THE LONG ROAD

BY

ARTHUR E. MORGAN

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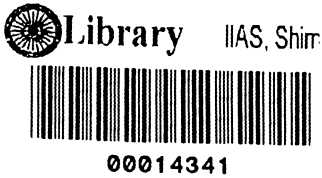

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TO MY WIFE

THE LONG ROAD

THE ALDEN-TUTHILL LECTURES

The first three chapters in this book were first delivered as lectures on the Alden-Tuthill foundation at the Chicago Theological Seminary, 1936. Earlier lecturers on this foundation were Professor William E. Hocking in 1933, the Honourable Henry A. Wallace in 1934, and Dr. Richard C. Cabot in 1935.

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FOREWORD

NOTHING could be less original than to comment on the fact that life in the U.S.A. is increasingly dominated by (I would say "cluttered up by" if it were not for Mr. Morgan's wise pointing out of the value of diversity) specialists in one and another activity, highly trained experts in this, who are hopeless ignoramuses in that. Yet perhaps the depressing shade which they cast over our spirits and self-respect is not always recognized for what it is. Ordinary people like most of us, cowed by the special knowledge of experts, are being shamed out of confidence in what used to be called ordinary common sense, a quality respected in our youth as a means of solving many of the difficulties of life, now discredited and shamed by its helplessness in the face of the mechanical and scientific complications of our modern world. When our telephone or radio is out of order, or when our town needs a new bridge, or our public water supply needs attention, when our roses develop a new malady, or the elevator in our office building won't work, about all that poor old common sense can do for us is to advise us to call in an expert, and reach deep into our pockets to pay him.

Common sense is after all experience of life turned into everyday knowledge of how to manage

life. Of the workings of telephones, radiators, suspension bridges, diphtheria germs and rose fungi, ordinary people have no experience and hence no knowledge of how to manage them. On the part of specialists in radiators, telephones, electric refrigerators, etc., there is a natural tendency to claim for their special fields a greater relative importance than is warranted, and we ordinary citizens, daunted and bewildered, have not yet organized any very valid resistance to such claims. There can be no doubt that some of the uneasiness and apprehensiveness and lowering of courage and independence in moderns is caused by our supine dependence on other people for keeping many areas of our lives in working order. The craving for occasional camping trips, or other returns to primitive life, and the salutary effect on our morale of such experiences may come largely from a yearning to feel oneself as good a man as the plumber, to be in circumstances in which the canniest electrician is no better than we at meeting difficulties. It is for a temporary experience of standing up straight that we stand in icy streams fishing for food we do not need; it is to recover our human dignity that we return to the dirt and discomfort of camping out.

I set off in a paragraph by itself, to mark its importance, my reminder that because it would take a volume to do bitter justice to that tragic subject, I do not speak of the escape from the grinding tyranny of economic dependence on a boss or

on customers, which camping-out offers modern men and women.

Mr. Morgan's book gives us back our human dignity, gives us faith in our own appraisals of life values, without taking us back to the unwashed simplicities of primitive life. With a strong beat of the wing, he carries us up out of the clutter of scientific, mechanical and economic complications to a high place from which we can see the true proportions of life as a whole. He shows us that our intuitions of those true proportions have value, that we are not lacking in experience of the great issues of human life, as we are of the working of an electric refrigerator or the locks in a canal, that from our racial and individual experience of human life may—even now, as always—be distilled the knowledge we need to steer our way. In a world of specialized experts—psychiatrists, historians, engineers, biologists, doctors, educators, chemists, entomologists, archaeologists, financiers, industrialists—Mr. Morgan, engineer and educator, finds it possible to be something larger — an American. At the appeal contained in this small volume, rich with life-wisdom, our faith in the American idea, sallow in disillusion, disheartened with defeats, battered by the attacks of doctrinaires as it is, lifts up its head in hope.

There are, after all, many, many Americans left in the United States. They will be better ones after they have read this vitalizing statement of ideals, this stirring call to realize them in American

life. To read this reminder that character, human character, is a vitamin as indispensable to the health of society in the new mechanized high-speed modern world as it has always been in every other version of human society, is to see as by the focussing of the lenses of binoculars, firm and familiar reality emerge clear and true from a wild whirling confusion, the proportions what they have always been —though on another scale. By putting upon us, on everyone of us, his fair share of responsibility for the common good, he frees us from the fatalism of the multitude and the mechanical, gives us back our human dignity, and with dignity, strength, courage, faith in living.

I have found it an easy book to read, though not one to read rapidly, for there is hardly a paragraph without some passage to mark and ponder. It seems to me one of the books that will be indispensable for anyone interested in the individual and collective management of human life in modern times. Mr. Morgan speaks often of the need for skill in leadership if influence is to count, and in one passage with regret of a lack in his personality of the qualities—I suppose he means personal magnetism whatever that may be, persuasiveness and ingenuity in presentation, burning zeal—which are needed to give great influence over human masses to a man of ideas. I cannot contradict this statement of his from any personal knowledge, for I know Mr. Morgan only as all Americans know him, as a great and imaginative engineer of huge

projects like the Ohio flood protection plan, land reclamation on an enormous scale, and now the Tennessee Valley undertaking, as a great and imaginative educator in the Antioch College project which has taught American education lessons of such value, as a man whose life is based on the synthesis for which we all long, of practical mastery of practical undertakings, with constant creative thought and search for the good life. One of the many fine passages in this stimulating book is a meaty paragraph in which he speaks of the chief defect in the life of college-bred men and women. "Ideas run so much faster than actions," he remarks, "and require so much less effort for a given thrill of satisfaction, that there tends to be a psychopathic separation of thought and action." The more intelligent college-bred men and women are humbly aware of this weakness and—to quote Mr. Morgan again, "do not quite dare believe in their own appraisals of value and can only trust themselves when pursuing conventional goals." To them Mr. Morgan speaks with an authority which makes him, it seems to me, an ideal leader. It is hard for me to believe, after reading this convincing, rousing, vigorous, persuasive book that he lacks any of the qualities needed to influence the thoughtful ones among his fellow-Americans. With a long successful experience in the rigorous world of action, he brings into the world of thought a prestige which few among those who are thinkers only, can have for complete human beings, who

must somehow combine thought and aspirations with action, or give up thought and aspirations. He gives us courage to believe in the validity of the finest values we can conceive as also an essential part of the way to a better common life. His simple, quiet chapter on trusteeship would, it seems to me, give a social conscience to a yellow dog. I can't see how any imagination can fail to be struck and enlightened by the comparison with which he starts his book, of the prevalence of sailors' scurvy after the discovery of America with the social-order scurvy, from which we are suffering today. To say that "character", individual integrity, personal honesty, individual responsibility for the common welfare, are vitamins necessary for the health of the body politic pours his meaning full flood into modern minds which think of Emerson as an old small-town Yankee. His brief clear discussion of "government in business" would penetrate, I should think, the thickest shell of ignorance, prejudice or tradition. From the unemphatic, unrhetorical, well-documented contrast which he often draws between human organizations based on wide-spread individual uprightness of character, and what results from close surveillance and so-called "good discipline", there emerges the most eloquent hymn to that good morale which is entirely dependent on individual character and responsibility.

By the end of this thoughtful, deep-hearted book on human life, we readers who do not so much as know how Mr. Morgan looks personally, have

a vivid portrait of him hanging on the walls of our imagination. Like the worthies of the 17th and 18th centuries whose portraits were painted against a background suggesting their achievements in life—crashing cannon for a general, globes and compasses for a geographer, grave tomes of theology for an ecclesiastic—we see him standing against a background of tremendous material success—land reclamations, flood preventions, huge power plants. Achievements on that epic scale are daunting to simple folk in ordinary life who have made but a moderate success out of their own struggles with material difficulties. From long experience we expect from such an authority a condescending scorn for what we hesitatingly call idealism. We expect him to tell us (in words, or tacitly in actions), "It won't work. Take it from me, who knows infinitely more about what will work than you ever can, there's nothing *to* this 'thinking of others' stuff. When there's a safe margin to life, idealism can be a pretty sort of ornamental illumination on it. But in *real* life—not the womanized, schoolteacher, ministerial, home-and-mother version which we with our power make possible for you nice people to live in—the only thing you can depend on is the good old tooth-and-claw principle."

