be with you," said the lawgiver. A kind of moral rage was excited in
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the struggling ruler by the breach of social rules, he lost his beneficence, and so the idea of teaching and reforming the malefactor himself played only a secondary rôle in the affair. The welfare of the wretch had passed out of consideration. What the ruler had to do was to demonstrate that he had got the better of the wretch and not the wretch of him.

In the old-fashioned education, birkings and floggings, the wearing of the foolscap and standing in painful attitudes, were inflicted if possible in the presence of the whole school for the benefit of all. The same publicity characterized the penal code. The stocks were still a common discipline a century and a half ago; the cangue was used in China within the lifetime of most of us—I am not sure that it is entirely disused even now; the seventeenth-century pillory, where exposure in discomfort was often combined with the mutilation of ears or nose, carried an inscription defining the offence committed. Executions were public festivals. Our projected Educational Museum must needs have its chamber of horrors, accessible only to those of a stout stomach, in which we shall pass from the more familiar instruments of school discipline to apparatus for the most terrifying executions. All these things played their part in the social education of man, the heavy-handed breaking-in of the past.

It is with a note of apology nowadays that one even mentions torture, but the world-wide use of torture before the days of Voltaire and the French Revolution, had a certain illuminating justification. There was a remarkable objection to putting a malefactor to death until he confessed his crime. He was tortured to produce a confession. Nothing could bring out more plainly the fundamentally pedagogic attitude of criminal law. It was not simply avenging an outrage upon society. The victim was being taught in spite of himself. If he died contumacious, he had not learnt his lesson, and, so far as he was concerned, the ruler had suffered defeat.

For obvious reasons the punishment of crime in primitive communities has always been summary, killing or beating or hurting in some way. Before the Middle Ages imprisonment was not widely used as a punishment, and prisons were simply mews for persons awaiting trial or execution. Sir Basil Thomson (whose Story of Dartmoor is well worth reading) ascribes our modern use of
imprisonment to the influence of monastic Christianity, which regards solitude as a great help to penitence. Monks were among the first to be punished by imprisonment, and the aim in their cases was quite definitely educational. The oubliettes, dungeons and so forth of the medieval castle were rather guest chambers for people the lord of the castle disliked and wished to treat as disagreeably as possible, than places of punitive restraint; they may have been persuasive in some cases, but they were not penal. They were revengeful. Such prisons as the Bastille in Paris or the Tower of London were essentially places of detention, and it was only after the First French Revolution that the legal sentence of imprisonment came into effect in France to replace a variety of brutal summary penalties. Under the vanished monarchy, French law had been almost as bloody as the English, which still in the first two decades of the nineteenth century hanged men, women and children for thefts of a greater value than forty shillings. (But before the Revolution there were prisons for women and minor offenders in Holland and in 1703 Pope Clement XI built a special prison for youthful offenders.)

Throughout the ages the practice of selling recalcitrants into slavery and using them for mines, galleys and other excessive forms of labour has appealed very strongly to economical governments. It was a favourite expedient of the British in the provision of cheap labour for their earlier colonies. In Defoe's *Moll Flanders* transportation to the West Indies is highly commended as a way of starting life anew. In Soviet Russia, it is said, engineers and other skilled workers are charged with sabotage, sentenced to death, and then have their sentences commuted to so many years of unpaid work. But through a large part of the modern world now, except for capital sentences and the brutalities of army training, the only physical punishment inflicted is imprisonment.*

The use of prisons for convicted criminals was a distinct step forward from the public cruelties inflicted upon the recalcitrant in earlier times. Partly it may have been due, as Sir Basil seems to suggest, to the Christian idea of reforming the sinner, but mainly it was a product of the increasing decency and civilization of the world, which so quickened sympathy for those who might be condemned

* In 1920 flogging for certain types of robbery with violence was restored to the British penal code.
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that witnesses would not come forward to give evidence nor juries, with the dire penalties of the time in view, convict. Severity defeated itself, and the offender went scot-free. The public sufferings of the condemned advertised the atrociousness of the law. In the eighteenth century in Britain, though the yearly massacre of criminals was counted by the thousand, the annual depredations upon property lying in the Thames, says Sir Basil, amounted to half a million sterling, and no mail coach out of London was safe without an armed escort.