But what the author of this book successful, in great material enterprises as we never could hope to be, accomplished master of the practical and actual, says to us, is, "The best you can conceive of character, responsibility for the welfare of

others, impassioned effort to attain the good life for all—that is also the most practical, the most real, the surest rule of life."

Dorothi Canfield Fisher

Arlington, Vermont
June, 1936

AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO INDIAN EDITION

ONE OF THE strongest impressions which remains from the time I spent in India is that the people I met there are very much like my friends and neighbours at home in America. Superficial traits and customs may differ, but the fundamental qualities of men and women—their hopes, fears and aspirations—are much the same.

This thin little book, of which more copies have been sold than of all my dozen other books taken together, seemed to interest some Americans. Since the people of India and America are so much alike in their hopes and aspirations, perhaps Indian readers also will be interested in it.

When the publishers asked me to write a preface to this Indian edition I asked myself, how does the book seem to me more than twenty years after it was written, years during which my attention has been centred on various other matters ? I am impressed by two shortcomings in particular. While there is an effort to present a motive for living and a way of living which seems to me to be valid, there is not an adequate discussion; first, of how I arrived at my convictions and motivations; and second, of the specific ways and means by which one may maintain his desired way of life in his actual day-by-day living. The first of these questions, how I

arrived at my motivations and convictions, is dealt with in my book, *Search For Purpose*, published in America and England, and recently in India by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad.

The second question, of just how one can prepare to live day by day according to a chosen way of life, I shall touch on in this preface. I shall write it especially for young people who are taking the trouble to work out clear life patterns for themselves, and who want to maintain those ways in their every-day living.

There is a world-wide trend for men to become more and more interrelated in their living and working. We do fewer things individually, and more things in association with others. A man may build a buffalo cart almost alone, but an automobile or an airplane is the product of a vast, intricate organization in which very few of those at work have anything to say about what the product will be. Up to the present, America has gone further than India with this trend, but the same currents are running in both countries. There is first the intimate interrelationship of village life, then some loss of close relationships in urban life, and then a new kind of interrelationship where large numbers of people work together in great industrial organizations.

In India probably six out of eight of the population still live chiefly by agriculture. In America only one person in eight lives by agriculture, and the proportion may soon be only one in twelve.

Farming allows a man in considerable degree to be his own manager in his day-to-day work. A man who works in a factory or an office loses much of that freedom. The management tells him when, where and how to work. In America he is free to change jobs at any time, but in his new job he probably will find his time similarly regulated for him.

In America this regimentation of life is largely the natural result of large-scale industry, while in India it has been more determined by custom and tradition. Yet in both countries the social pressure to conformity is strong. If a person acts differently from his friends and neighbours he may find himself losing friends, and losing his place in society. Whether one is affected mostly by old custom and tradition or by the newer regimentation of industrial organization, he finds himself under strong pressure to accept the ways of the world about him.

Yet any person who has given careful thought to the purposes of his life, and who wished to make his years count for as much as possible toward a better world, will almost surely conclude that in some ways it is better to live differently from his friends and neighbours. One may find custom and tradition to be contrary to a good way of living; perhaps the personal and social habits of one's associates seem to lack excellence or integrity or human quality; perhaps the firm one works for seems to use methods that are not fully fair or honest. Perhaps much of the time of one's associates is spent

in trivial ways, whereas a person with a clearly defined way of life would like his days to count for as much as possible.

One of the great practical problems of nearly every person of sincere and serious purpose is how to take part in the day-to-day life of his time and yet to fully maintain the purposes and the way of life he has tried to work out for himself. It is one thing to develop a mental picture of a desirable way to live, and it is quite another matter to live according to that pattern without compromise of its essential elements. This problem, of course, is as old as history, and there have been varied ways of meeting it.

One way has been that of the "holy man". A person may withdraw himself from the practical ways of the world, with all their imperfections. He may live as a beggar, receiving gifts from others —from persons who, being engaged in the practical affairs of life, make practical concessions to necessity. His "holiness" may be parasitic on their practicality. This seems to me to be a false answer, an attitude of escape, rather than of mastery. Such a course seems to be a public pronouncement that it is not possible to take one's part in the work of the world by which men live, and yet not surrender or compromise one's deepest convictions as to how one should live.

A much commoner course is to try to keep alive one's convictions as to what is a good way of life, but to recognize that in a practical world one

must be practical, and to make such concessions or exceptions along the way as seem to be required by custom or necessity. We find all degrees of this attitude. Some persons hold quite vigorously to their convictions, and surrender them only in case of unusual emergency. Others take an easy-going course, living by their convictions when it is convenient, but making concessions to "practical necessity" when established custom or circumstance seems to require.

A still larger number of people never have made the necessary effort to work out a clearly defined way of life. They drift through the days and years on the shifting currents of prevailing customs and circumstance, practising whatever shrewdness or strategy will seem to meet the immediate issues.

Is there any more desirable course than these in our practical world for a person who has made great effort to discover a good way of life, and who greatly desires to maintain it without surrender or compromise ? I believe that there is, and since this little book came close to that subject, but did not very explicitly deal with it, I should like in this preface, if possible, to make up for that lack.

The first point I would make is that the ability to live consistently by a way of life that has been competently and sincerely developed does not come by chance or accident, any more than a person becomes a great scientist or a great artist by chance or by accident. If one does have the ability to

maintain a clearly defined way of life without compromise it is because he has acquired that ability by conscious, deliberate, sustained forethought and effort. One commonly develops his greatest ability in doing what he cares for most, and what he has worked most intensively and persistently to master. If one meets a great crisis successfully it commonly is because he has persistently prepared himself, if not for that particular issue, then for meeting difficulties in general.

The second point I would make is that if one is to maintain his life pattern without surrender, then his standards or pattern of life should be as free as possible from false or mistaken elements. Many men have lived tragic lives, with a feeling of guilt, because they had inherited or otherwise had acquired false standards, and as a result felt themselves to be morally required to take courses which, in reality, were unnecessary or even harmful.

One chief cause of mistaken convictions is inherited dogma which one feels he must believe and follow without question. For instance, the ancient Greeks believed that it was one's religious duty to avenge a wrong done to a member of his family by retaliating on the family which committed the wrong. This might even require him to kill his best friend, though that friend was innocent of any wrong intent or action. So long as a Greek felt that it was his duty to believe, and to act on that belief without question, he might meet situations where it seemed difficult to live in the practical world without compromise.

Every old religion, or other body of old customs and traditions, contains such elements. The religious and social doctrines of men which relate to conduct have grown up mostly around practical situations, and then often have become frozen into dogmas, with the original purpose largely forgotten. The dogmas come to be held without question.

For instance "the ten commandments" of the ancient scriptures, revered by Jews, Christians and Muslims, prohibit the making of any likeness of any living thing. The original intent was to prevent the making and worshipping of idols. With the Muslims this commandment came to be taken literally, and for a long period prevented them from making likenesses of living things. If a devout, orthodox Muslim should be writing a treatise on medicine and should need to illustrate a description by a drawing of a human body, he might feel that it would be a surrender of his convictions to do so.

One step in making it less difficult to live by one's convictions without surrender is to achieve an open mind, to free one's self from arbitrary inherited dogmas, and so far as possible to make one's convictions conform to truth and reality. It is sufficiently difficult to live by one's valid purposes and convictions without carrying a heavy load of useless or harmful requirements.