The prisons of the new régime of comparative mercy that followed the French Revolution were not indeed very wholesome places for repentance. They had to be improvised by authorities with not too much money to spend, and often with little sympathy for the new ideas. The intention of the law, no doubt, has always been something in the way of a rigorously clean little cell, a hard bed, simple, barely adequate food, cheerless exercise and meditation. Or labour upon quarries or public buildings conducted austerely in an edifying spirit. But these things are easier to launch than to keep in order. The trouble in all prisons throughout the world is at bottom the same double-headed trouble—expense and the staff. It is a trouble that also affects mental homes and lunatic asylums, which we may therefore bring into the picture very conveniently here. It is almost impossible to say where responsible recalcitrance ends and irresponsible recalcitrance begins. The taxpayer, the press, protest at the "pampering" of offenders, and there is a widespread feeling that their treatment should be below the lowest standard of life outside. There is a similar jealous objection that a mental asylum should not be a "palace."

It is the greatest tragedy of lunacy that the afflicted speedily become unendurably tiresome even to their intimate friends and close relations; so that they have few champions except a few philanthropic specialists. Both classes of establishment therefore are very subject to the economizing "axe." During the war the lunatics of Europe had a very bad time; in nearly every belligerent country they were half starved. Prisons and mental homes alike are by their very nature secret places, secluded from casual inspection. And the difficulty in getting an adequate staff of a suitable quality is very great. The ordinary warder or asylum attendant is not highly prized, and few people would undertake the
work, unless for religious reasons, who could find equally well-paid employment outside. A prison governorship is not regarded as a great prize. Economy understaffs and makes the work more exacting. The demands for patience and self-control in dealing with recalcitrants under restraint are enormous, and the normal lunatic, not simply from lack of understanding, but often because of an inherent maliciousness, can be incredibly vexatious.

All this leads, not indeed to tragic and horrifying events, but to a régime of petty tyrannies, illegal beatings, spiteful deprivations and misery. Most warders and attendants, when one meets them, are manifestly honest and worthy people; the community certainly gets its money's worth from this class; but they are bothered from morning to night, teased and overstrained. The monotony of a prison must be dreadful for all who have to keep it in a going state. The prisons of the world, rest assured, are cold, hard and needy places; the mental homes and asylums are full of wretchedness. In neither category are they, as yet, the organizations for cure, reform and adaptation they might well become.

One very dreadful result of the understaffing of mental homes is the reluctance these establishments frequently display in releasing the almost sane, once they are brought into the institution. Because, you see, the almost sane are so manageable comparatively and they can "help with the others." This is a clear and natural outcome of the instinctive abandonment and essential parsimony with which these unfortunate are treated.

As far as possible the insane and feeble-minded are given work to do that will keep their minds moving in tolerable paths. They follow various industries in the institutions provided for them; they work in the open air inside the high walls of the asylum grounds. There is no absolute difference between ordinary sane and law-abiding people, criminals, lunatics and the feeble-minded; there are only differences of degree. They feel as we do; if they do not act as we do, they act after the same fashion, with the same sort of mental sequences—at least, until their disease has gone on for some time. The criminal guides himself by a persona that permits him to do forbidden things more readily than the normal citizen. The lunatic's moods and interpretations fluctuate as ours do, but more widely and convulsively. He has impulse systems that get the better of him more completely than our impulse systems; his
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attempts to rationalize his world into harmony with the demands of his egotism are more extravagant than ours. We all comfort ourselves by delusions about our charm, our value, our ability, but he becomes God, or the King of the World, or the "mysterious European," or the Napoleon of the press. As far as he can he acts accordingly. The bulk of asylum patients may all have been curable at an early stage; there is no insane type any more than there is any criminal type; at most there is an excessive excitability which may soon, with advancing medical science, be quite controllable by glandular treatment; and in every asylum there are certainly men and women who were originally quite balanced but whose minds have been overwhelmed by some adverse chance too great to square with their general view of existence. Whether it is inherent or the result of misfortune, a defective or a misshapen and trustworthy persona is what the alienist has to deal with. The picture within is wrong. The ideology is at issue with society. It is an incurable discordance rather than a deliberate recalcitrance that takes these afflicted individuals out of the world. It is not that they will not, but that they can no longer will.