The wise freeing of ones self from useless burdens, while holding to real values, is one of the most difficult of human undertakings, but one of the most necessary. It is relatively easy to close

one's mind to questions and without doubting to believe whatever doctrines one may have inherited. On the other hand, it is relatively easy to throw away one's spiritual inheritance as a whole, and to drift through life as one's feelings dictate.

Neither of these courses is good. Our inherited convictions and customs are a mixture of what is most precious in human life, along with what is useless and burdensome, and what is worse than useless. Good living does not consist of unquestioning acceptance of our social and spiritual inheritance, or its uncritical rejection; but of sincere, careful examination and selection—a keeping of what is good and a freeing of oneself from what is useless or harmful. This is true of all inherited patterns of belief and conviction.

To carefully, critically and honestly examine one's own inherited beliefs and those of others, and to try to keep what is valid while discarding the rest, is essential preparation for living intelligently in accord with one's convitions. This process makes heavy demands on one's sincerity, his courage and his capacity for sustained effort.

The third point I would make is that it is necessary to see the difference between the universals and fundamentals of effective living on the one hand, and on the other hand, our personal judgments of uncertain matters. (There will always be a twilight zone between the universals and the matters of personal judgment. This can be gradually narrowed by open-minded inquiry

and experience.) As matters that are fundamentals of good living we can say that we should always deal with our fellow-men with integrity, and that we should aim to act for the general good, rather than for personal or local benefit where they are contrary to the general good.

Random illustrations of questions on which men may honestly differ might by, whether it ever is right to charge interest on money loaned; whether any degree of private land-ownership is allowable; whether the marriage of second cousins should be approved; whether it ever is right for workers to take the place of labour union members who are out on strike; whether, if a lifeboat is already dangerously full, another person should be taken in.

I find myself from time to time sharing in some course of action which I personally disapprove, because other men with whom I am associated, as sincere and as well informed as I, hold differently, while united action is desirable. Sometimes husband and wife differ honestly as to what is right as to a common family policy. Either some adjustment must be made or the home must be broken up, with evil consequences for the children. Often important matters must be decided by fallible human judgment, and often there are marginal cases where reasons for and against are almost evenly balanced. Where one has done one's best in such a case, and has not allowed the difficulty to be a justification for such undesirable impulses as cowardice or selfishness or personal ambition, one need

not carry a sense of moral surrender or of compromise or of failure. Unnecessary feeling of failure or guilt is not uncommon.

My fourth point is that to maintain one's life pattern without compromise or surrender requires forethought and preparation. A great musician does not suddenly become able to make great music. He practises and practises and practises, and uses such imagination as he has. So with a person who would live according to a good pattern for his life. His common acts of every day are his opportunities for training. A person of great purpose will try to look ahead to the difficulties he will have to meet, and will try to prepare for them.

Such preparation best begins early. Life patterns for the most part are set earlier than we think. It takes far greater effort to change one's pattern of life at twenty years old than at ten. For a person who strongly desires to maintain a clearly defined pattern of living, to have a life companion who shares such purpose may be a great help. We knew a young Indian who had worked very hard to prepare himself for a life of usefulness, whose parents had married him to a girl who had almost no interests beyond a very superficial social life. This made the young man's way much more difficult. Leo Tolstoy, the great Russian, had a similar home experience. He tried to maintain his home and its relationships, and yet to keep his life purpose. It may be even harder for a wife to

maintain a good standard of life if her husband does not share it with her.

My fifth point is that the cost of maintaining one's life purpose may be great, and can best be met by great and hard living. A person may be working in a large organization, striving to maintain a standard of full integrity. His employer may demand action on his part which he believes would be contrary to fundamental principles of honest dealing. If he refuses to take the action demanded he may be dismissed from employment. Perhaps he has a wife and children depending on him for a living.

In emergency, a man of strong purpose will act according to his convictions, even at great cost, but his ability to do so without severe family hardship may depend much on how he and his family have managed their affairs in the past. His associates may expect him to live up to their social level, and the same may be expected of his wife and children. Yet these people may be spending all they earn from week to week.

If a purposeful family has made a practice of looking ahead and has considered the difficulties which they may experience in living by their convictions, they may have developed the habit of living very economically. They may have a smaller home than their associates with similar incomes; they may eat plainer food; they may have broken with the age-long custom of expensive and ostentatious weddings with resulting heavy debts.

Having learned how to live carefully and abstemiously, they may have saved money. If the time comes when the head of the family must surrender his convictions or lose his employment he may be able to take the latter course without disaster to his family.

If such habits of careful living should cause a family to lose some of their friends and associates, this may offer an opportunity for an adventure in finding friends. Searching here and there they may find new friends, perhaps from lower social or economic levels, who share their life purposes. By this process little social groups of men and women with like purposes may be formed, with the families, both parents and children, finding fine fellowship and friendship, and strengthening each other's purposes. They may even find it possible to live near each other, thus making a neighbourhood with common purposes, and making it more probable that the children will grow up to have similar purposes and strength of character.

Perhaps, in place of earning a good income working for the government or for some large organization where the maintenance of exacting life standards is difficult, a person may find it desirable to establish his own small business, perhaps with a much lower income, but in which he can live by his convictions without compromise. If such a small business should succeed and should employ others, then there would be opportunity for the person who began the business to express

his own personal standards in his relations with those other workers.

If in some respects one's habits and customs come to differ from those of his associates and neighbours, there may be resentment and even hatred because of such differences, as for instance, if one should treat persons of lower caste without discrimination. With forethought and good will, reserves of tolerance and of friendship can be built up which will help in such circumstances. Resentment and hatred are due chiefly to lack of understanding. It is difficult for us to realize that people who differ from us also may have good will toward us. To remove that misunderstanding may require a language that is plainer than words—the language of action. If a family is actively considerate and is actively friendly with neighbours and associates, if there is an active habit of helping in time of sickness, of sharing in time of trouble, and generally of being friends in need, such friendship will not be entirely forgotten, and will help to reduce resentment.

Most men and women use only a part of the time and energy of their lives in fulfilling their life purposes. The rest may be spent in rather barren social life, or may be wasted in ways which leave life no larger or better. A person of strong, clear purpose, by using his full powers and his whole time, usually can overcome the difficulties of living by his standards and purposes without compromise.

This course is open, not only to the well-to-do, but to nearly everyone. There are many millions

of poor men and women in Indian villages whose farm work lasts for only half the year or less, and who have little or nothing to do with the rest of their time. Yet there is much that could be done in and near the village. Wells could be cleaned and protected from surface water, tanks could be put in order, roads could be improved, the village could be largely made over. If the unused energy and time of India should be generally used as fully as possible, there would be such a revolution in general well-being as the country has not seen in a thousand years. The same is true in every land. I once estimated what was lost to America because men and women were willing to do work that was useless or harmful, and in various other ways wasted their time and their powers. I came to the conclusion that of the possible reasonable and beneficial use of time and energy, more than ninety per cent was lost.

There are many personal and social customs and habits which do not add to the strength and quality of life, and concerning which there is much argument as to whether those habits are ethical or are antisocial. Among such habits are the use of alcohol, tobacco, and narcotic drugs, gambling, ostentatious dress and housing and other conspicuous spending. For a person of strong, clear purpose the question is not whether such habits are contrary to religious or civil laws. Rather the question is whether they add to or reduce one's total life resources and his power to maintain a great pattern of life without surrender. A person with such a

purpose will carefully save and use all the resources of his life, and will not dissipate them in expensive, useless, and perhaps harmful habits.

Such is the price of living by one's life purpose without surrender, while sharing the common life. Such a course adds zest and interest to life, and makes life a great adventure.