The visitor to a modern mental home feels the distress of it only by degrees. His first impression is one of space, light and cheerfulness. He sees tennis courts and cricket fields; men working in gardens, people promenading and talking. He scarcely heeds the high wall that closes it all in from the world. He enters the building and finds people sitting about reading newspapers, talking, smoking. Then he notes as he goes from floor to floor the sound of keys being turned. And he begins to remark a certain listlessness here or a smouldering excitement there. He finds patients sitting inert, or muttering to themselves, or repeating some phrase or some movement mechanically and endlessly. They are doing very much as we do when we are greatly strained and troubled. They have been forced into uncongenial associations; they bore one another frightfully and increase each other's malady.

By comparison the appearance of a gaol is dark and gloomy. The inmates are under a closer discipline and more obviously subjugated. They sit in separate cells doing some daily task or they sit still. The peeping visitor speculates about what is going on in that cropped averted head. Does that particular criminal think he was justified? Was he treated fairly? The law has got him now, but
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next time will he get away with it? There is little or nothing in cell or exercising yard to cause a rebirth to a braver, more generous system of ideas. There is little to restore confidence in one’s fellow men.

Since the days of Jeremy Bentham there has been a steady movement towards the development of the reformatory type of prison for at least young offenders, in spite of many financial and administrative obstacles. Borstal in Kent was the germ of the new methods so far as Britain is concerned. The Borstal idea is essentially adolescent re-education, on the principle of better late than never. It deals with young criminals between the ages of sixteen and twenty-three. They have grown up, it is assumed, in a bad environment; they have got false ideas, a bad ideology, a warped persona, and that has to be set right before it is fixed for ever. So they are treated with an austere kindliness, set to learn useful trades, encouraged to play social games that evoke the concepts of team-play and fair-play, and released under supervision to start the world anew. The method is so far successful that of 6,000 cases observed, two thirds have never troubled the law again.

But it has to be noted that the Borstal prisons, of which there are now four in England, are not cheap prisons to run, and that they demand a certain very special enthusiasm on the part of governor, house-master and staff. That one can get for one pioneer prison, for four prisons even, amidst the stir and hope of a new movement. But how far can the methods be extended before the strain on the supply of devoted officials becomes excessive? People like Mr. Alec Paterson, the Prisons Commissioner for the Borstal Institutions, Sir Wemyss Grant Wilson who founded the After Care work, and Miss Lillian Barker of the girls’ Borstal, do not grow on every family tree.

The name of Thomas Mott Osborne is closely associated with the parallel movement in America to make the prison educational. He trained himself in the matter by undergoing a term of voluntary imprisonment at Auburn, New York. Under him, the New York State Prison at Sing Sing was the scene of some very remarkable and successful experiments in social rehabilitation. The punitive factor was reduced to a minimum. He even introduced a form of convict self-government known as the "mutual welfare league." But note that I write with caution; I write "under him." Lately (1930) there
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has been grave trouble in Sing Sing. The celebrated Juvenile Court
of Judge Lindsay in Denver also was a one-man court, a self-
embodiment rather than an autonomous machine.

In these cases, as in all such cases, the directive personality in a
prison seems to be the supremely important thing. Good educational
prisons are still exceptional prisons. They have not been made into
machines with replaceable parts, and perhaps that will never be
possible. It needs only a little relaxation of guidance for them to
lose their educational quality and lapse into irritation and un-
happiness. The same is true of the lunatic asylum and the mental
hospital. The relation of warder and prisoner, or attendant and
defective, is normally one of restraint and resistance, and so it is
always close to the keen edge of exasperation. The history of
reform in both these types of human institution from the days of
John Howard and Beccaria onward, is a history of indignant and
devoted personalities. Such reformers capture the imaginations of
authorities and helpers and force up the tone of the business—for a
time. But the normal, healthy human mind, with an instinctive
economy of effort and feeling, turns itself away from the fate of the
recalcitrant and ill-adjusted. It is a special job for a special type,
which responds to what religious people speak of as a "call."

What hope have we then that this painful substratum of social
life may be mitigated or reduced to nothing in the future? Will the
world solve this problem of personal management and staffing? To
what may we look for a steady and if necessary an increased supply
of service?

Our first hope lies in the schools of the future and in the general
educational atmosphere of the community. These will fail to
establish the law-sustaining persona with a smaller and smaller
percentage of the young. They will be cutting off the criminal
supply at the source.

And there may be a further interception of possible criminals with
defective personas at the leaving school stage. The juvenile prison
at Wandsworth is interesting in this respect. Young persons under
remand are put through the same sort of examination as we have
mentioned in Chapter VII, § 6, our account of the London Institute
of Industrial Psychology. A very material proportion of young
criminals commit offences because they are misfits and unhappy in
the calling chosen for them. The juvenile prison affords every
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facility tor a change over to congenial and satisfying jobs. Here again is another preventive force to diminish the load upon the prison at least, if not upon the mental retreat.*

Next, to keep down the criminal load there is the deterrent force of efficient policing. It is a proved and tested maxim of the criminologist that the surer the conviction of the offender, the less likely he is to offend. Light but inevitable punishments are far more effective than uncertain heavy ones. Sentences can be reduced therefore with every improvement in policing, and there will be fewer people in prison, and they will be there for shorter terms.

Turn now to the mental home, and here again there is a reasonable hope of a great reduction in the number of cases. Actual lunacy, as we have remarked already, may soon become much more curable if taken in time than it is at present; it is to begin with a disorder of the thoughts associated with a misbehaviour of the endocrinal glands, both controllable things. The psychoanalyst may come to the help of the family doctor, and the standard of medical education may be raised very greatly in this field. The load upon asylums, may also be lightened presently by the sterilization of mental defectives (discussed in Chapter X, § 6).

While the load is thus being reduced, it may be possible to supplement and improve the staffing of both series of institutions very considerably. There is the possibility of a reinvigorated moral education and a revival of the religious spirit among the young. I have already noted in two places (Chapter XII, § 11, and in this chapter, § 7) William James’s suggestion of a year or so of universal public service for all the young people in the community. A certain proportion of these, carefully selected by a scientific testing of character and intelligence, would find an ennobling use in the responsibilities of prison and asylum work.

There is also another and perhaps even more valuable element in the population that could be brought to bear upon both prison and asylum. That is the student who proposes to specialize as a doctor and in particular as a mental doctor, or as a lawyer, educationist or

* A good summary of Children’s Courts throughout the world is given in W. Clarke Hall’s book with that title. This has ample references to the general literature of the subject. Professor Cyril Burt’s Young Delinquent is a fuller treatment of this most interesting borderland between normal education and police restraint. Apart from the interest of the subject itself, these books introduce the reader to a very cheering and inspiring group of inspectors and court officials, sterling good people that one is the better for knowing about.
practising teacher. We have already commented (Chapter VIII, § 7) on the remarkable general ignorance of solicitors. In no class of men is an acute sense of the defects and dangers of human impulse more necessary than in these modern successors of the father confessor of the past. The lawyer in training also might well supplement his law studies with a year or so of practical work among the extremer cases of impulse, defect and recalcitrance. There is a strong case for impressing the law student for this work. When we take into consideration all these possibilities of improved and scientific staffing on the one hand and of restricted supply on the other, the ultimate complete civilization of both prison and mental seclusion ceases to appear an impossible dream and takes on the character of a finite and solvable problem. But their ultimate abolition is a remoter issue altogether.