Most men and women will say that in our practical world moral compromise and surrender cannot be avoided. How can they know until they have used forethought, have hardened themselves to adversity, have developed courage, skill and tact, have learned to live with love and good will toward men, and have developed the habit of using all their powers ? Many men and women do not care enough about life to make the most of it. It is not chiefly the possibilities which are limited, but interest and desire. Interest and desire can be greatly increased by exercising them.

It is possible, by the use of foresight and consistent effort, to live without fundamental compromise according to a well developed pattern of living. I have seen it done, and have seen it add to the zest and interest in living.

The ways of men and of the world will not change chiefly by carrying out violent revolutions or by passing laws, or by the spending of vast sums by charitable foundations for helping other people. The world will gradually gain health, fineness and general excellence as more men and women work out clear purposes for their lives, and live by those

purposes without compromise, and so give evidence that it is possible.

During several decades to come, I believe, partly as a result of the increasing general flux of things human, and partly because of the intense pursuit of material well-being, there may be a general trend toward mediocrity. There even may be coming another "dark age", such as those which followed the flowering of wealth and culture in India, Persia, Greece and Rome. If the world of the future is to avoid such a period, or if elements of fine life and value are to survive such a period and lay the foundations for a better and more enduring world order, it will be largely because men and women who have worked to achieve large and fine pattern of life, have learned how to maintain and to transmit to their children those life patterns while sharing the common life of men. Because so few men and women do care to pay the price of working out and for living by a great pattern, the few who do will be among the makers of history.

Among my Indian friends is a young man in a village not many miles from Cape Comorin who, I believe, has achieved a strong, clear purpose, and is learning to live by it while working to renew the life of his village. I have arranged with the publishers that any royalties from this book shall go to help him in his work. The publishers will send his name and address to anyone who would seriously like to exchange ideas with him, or to visit him.

July, 1958 Arthur E. Morgan

THE LONG ROAD

CHAPTER 1

LIMITATIONS IN GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY

Missing Vitamins

WITH THE discovery of America, long-range navigation developed enormously. Yet the dread spectre of scurvy followed every voyage. The joy of adventure was largely destroyed by this terrible malady of the sailor's life. When Captain Cook, on one of his voyages of exploration, with his men suffering from scurvy, stopped at a tropical island, his men ate the fresh fruit on the island and had remarkable recoveries. It was not until about a century and a half later, however, that biologists discovered the essential food elements called vitamins, and their wonderful part in maintaining physical health. During the intervening years scurvy had been one of the chief menaces of polar exploration. A similar disease, beriberi, had wrought havoc in the Japanese army during the Russo-Japanese War, and another, pellagra, was known as a deadly malady in Europe and in our southern mountains. Still another related disease is commonly known as rickets.

The discovery of the functions of vitamins cleared up the mystery of these diseases. They were simply forms of starvation. A man might be living

as a gourmand, eating twice as much as necessary; yet, if the essential vitamins were lacking from his diet, he would become seriously and perhaps fatally ill. A large quantity of food was not enough. Various specific food elements had to be supplied if health was to be maintained.

So, likewise, our social order today is plagued by some strange deficiency disease. Just as the discovery of America led to a great extension of navigation and to long absences of sailors from the natural home supplies of food, so the discovery of the new worlds of technology and of business organization has launched us on uncharted seas of economics and government. We have left the familiar home environment far behind and are losing intimate contact with the sources of our cultural nourishment. We must live on the cultural reserves which our foresight has led us to lay in store, or which new and relatively artificial circumstances have supplied. Very evidently something is missing. It has become offensively trite to refer to our vast natural wealth, to our favourable climate, our great manufacturing plants, our transportation and communication systems, our banking facilities, and our millions of men and women eager to work. We have all of these resources, yet are in confusion and poverty, with a denial of the reasonable expectations of life to many millions of our people.

There must be a critical deficiency of some essential social vitamins. What we face is real

malnutrition—a scurvy of the social order, a political pellagra, a beriberi of business. Abundance of many things does not prevent a deficiency of others. Although in respect to some essentials we do have a great surplus, yet our deficiency is a real one. If we can discover what the missing elements are, we may find the way to supply them to give tone, health, and vigour to the whole social order.

We must not look for any miraculous cures. In the case of foods, even after the discovery of vitamins, the correction of the dietary deficiencies of the population is a long and gradual process of education and social organization. Generations may pass before our knowledge of vitamins becomes a universal social possession. Nevertheless, a clear understanding of the problem is an enormous step toward its solution. With the diseases beriberi, scurvy, rickets, and pellagra, we are no longer at the mercy of mysterious evils; we know our problems, and we know what is necessary to solve them. In my opinion we need no longer be in the dark as to what are the chief missing vitamins in our social order.

Ailments of Business and Government

My first keen interest in a political campaign was when I was about fifteen. I still remember a speech of the representative from our Congressional district who was seeking re-election. It was almost my first contact with so important a personage, and I was disappointed to find him a

machine politician and a cheap demagogue. The political accomplishments he boasted were a post office building, and a private pension secured for a person who was ineligible under the general pension laws, both of these "achievements" being the usual rewards for party regularity. Although he was defeated for re-election, his party remained in power, and he was "taken care of" by appointment as federal judge in his district. To me, as a boy who had almost religious reverence for his country and its institutions, especially for the sanctity of its courts, that appointment was a shock.

Then, a few years later, it came to my attention that our district judge in the state court had quietly acquired title to all the railroad lands in our country, amounting to several thousand acres, at a time when the railroad company was the most frequent and most important litigant coming before him. These two judges were of opposite political parties.

The succeeding years have brought me many and varied impressions of the limitations of government. Though sheer corruption and graft are sometimes deeply intrenched, especially in our great cities, the chief weakness of government is not outright graft, but commitment to special interests, and the routine unimaginative inefficiency that results from bureaucracy, from machine politics, and from lack of discrimination in voters.

During these years I have also seen much good government, with faithful, skilful men working without glory and for small incomes. Our attention

is so often centered on governmental inefficiencies that we do not realize the extent to which our welfare is entrusted to faithful and loyal public servants. Nevertheless, I am not subject to the charge of undue pessimism in saying that American government, local, state, and national, for more than a century has suffered grievously from routine bureaucracy, political favouritism, machine politics, and explicit dishonesty, and in general from selfish ambition which puts private advantage before public good.

But political government is not the only part of American life that suffers from grave disorders. When we turn to big business, we find similar shortcomings throughout our history. The Revolutionary War was scarcely over when an economic disturbance, known as Shays' Rebellion, shook New England. I first became interested in making a study of Shays' Rebellion in reading John Marshall's *Life of Washington.* Marshall was a good conservative who deprecated any such disturbances on the part of the common people. Yet his comments throw light on a stirring and significant episode in our national life, accounts of which have been carefully expurgated in our school histories. Shays' Rebellion was caused by as cynical and ruthless oppression of the poor by big business as anything which has occurred since that time.

Follow the economic history of the United States through the era of national lotteries; of railroad building; of wholesale importation of cheap

contract labour from Europe to break down efforts to achieve a decent American standard of living in the steel and mining industries. Continue through the corruption associated with privately owned utilities in our cities; to "frenzied finance", as described by Thomas Lawson; down to secret monopolies, railroad rebates, and restriction of output existing before the war; to the swollen profits of the war period; to the mad orgy of unloading inflated securities on the public during the 1920's; to exploitation by the electric power industry, as abundantly documented in the reports of the Federal Trade Commission. We must conclude that business does not present a clean page.

But the most disheartening part of this history has not been financial speculation and dishonesty, but rather some of the standard assumptions of self-respecting men. Fairly generally there has not been an ethical drive in business sufficient to eliminate from good standing in its ranks those who exploit labour, or those who make and sell products that do not contribute to human values. The manufacturers of some worthless and harmful patent medicines, the publishers of some of the worst newspapers, and the producers of the lowest movies are in good standing in the financial world, if they make money. Low wages, bad working conditions, and child labour do not alienate an industrialist from his fellows in his business and financial relations.