And now, with a sigh of relief, let us turn our backs upon those museum galleries of past and present restraint and repression we have had to conjure up, with their models of prisons and cells, their effigies in convict clothing, their handcuffs, stretchers and strait-jackets, their frightful disciplines and intimidations, and all that depressing but unavoidable display of human frustration, and let us turn our subject about and ask, "What is recalcitrance?" What, that is, are the things society considers it desirable and justifiable to insist upon in its individuals and what are the tendencies it must restrain or suppress if individuals will not or cannot do so?

In the past, through the clumsiness of the current conceptions of social relationships, a great number of acts and attitudes were regarded as inimical to social well-being which we, with our broader outlook, know to be matters of indifference. Ceremonial negligences, the questioning of received opinions, disregard of various obsolete taboos, alchemy, magic practices, witchcraft, heresy, the eating of forbidden things, unorthodox fashions of life and behaviour, were supposed to offend the Higher Powers so gravely as to bring misfortune on the community. Accordingly, such acts were prosecuted and punished, often very cruelly. We speak of these things as "persecutions," but from the point of view of the persecutor they were as much crimes as murder or theft or forgery. They awakened the same horror and the same vindictive passion in the well-disposed. To this day, in those darker corners of the earth where savage life still lingers, there are sacrifices to avert disaster, but in
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most of our world there are now no involuntary offences and no propitiatory sacrifices, and there has been an immense release of thought and act from the narrower, fear-haunted ideology of the past.

Every new phase in social development must create new offences and supersede old ones. The progressive organization of world unity will, for example, abolish the offences of smuggling and espionage. You will be able to take anything anywhere, look at anything, and tell anybody what you have seen. On the other hand, a modern state may suddenly bring new spheres of activity within the criminal code. Before the war the brewing, sale and delivery of beer was as honourable an occupation in New York as it is still in London. By a constitutional amendment this has been changed in the United States against the will and conscience of great numbers of hitherto decent people, and as a consequence of this and of a pedantic deliberation, and possibly a certain venality, in the machinery of the law, a new and formidable criminal organization has been evoked in that country. The attempt to control a particular detail of conduct in a community accustomed to great freedom of personal initiative was manifestly entirely unscientific. The voters in that democratic country should have been educated to a clearer idea of what a law can and cannot do. The ante-war saloon was no doubt a very great social and political nuisance, but its impatient, crude suppression has replaced it by far greater evils and done a very deep injury to the American morale.

The Soviet Republic, in its attempt to replace a medieval autocracy by a scientifically organized collectivist state, has had to revise its code of right and wrong in the most drastic fashion. It had for instance to make an offence of "speculation," punishable in the case of members of the Communist party by death. 'Speculation was simply buying to sell again at a profit instead of buying for use. Every shopkeeper and every pedlar became a criminal. A more vaguely defined offence, "economic sabotage," has also been pursued with implacable fury. "Economic sabotage" seems to be failing, "with intent," to get the very best result out of every machine or organization of which one is in control. Indeed, a whole series of offences has been created in defence of the Soviet régime. What the rest of the world would call political opposition has become stark treason in Russia. To point out defects in the Five Year Plan or
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suggest co-operation with capitalist Europe is a crime.

Never have the definitions of right and wrong fluctuated so wildly as they do to-day. They change and are bound to change with every attempt to adjust our overstrained and dislocated economic, political and social ideologies to the vast new needs of the time. In this comprehensive statement and analysis of human cooperations we have attempted, it is made plain that in all existing political and commercial systems there are the gravest defects and dangers. They are undergoing adjustment amidst great stresses. It has been impossible to describe them without condemning their past and foreshadowing the future. The so-called Capitalist System is not in being, it is continually becoming. But to forecast developments is to forecast new methods of dealing and new rules of conduct, and that is to open up a new list of offences.

We advance into no anarchist paradise. Progress is only possible through repression. For example, we have traced lightly but sufficiently the growth of the armament industry in the last half century. We have seen how the conduct of a small number of energetic individuals pursuing profits on entirely legal and permissible lines, has already contributed to a monstrous destruction of human life, happiness and material. Largely that was possible because incitement to war, whether secret or public, in school or press, is not a criminal offence. But now at least it ought to be a criminal offence, if the Kellogg Pact means anything at all. Incitement to general murder ought to be brought into line with incitement to murder specific individuals. And the speculative manufacture of arms by private individuals so that their purchase can be forced upon reluctant governments, and the public sale of lethal weapons, are manifestly much more socially injurious and should be made at least as criminal as brewing or the sale of cocaine has been made in the United States of America. Both indeed would be extremely easy to suppress were there the will for it.

Moreover, we have shown how badly, and at present how ominously, the system of production for profit, with its current methods of credit, works. It is clear it has to be changed and made to work in a new spirit if we are to avoid a catastrophe. By successive replacements at this point and that, production for use and large measures of collective buying have to supersede profit production and the incoherent direction of the unorganized purchaser.
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And in personal conduct the spirit of service, and service as a criterion of moral quality, have to be brought in to modify the deliberate and admitted self-seeking that rules our economic life to-day. These developments involve a correlated adjustment of instruction and the law. The persona has to be set in certain new directions by education, and the criminal law has to confirm that bias.

There is need of a sustained, continuing scrutiny of the methods of banking, the manipulation of money and credit, the permissible devices of trading, the financing of enterprises. There is need of a progressive modification of the law in association with this scrutiny. Our economic life has to be brought more and more into harmony with the concept of collective effort for the common welfare to avert the disaster the tradition of chaotic competition, the legacy of the peasant, and the predatory nomad will otherwise bring upon us all. The fierce and drastic suppressions of economic recalcitrance in Russia are violent beyond any necessity of the Atlantic communities, but it is plain that since, under the compulsion of new dangers and stresses, all the world, and not Russia alone, struggles towards more highly organized mutual service, a more deliberate, parallel restraint upon anti-social individual enterprise becomes inevitable in the non-Communist communities also.

The aim of this work throughout is to translate the abstract ideas of economics and sociology into terms of concrete human beings, and there need be no apology offered for an attempt to present "anti-social individual enterprise" in the form of living types. What manner of man and woman, what sort of persona, does that phrase "anti-social individual enterprise" convey?

I would suggest that the type of crime this age will find most difficult to deal with is not the rough, overt recalcitrance of former times. So much of that as still gets past preventive education can be dealt with by competent police methods. The comparative abundance of violent crimes in the United States is a temporary phase, due to short-sighted repressive legislation and an ill-organized police system; both of which disadvantages one may count upon the American people to overcome. In the rest of the world, as school, reformatory, police integrity, and efficiency advance, the open recalcitrants diminish. But on the other hand, in certain types of crime, in the possibility of undetected hidden crimes and in acts,
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plainly anti-social but not yet definitely made criminal, it is not so easy to congratulate ourselves. The police organization plays a long and difficult game against, for example, the intelligent poisoner. The law finds itself in constant perplexity about the intricate cheat. Sir Basil Thomson found most of his "old lags" at the convict prison of Dartmoor men of poor education and inferior mental quality. The proportion of educated cheats and middle-class criminals who come into gaol seemed to him unaccountably small, in view of all the cheating and overreaching that was going on in the world outside.