It may be claimed in defence of business that individuals or firms are without power to interfere

in other people's business to prevent such shortcomings. Yet, when circumstances arise in which they feel it necessary to act, those with an interest at stake sometimes find it possible to do so. Recently, when one of our western states set up a state-owned manufacturing plant, private business considered this to be a bad precedent and, I understand, found definite ways to insult and to embarrass that plant. It is reported that in at least one state organized business has set up a fund to discourage the growth of co-operatives. In the medical profession, the doctor who enters into a programme of socialized medicine may find himself eliminated from the medical associations more quickly than if he should profit financially by the sale of equipment or appliances which he prescribes. Where business or the professions keenly desire some result, they commonly find ways to act: "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

The willingness of many industrial leaders to live in ostentatious wealth while their workers live in poverty and insecurity, and without friendly guidance to a higher cultural level, implies industrial motives which leave much to be desired. The accepted philosophy of business is disappointing, no less than are its lapses from accepted propriety.

Yet no inclusive indictment of business would be fair or truthful. The vigour and soundness of America have been due in large part to that mass of American business which has been skilfully, thriftily, and honestly conducted, with pride of

workmanship, with intelligent and persistent striving after excellence of product and economy in production, and with "a decent regard for the opinions of mankind", at least so far as required by the accepted business code. So great and enduring a structure as American business could not have come into being except through the activities of a great many men of very substantial character. During many years and in a considerable number of instances I have been associated with manufacturers in the working out of new equipment, new machinery, new devices for accomplishing work; and over and over again I have come to have a very high respect for the pride of accomplishment, for the insistence upon excellence of product, and for the straightforward dealing that run through many an American industrial firm. Much of the product of American business is of high grade, and high-grade products do not come from low-grade men, though low-grade men may skim the cream from industry and may control and exploit those who actually produce.

This discussion of business and government might seem to imply that these two phases of our common life have peculiar defects from which most of our people are free. That is not the case. As a young man I worked in common labour gangs in several states, and very often found dull sensual inertness, without self-mastery or aspiration. Talk confidentially with intelligent and experienced men whose dominant interest is to bring about better

conditions for labour, and you will often hear the conviction expressed that the American labour movement has very generally lacked responsible, public-spirited leadership. Repeatedly businessmen and public officials have found that they could not count on the responsible co-operation of labour leadership for achieving the common good. Such limitations have been no less striking in labour and in some of the professions than in business and in government. A discussion of character in business and government, therefore, does not imply that those activities are inferior to American life as a whole.

Both in government and in business, as in the general population, there is fine quality and there is low quality. Business points its finger at governmental inefficiency, yet at the same time government has been driven to intervene to protect the public against the sins of business in adulterated goods, watered stocks, secret rebates, unfair treatment of weak competitors, and maintenance of unwholesome and indecent labour conditions. In many respects business did not clean its own house, and so it has been left for government to do it. Those who read Lincoln Steffens' *Autobiography* must realize more acutely, what should already have been self-evident—that for every bribe taker in government there is also a bribe giver, often in business.

Anyone who follows big business and finance knows that favouritism is not limited to government

officials. The preferred lists of investment bankers, which in some cases are a gentle form of bribery, include both public officials and private businessmen who may be in a position to return favours. I need not go further into cases. Every person who has maintained a wide and observing acquaintance with the American scene during the past quarter of a century can supply them from his own knowledge.

But where shall we turn for higher standards ? When as a young man I went into engineering I felt considerably like a radical; I was determined to protect the common man against the encroachments of big business. Yet as I worked along through the years, over and over again I found that in practical affairs the ethics of big businessmen were better than the ethics of small businessmen. In general, I found that I could have more straightforward and businesslike dealing with men of large experience than with men of small affairs. The difficulty, then, is not that big business has a lower level of ethics than small business; but that defects of character which in a simple society may be endurable as common weaknesses of human nature, may threaten to wreck the structure of our society when they are magnified to the dimensions of nation-wide industries or of continent-wide governments with tremendous coercive power that size may bring.

Business, government, and labour are but different expressions of the single organism of our

common life. Business recognizes the shortcomings in government and in labour; government recognizes them in business and in labour leadership; labour recognizes them in government and in business. The defects of each do not originate in its own particular activities. Rather, they are the symptoms of a general lack of social health, appearing in ways characteristic of the particular activities. It is then no longer enough for the pot of business and the kettle of government to call each other black. We must look below the surface phenomena to the common sources of our difficulty.

Common Clay

There are those who would undertake to cure our social ills by reforming government alone and by freeing business from discipline. In our present-day society, however, the expression "that government is best which governs least" is but a red herring drawn across the trail of our thinking. Our great corporations are in fact private governments, and often have more intimate control of our lives than does public government. Through propaganda and advertising on a vast scale at the consumers' expense, they often determine not only what we shall eat, drink, and wear, but also what we shall think on public questions. Commonly they discipline and regiment the lives of their employees, prescribing their duties with small range of personal choice, sometimes preventing free expression of opinion, and sometimes even dictating

political action. I have been informed by utility company employees that they were arbitrarily assigned propaganda quotas in the efforts of the companies to defeat the utility holding-company bill in Congress during 1935.

Corporations having pension systems may use that supposedly humane device to reduce employees to a kind of servitude. In some firms employees can give up their positions only at the sacrifice of their prospects for security in old age. Elderly employees sometimes become greatly concerned lest some lapse of discipline result in discharge and loss of accumulated claims for retirement allowances. For millions of American workers, the chance for employment in their home communities and at their own callings is for practical purposes limited to a single employer.

In American urban life rugged individualism may be the state of a few entrepreneurs at the top, and of a fringe of independents, including garage-keepers, real-estate operators, undertakers, and peanut vendors; but for the most part urban Americans are industrially regimented. The private economic governments under which they live control their personal lives more rigorously than does public political government. The fact that industrial dictatorship is in many separate units, does not always make that dictatorship less unpleasant, or less destructive of personal independence. In Hungary I heard the argument that the nation was more democratic than Czechoslovakia

because Hungary had thousands of small feudal nobles, whereas Czechoslovakia had but a few noble landlords with great holdings. So far as I could observe, the multiplicity of feudal landlords did not improve the condition of the tenants. One might make the same observation concerning landlords and share-croppers in certain parts of the United States. A social pattern can be as despotic as individuals.

If democracy should disappear in America, one reason would be that a population which in its industrial life is subservient to industrial dictators, cannot long maintain that temper of independence and social initiative which is necessary to political democracy. Canvass many a college graduating class today and you will find that, omitting those who plan for public life in rural teaching or other fields, probably four out of five of the graduates hope for employment in some organization where they will take orders and will have little if anything to do with formulation of policy. Of the remainder, a few look forward to being dictators of the policies of other men. A steadily decreasing number, mostly in the professions, still anticipate economic independence. Ten years after graduation this vision has faded for many of this minority. For a few the prospect of independence is given up for a larger hope of interdependence, as in co-operative undertakings. For most, it is surrendered as the price of possible peace and security. Even in the professions an acute craving is developed to be on

good terms with the powers that be. If one doubts this statement let him search the proceedings of our national associations of physicians, lawyers, or engineers for evidence of courageous independent views on social questions.

The choice today is not primarily between much government and little government, for in modern life most of us cannot escape being much governed. We may have either public government by the whole people, co-operative government by self-determining groups, government by political or business dictators, or personal self-control or self-government by self-respecting and socially minded men, or we may have mixtures of all these.