From America comes a sobriquet I find attractive, "Smart Alec." I propose to use it here. It raises in my mind a figure of just the qualities I have in view. Smart Alec is a sharp lad, who retains the peasant persona, polished to an extreme brightness, in spite of all the modern educational forces that may have been brought to bear upon him. For some reason of innate quality or faulty suggestion, the ideas of honour, service, frankness and truth do not "take" with him. He professes to accept them, but within they have no hold on him. His persona is pervaded by the persuasion that he is "not a fool." Fools take these things as fundamental, but not he. He has ends of his own, private standards of what is desirable. These ends may be the gratifications of sense or vanity or the secret triumphs of advantage and avarice. An immense vanity and a profound secret self-reliance are in his make-up. He does not trust. Even with those he values and cares for, he does not give himself away, or he does so by some lapse into boasting. From this angle it is that Smart Alec comes into the game of life.

(I write of Smart Alec to economize my third personal pronouns. There are Smart Alexandras—with certain differences of aim and method; it may be, as abundant.)

He comes into the game of life with the idea not of serving, but of beating the community, and the community, so far as it is wisely guarded, sets itself to defeat and if possible "save the soul" of Smart Alec. All up and down the scale of misdemeanour and punishment we find Smart Alec being found out, and how many Smart Alec's are never found out we cannot estimate. Some are caught cheating in school, and some are caught cheating at games. They get a check, and perhaps they mend their ways. But the abler or more fortunate Smart Alec has a finer discretion and does not
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cheat too crudely. He studies the weaknesses of his masters and
wins good marks with a minimum of exertion. He plays his games
according to the rules. His companions say that he plays for his
own hand, but playing for one's own hand is not yet scheduled as an
offence. He watches his averages and gets through his examinations.
He pushes out into the world alert for opportunity.

Where is there most opportunity? That may vary with the
circumstances in which he is launched, with his special aptitudes,
with his general intelligence. He may choose a trade or a profession.
Law has had some brilliant, unscrupulous successes to fire the
imagination of an ambitious youngster. A political career, par-
ticularly for a smart and smartly bold lawyer, offers a way to
prominence and many glittering prizes. A lawyer may do many
things a layman dare not do. He knows the law better and within
limits; if men denounce him, he can trust to the instinct of pro-
fessional solidarity. There are some good prizes in the Church, too,
and less competition than there was in former days. But industry,
commerce and especially financial organization, beckon to Smart
Alec with both hands.

There at present he finds his richest field. There is an amazing
tolerance in finance for the man who plays for himself alone.
Boldness with property ceases to be heroic in the business man's
imagination only when it comes into the dock. Some of the older
banks may distrust youthful brilliance and lay snares for its feet,
but the prevailing standards of the financial world still blend the
traditions of peasant and raider. In Chapter X we have exposed all
this region of human activities to the light of a careful analysis and
shown what a danger its unplanned looseness of play is to the whole
human organization. The task of its adjustment would still be
corn.ously difficult if everyone concerned in it were giving himself
unreservedly to assist. But nothing of the sort is going on. Smart
Alec meets one at every twist and turn, ready to oppose everything
that will embarrass him, alert to snatch and take advantage. He
stretches the poor old law to the utmost and cheats a little when it is
likely to inconvenience him. He has his confederates in the legis-
lature; his friends who own and direct newspapers; Smart Alecs
likewise.