To state this issue does not imply that it is easily answered. If public business conducted by the whole people were always better administered in the public interest than private business conducted by self-appointed industrial dictators, the people would long ago have chosen public business. It is because the immediate wants of the public are so often better served by private economic dictatorship that the American people hesitate to plunge into an enlargement of governmental functions.

It is but the hesitation of reasonable common sense, against which political theories do not prevail. Public business is only very slowly winning its way into public confidence. The hesitancy of the public to give more functions to government is not just blind prejudice, but is the result of weighing again and again the respective merits of governmental

management of business and private management of business. On the whole, the old American policy of continuous but cautious extension of public conduct of business may be a common-sense course.

Those who hold that government has no right to be in business in competition with its citizens are wrong, however, from nearly every point of view. That argument was used a century ago against public education. It was said that in setting up public schools the government was competing unfairly with its own citizens who were in the business of private education. It would be more nearly right to say that the public interest is supreme, and that private individuals have no right to compete with their government except where the public welfare justifies such competition.

Steadily through the years there has been an increase in governmental entry into business. After Roman days, tax collecting, which probably was the biggest private industry in the Roman Empire, was withdrawn from private industry with its terrible abuses, and was given to the government. The postal service has long been an example of government in business, though in the United States parcel post was only recently added, against the cry that it was sheer radicalism. Our main highways were formerly private toll roads—a private industry—but are now mostly public business. The Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad, and the Port of New York Authority are

successful public businesses. Elementary education has been largely taken away from private industry and made public business. Public water supplies followed the same course. The great water supply system in the vicinity of Boston and the water supply system of New York City have been models of honest, economical, and effective public business. Of the engineers I have used in the past thirty years, a considerable number of the finest developed their profession in the public water supply project about Boston, and later in the similar undertaking about New York City. The former project, in fact, was long the chief source of a certain kind of excellence in the engineering field. Electric service in thousands of American communities is now public business.

The effort of private business to turn back the clock and to force America to accept a dogmatic political theory that would eliminate public business, is not in accord with American tradition. Those who would make this change are the revolutionists who would upset our old American habits. Whether government goes into business is for the people, not for private interests, to say.

But the question remains as to how far it is wise for the government to go into business. In my opinion, government business is being conducted about as well as similar private business. The financing and construction of our highways has been better managed than that of our railroads.

The operation of our better railroads has sometimes been of a high order, though these cases are somewhat offset by past experiences of mis-management of the New Haven, the Erie, the Missouri Pacific, the Rio Grande, and others. Our public water supplies have been at least as well and as economically managed as our private gas services. Our parcel post gives far more nearly universal service, and as economical service, as our private express companies. The express companies pay taxes, but limit themselves largely to communities served by railroads. The parcel post pays no taxes, but carries official mail without charge, and serves the remotest hamlets. The public school supported by direct taxation is a more wholesome influence in our national life than that other educational institution, the newspaper, which is supported by the indirect taxation of advertising. The corruption in publicly owned business is probably less than the corruption of public and private officials by private business. However, to claim only that the public services supplied by the government are not less efficient than the services rendered to the public by privately owned utilities is not a high compliment to the government.

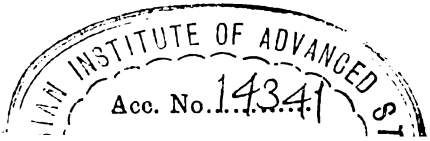
Our Post Office Department has given reasonably good and efficient service. Yet, as a political instrument it has for a long period been a menace to good government, each administration using it to keep in power. For many years postmasterships, especially in larger cities and towns, were salaried

offices without duties, conferred as compensation for political services. Is it safe to multiply such instruments in the hands of government ? Suppose the federal government should take over the railroads. Would every station agent become a part of the political machine ? Would every new administration, no matter how well-intentioned, be faced with the alternatives which confronted the Post Office Department in the present administration—of leaving the political machinery in the hands of its political enemies, placed there by a preceding administration, or of turning out appointees of the opposite party ? If the government should own the railroads, would such political action stop with railway station agents ? I have reason to believe that it might extend to more technical positions, and that until the patronage system, and the system of machine politics behind it, are broken, probably with the help of changes in our governmental structure, government control might be no improvement over banker control, and might fall far short of good railroad management.

Neither in private industry as such, nor in public ownership as such, have we found a panacea for incompetence or exploitation. Our troubles are deeper, and until we see them for what they are, in our efforts to eliminate them we may be but going around in circles. If a dog is not going anywhere, but is only chasing his tail, it may make but little difference whether he turns to the right like a conservative or to the left like a radical.

Limitations in Planning

The day is past for America to solve its problems by a return to primitive living. Our enormous economic structure has made possible a density and an interdependence of population which are, in turn, dependent upon it. We make a great mistake when we try to draw an analogy between what has happened in Russia and what might happen in the United States. With ninety per cent of its people primitive farmers, Russia was like a turtle, which in its normal position is so flat upon the ground that it cannot tumble over. The United States, with its highly specialized life, is more like the giraffe which, if it loses its balance, has a long way to fall, and may be quite upset. The stability of life in America depends upon the maintenance of a very intricate economic balance. Minnesota can raise wheat; it has no coal. Chicago can furnish administrative ability; it has neither wheat nor coal. Suppose that the living structure of our industrial life should break, that the railroads should stop, pipelines be interfered with, telephone and telegraph lines no longer operate, gasoline supplies be no longer available—I think it is quite possible that half of the population of this country might actually die of starvation, and the rest, in a mad scramble, might act in violent ways. Great wreckage, not only of our culture, but of our actual life structure, might ensue if we should have a revolution such as occurred in Russia. Those people play with dangerous possibilities who say



that nothing can be worse than our present condition.

We must move forward and not back. We must plan and not drift. At any given moment there are vast areas of our common life within which planning is imperative. Our national telephone system absolutely requires nation-wide and long-range planning. Our monetary and credit structure demands planning, as do our postal system, our highway system, and our educational system. The problems of child labour, minimum wages, and old-age security all call for national planning. The protection and regeneration of our forests, the protection of our disappearing soil fertility, the cure for that wasting social disease, tenant-farming, the elimination of contagious human diseases and of plant and animal pests—all these and other problems need intelligent design in their solution. We shall become more proficient in the theory and art of planning if we do our best to master these vital issues as they press upon us.

Efforts to solve our practical problems do not imply belief in or commitment to any master plan for our national life. I think that any grandiose scheme to make an all-inclusive design for American life is only a dream; if it should go further than that it would be a nightmare ! It is a curious fact that many of those people who decry any kind of national planning as an evil, and who hold that we should be subject to natural law, are the same people who look upon as sacred the one inclusive

national plan we now have—our national constitution; they are horrified at the suggestion that it contains provisions which perhaps interfere with the normal action of natural law in the development of our country.

Regardless of the form of our social organization, the treatment of specific problems by specific plans will continue, and will require a vast army of specialized workers, both public and private. Taken altogether the administration of these specific problems will represent complex and far-flung organization, beyond the competence of the average citizen to understand or appraise in detail. Yet that organization in many respects must be highly centralized, for even in a country so large as the United States it would be wasteful if not impossible to provide an independent staff of specialists in each of our states for each highly specialized field of effort. In the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority we repeatedly find specialized problems on which less than a dozen men in all America are thoroughly and manifestly competent to pass judgment.

In the maze of specialized fields a self-seeking person who gives the appearance of quick results by superficial work may win greater public approval than the straightforward person who quietly and thoroughly organizes for the effective mastery of his problem. That is true not only in public affairs, but sometimes in private industry as well. A

certain railroad employed an old-line chief engineer —a man without great genius, but honest in keeping up the physical condition of his railroad. He was succeeded by a young man whose chief craving was for personal power. As this young man looked over that railroad he saw that the lines were so well kept up that they would stand a few years of neglect. Thereafter his annual budgets showed large savings. He advertised himself as a great economizer. This was a small railroad; within five years, because of his reputation for economy, this man had been made chief engineer of a much larger road. The man who followed him on the smaller road had to pick up the wreckage of worn-out rails and ties which the young man left behind. Even keen persons as railroad directors are always supposed to be, did not check up on the detailed workings by which this engineer had exploited his railroad to make a reputation for himself.

Every executive of a great private industry can match this case with similar ones that have come under his observation. Throughout American industry there are men in high places who have exploited the faithful honest work of real builders, and have advanced themselves by shrewdness in creating the appearance of rapid accomplishment. There are prominent industrialists in America today who believe that, because of such tendencies to self-seeking on the part of men in responsible positions, the very structure of big business may fail. I know that one of the most difficult phases

of carrying through public projects is to keep at bay demagogues and certain impetuous elements while trying to lay the basis for efficient progress. Public suspicion and impatience may not give time for honest and thorough-going preparation.

Neither can any central executive or legislative body effectively follow all the special work of a great public organization. I have watched appropriation committees of Congress trying honestly and faithfully to keep watch over public expenditures. As a great stream of projects passes under their review the committee members may do their best to judge the merits of proposed appropriations; yet the total mass is so great, and speed is so imperative, that they cannot become thoroughly informed on each issue. On a given point a few pertinent questions may be asked, and if the department head who is testifying to his needs is skilful and plausible, the committee may soon seem to exhaust the issue. It cannot take time to go behind the scenes, for other issues are pressing. It must pass the items as presented, or make some blind, arbitrary stroke for economy. Private industry also has blind, arbitrary, and sometimes ruthless ways of swinging the axe in efforts to secure economies. The most indiscriminating and arbitrary efforts of this kind which I have observed in my own practice have been those of executives of large private corporations who were serving on public boards, and who brought to their public duties the arbitrary methods they used in industry.

In a simple society a relatively few checks and balances and restrictions may be enough to prevent gross abuses. In the extremely complex social and economic order which has emerged in the modern world, however, the kinds of inefficiency and of anti-social action that are possible, and which both in public and in private affairs may have the temporary appearance of success, are extremely varied; and laws, regulations, and supervision are increasingly difficult to apply. The checking of anti-social action by laws and surveillance becomes too involved for human management, and the whole process begins to bog down. I saw that occur twenty-five years ago on a great railroad system, when the Missouri Pacific was under unfortunate control. The morale was bad, and the management tried to control by surveillance rather than by mutual confidence. Under such conditions the morale of the system cracks to the very bottom, because of lack of character at the top.

* * *

Efforts to isolate and to remove specific elements of weakness in business and in politics often meet with complications. Repeatedly it becomes necessary, in the words of the New Testament parable, to let wheat and tares grow together until the harvest, lest in pulling up the tares we destroy the wheat. The conditions from which we would like to free ourselves both in business and in government are often so much a part of the essential processes by which we live that to try suddenly to

eliminate what is undesirable might break down our social and economic organization. Therefore, we must come to rely upon character, rather than upon force or authority.

During the 1920's we witnessed a period when the general public relied implicitly upon the character of those who had our financial affairs in their control. Though the Federal Trade Commission was gathering evidence of the excesses of utility companies and there remained some wholesome fear of government discipline, government on the whole was friendly to big business. The slogan "Do not disturb prosperity" was persuasive, and big business largely had its own way, disciplined chiefly by the character of its leaders. It was trusted by the American people. The wild orgy of speculation and of exploitation which characterized the later 1920's, and which ended with the great collapse, was a measure of the inability of American business to measure up to the freedom and confidence reposed in it. The prevailing personal incentives and motives of men as revealed in business do not justify the policy of leaving business free to manage itself in its own way without social or governmental control.

Yet our alternative protection, the driving force of vigilant watchfulness, must always be inadequate as a sole reliance before such widespread and varied complexities as make up our present life, both public and private. The time has come when enlightened selfishness fails, when we can

no longer exercise enough shrewdness to protect ourselves from the maze of interests, powers, influences, propaganda, and other forces which surround us. Another kind of foundation, very different from shrewd self-interest, must be provided if modern society is to survive and advance.

With the failure of suspicion and vigilant inquisitions as safeguards to our common life, we are driven to rely on morale and on the character both of those who lead and of those who follow. We must count on each person of his own will to do his own work with skill and enthusiasm. That quality of workmanship is essential to keep society going. Character in business and in government will solve seemingly inextricable complexities; make unnecessary and meaningless vast systems of checks and balances, of laws, regulations, surveillances, inspections, and prohibitions; eliminate need for constant exercise of shrewdness and suspicion; and release energies for constructive efforts. The limits of character mark the limits of good government and of good business.

To hold that the development of personal and community character is the primary essential, is not to claim that it alone is sufficient for a better social order. Organized action, including political action, also is imperative. It is to a considerable extent true that an institution is but the lengthened shadow of a man, but also it is true that the character of a people may be largely the reflection of its institutions.

Tensile Strength of Steel and of Men

Yet, although there is no single approach to a better social order, there are times when some essential quality has been so neglected that it needs dominant emphasis, and for perhaps a considerable period should receive the major portion of our efforts. One might compare our capacity to create a better human society to our ability to build great suspension bridges. The span of the bridges we can build is limited by several factors. One condition is our ability to finance the construction. A fifty million dollar bridge is within the reach of modern social effort. A ten billion dollar bridge would be beyond it. Another limiting condition is engineering design. The more skilful the design, the better the use which can be made of available money and materials. A third condition is the quality of the materials available for building. The greater the tensile strength of the steel used, the less the weight of the parts required to provide a given strength, and therefore the greater the span which can be achieved. Our most recent great suspension bridges would have been impossible in the old days of low-grade steel.

In comparing the development of a social order to the building of a bridge, we may liken personal character to the quality of steel of which a bridge is made. We may desire to create a bridge of greater span than ever has been built. Yet if the only steel available is of very low tensile strength and of uneven and uncertain quality, no amount

of fine design and no abundance of finance can overcome that limitation. By the time we have made the steel members thick enough to overcome the weakness of the material, so much steel has been added that the bridge will break down of its own weight. We reach a point where the making of more massive parts does not help, because it adds to the weight to be carried faster than it adds to the strength to carry that weight. Then we have reached the limit of the span that can be built. Before that condition is reached we do well to turn our attention from additional financing and additional refinements of design, and to concentrate on improving the quality of the steel or other metal available. If we can produce steel or some other alloy which is four times as strong, then only a fourth as much of it is necessary to carry a given load. If the bridge is relieved of three-fourths of the burden of carrying its own weight, a much longer span is possible, an otherwise impossible financial undertaking may become feasible, and a new range of possibilities may be opened up.

Personal character in a social order is like the quality of the metal used in bridge-building. If personal character is on a low level, then there comes a time when no refinement of social planning and no expenditure of public wealth, however great, will create a good social order. Additional complexities of planning and additional expenses for supervision, inspection, investigation, and enforcement, finally begin to break down of their

own weight. A point is reached where they add more difficulties than they relieve.

In my opinion life in America is approaching that point. In the industrial and political worlds we have drawn far-reaching plans for great social and economic structures. Our ablest organizers and economists, both public and private, have made sweeping designs. To pay for those structures we have made vast levies on the stores of our natural resources. We are exhausting our soil five times as fast as we are replacing it, and even at our present rate of replacing fertility we are consuming mineral fertilizers a thousand times as fast as they were deposited in the rocks. We are cutting our forests faster than they can grow. We are using our coal ten thousand times as fast as it was created, and our oil, iron, gold, and silver a million times as fast as they were deposited. For a truly unbalanced economic budget we must look to modern industry, not to government. And perhaps the greatest of all losses in a time of great inflation and expansion is in the waste of cultural reserves, for a rapidly expanding economy may consume character and culture faster than it creates them.