The man of good-will, as we call him, himself by no means perfect,
thinks and plans to save and serve the civilization that in his mind

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has come to be something more significant than himself. He is part of that once unconscious conspiracy that now becomes conscious, the conspiracy of constructive service to sustain and continue civilization. He has no ambition to flare across the heavens as the richest man in the world. He has his own conception of satisfaction and his less obvious and deeper standards of success and failure. He is an official, or a man of science, or a lawyer with an enlightened sense of honour, a teacher, or he may be many other serviceable things. His wealth, his power, so far as that depends on wealth, and his knack of getting, may be, man for man, almost incalculably inferior to that of any of the more flagrantly successful Smart Alecs, but there is this on his side and on the side of civilization, that he is capable of wider and wider co-operations, while Smart Alec is by his very nature an individualist, playing for his own skin. Smart Alec does this and that and one Smart Alec skins another Smart Alec, Smart Alecs are cannibals among themselves, the gross, limited and ignorant crowd thrusts stupidly this way or that or lapses into collective inertia, but the open conspiracy will go on more and more steadfastly doing the same system of things, working toward a more and more clearly defined objective.

Between Smart Alec and the conscientious, devoted, all too pedagogic makers of order and progress, the limited, instinctive traditional life of the multitude blunders along, at once protected and entangled, in a fabric of laws and methods that is still manifestly casual, unstable and incalculable. The multitude is ignorant, and Smart Alec can lie to it convincingly and brilliantly; he can fool its dim impulses to do right and turn them against his toiling pursuers. Its loyalties are dull and strong, attached to decaying idols and superseded necessities, but Smart Alec will champion and defend and utilize the honoured tradition, the ancient institution, and reward and advance himself with all the picturesque honours it can confer. Or some devitalized religion spreads its attractive endowments about the world for Smart Alec to seize upon and sustain. He is to be found playing the rôle of the enthusiastic Nationalist, the acute Protectionist, for of all systems of opportunity for the alert, war and war preparation are the greatest. A staff uniform becomes him well. In the trenches and tortures of warfare men may come to see Smart Alec plainly, in a blaze of revelation, but there is no going back for them then; he is well out of range. And now that Smart

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Alec has been so busy with our currencies and prices that this swarming world of work and wealth hangs dangerously on the verge of panic and despair, the Smart Alec continues their reckless manœuvre[s] sell to keep the depression going and buy at bedrock prices, traverse every effort to unify the incoherence of a divided economic front, and bid fair to accomplish the ruin of our civilization. Then, amidst the discomforts of a brigand world, Smart Alec, with his gains mysteriously gone and his comforts and indulgences shattered beyond recovery, will adjust himself knowingly and briskly to new occasions.

Unless we of the open conspiracy who hunt him incessantly can net him tightly enough to save our world from his exploits.

These are the fundamental sides of the internal conflict of the human community as we see them today. Education, law, an advancing psychology, and social science have the brute, the dull and the defective well in hand. That much may be counted as done. The broad task now is a vast and difficult political and economic reconstruction of the world's affairs, with Smart Alec as the main recalcitrant. Law, like a living, self-repairing net, seeks for him. The mind of the race in literature and social psychology sustains a perpetually closer criticism of motive and conduct and so exposes and pursues him. Continually the modern community, thoughtfully, steadfastly, powerfully, must be anticipating, circumventing, defeating, and, as may be necessary, punishing Smart Alec. For Smart Alec is now the chief enemy of mankind. He is the antagonist and betrayer of open conspiracy; its role is to prevent the salvaging of civilization. We have to fight him in the whole world about us. We have to fight him by school, by art and literature and law. We have to meet and fight him in our daily transactions. We have to fight him in ourselves.

And conversely, Smart Alec is rarely if ever found—how shall I put it?—in a state of chemical purity, a hundred per cent Smart Alec. Nearly always, if not always, his private self, his persona, will have been infected with some qualities of a wider, less personal scope. He has a conscience. There are moments when the Smartest Alec sees himself for what he is.

If, in space and time, but outside of and above our world of work and wealth altogether, some commanding intelligence could survey and appraise it in its simplest form, the whole spectacle
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of our activities, our desires, our efforts, and our defeats would appear as one continuing struggle between the creative synthetic will and thought of the human mind on the one hand, and the subtle, endlessly various self-centred recalcitrance of the individual man on the other.