Notwithstanding all our fevered effort at design and this excessively prodigal expenditure of our irreplaceable wealth, our magnificently schemed social and economic structure breaks down, as it did in 1929, leaving us in confusion and distress. And that distress is but a foretaste of the decadence which may follow the exhaustion of our soil and

mineral resources. It is time, I say, that we turn our principal attention from increasing intricacies of social and economic design, to the quality of the social materials with which we build.

For perhaps the next half century or more the burden of our attention and of our loyalties, and the full drive of our aspirations, should be given to bringing about a revolution in the personal character of the American people. Not that I would stop economic and social studies, political exploration, economic production, or any other phase of development. Men who are peculiarly equipped for service in these fields need not give up the work for which they are best fitted, wherever they can continue productive effort without compromise, and without loss of self-respect. But for them and for Americans as a whole, the great need of the coming years in whatever field they may work, is the building of great character, the defining and clarifying of purposes and motives, the development of integrity and open-dealing, the increase of self-discipline, the tempering of body and spirit to endure hardship, the growth of courage, the practice of tolerance, the habit of acting for the general good, and the growth of human understanding and of neighbourly affection and regard.

Frontiers and Foundations

In my opinion it is not a question whether or not our country is to be put under rigorous discipline. That discipline probably is coming, forced upon us by the passing, first of the frontier,

and later of easy prosperity. It may not be so rigorous or so arbitrary as the discipline imposed by those in power in Italy, Germany, Russia, or Japan, but it may be regimentation of thought and action beyond anything the United States has known. How the necessary discipline shall come about, and what it shall be like, are of tremendous importance to every one of us.

In each of the countries mentioned, an intensive programme of character-building is under way, but in each case it is in conformity with an arbitrary and capricious pattern. Along with aggressive vigour and hardening discipline there is a sterilizing of thought and a limiting of outlook which is deadly to the normal growth of the human spirit. In the United States the efforts of conservatives and reactionaries to regiment thinking by legislative enactment or by economic or social pressure are far more deserving of criticism than even the most extreme efforts, which they so thoroughly condemn, of the government to regulate business practices. What they seek is not freedom as such, but freedom for their own activities and the silencing of those who would differ from them. There is stark hypocrisy in calling such an attitude by the name of liberty.

During the past three or four decades sociologists and especially social workers have been inclined to minimize the influence of personal character, as compared with the influence of the prevailing social order, in determining personal

conduct. It has been customary to say with Karl Marx that the moral deficiencies of men are due chiefly to a perverted social order. Create good economic conditions, they hold, and the limitations of character will largely disappear. That attitude originated as a reaction from extreme individualism and, especially in Europe, from political and economic oppression. To a degree it was a corrective to the laissez faire philosophy.

Yet the dominant currents of American life and government drive one to a different conclusion. There has been in America a degree of political and economic freedom that has not been made full use of. In the smaller communities, especially, there has been no external pressure to prevent the election of public officials of high quality. In economic life there has been no overwhelming compulsion to prevent individual successful businessmen from using their business power to create civilized working conditions, to encourage increased participation of employees in industrial management, and to narrow the margin between cost and price. There has been no legislation to prevent successful businessmen from setting examples of simple and modest living. Obstacles to the development of co-operatives, as a way of escape from economic exploitation, have not been insurmountable. The chief limitations have been in the people themselves, and have not been impressed upon them from without, except by the influence of prevailing opinion. There has been room for much more

daring adventure in improving the quality of both public and private business.

I admit that economic and political organization are important. If they are not adequately developed, or if they are perverted, the normal expression of good character may be thwarted. In Russia under the czars, as in Germany today, it probably would be true to say that the people were better than the government, and that the finest personal character often was prevented from free expression by the arbitrary action of government. But in the United States, in general the form of government has been better than the people. The American form of government, imperfect as it is, has given greater opportunity for the creation of a good society than the character, vision, and intelligence of the American people have fully used.

Under these circumstances, while we continue to strive for more perfect and more effective forms of government, we would do well to recognize that the real frontier of our American life is in the field of defining and stimulating the best possible drives and motives and disciplines of personal character and of community attitudes.

This conviction has been growing in my mind for many years. During the 1920's, when government and business seemed to conspire to undermine the foundations of sound national character, the prospect seemed unpromising, and I looked ahead to the necessity of generations, or even of centuries, of slow, inconspicuous work of building character,

both in men and in communities, before the foundations would be laid on which our people could erect the superstructure of a great society.

Then came the New Deal, and a totally unexpected opportunity to take a responsible part in it. My mind worked as follows: widespread personal character of high quality, and a fine social order, are complementary. Each one helps to make the other possible. Each supports the other, and each helps to cause the other. Neither can make the greatest or most enduring progress without the other. Whichever happens to lag behind may be more in need of attention than the other, but both need attention at all times. Had I possessed the qualities of personality with which America needs to be infected, with the power of a Wesley to carry that infection, I might have elected always to work directly to that end. My experience, however, lies in administration, and so it seemed well to endeavour, in the everyday process of public administration, to give expression to those qualities which should characterize a desirable society, either public or private.

As in any extensive project, there has been some degree of failure in that effort, and some degree of success. I shall not discuss here the causes of either. It has been a refreshing and encouraging experience to find how many able and experienced men and women have been ready and eager to commit their whole energies with full loyalty to

the public service. However, regardless of any immediate success of this and similar undertakings, three years of experience in this service, while encouraging and much worthwhile, yet confirm my former opinion that the most important frontier of responsible, social-minded effort for most men, for perhaps the next century, is the development of intelligent, enlightened, and disciplined character. The rains will surely come and the floods descend to beat upon the house of our social planning. A great superstructure cannot stand, except on an adequate foundation. A competent engineer who has studied foundations, and who has informed himself as to the nature and intensity of recurring stresses, need not wait until the walls are falling about his head to know when the foundation is inadequate to the structure being built upon it, and to the forces it will be called upon to withstand. Social foundations also may be appraised.

The fact that only a part of a public effort may endure does not necessarily destroy its value. Some of the most priceless possessions of all time are the ruins of great buildings. Great efforts that partially fail may teach more than small efforts that entirely succeed, and may leave behind germs of life to continue on a higher plane. Yet we look forward to a time when men's best efforts shall not be lost through caprice of circumstance, or through the weakness of the foundations. If the energy and drive of public-spirited Americans takes the direction of building a strong foundation of character for our

national life, the greatest possible advance will be made toward a better social order.

Let no one think that this is counsel to withdraw from practical affairs or to avoid present-day issues. Character expresses itself only in dealing with actual problems. No sooner do we begin to define our ethical aims in relation to those problems, and to discipline ourselves to act in accord with those aims, than we find ourselves in the thick of current affairs. The change which I believe to be most necessary is not in the things we do, but in the spirit and manner of doing them.

CHAPTER II

SPECIFICATIONS FOR NATIONAL CHARACTER

In THE FIRST chapter I gave reasons for my opinion that our present social order, both in industry and in government, is reaching such size and complexity that little further sound development in these fields can be assured without a general and very marked strengthening of personal character. I implied, too, that unless such improvement occurs, we shall have increasingly serious breakdowns both in government and in business, probably followed by harsh and arbitrary regimentation of our lives. However, I did not define the word which I used so freely.

It is obvious that character is not acquired solely as the result of any sudden change of attitude

or of loyalty. It is a product of gradual growth, with increasingly clear definition of aims, constant strengthening and refinement of motives, steady improvement of methods, and gradually developing decision and discipline of drives and energies. The infection of great leadership and the changing currents of public interest, however, may greatly accelerate the development, and once a great movement gets under way, as much may be gained in a year as usually in a decade or a century. It is probable, however, that a considerable period of relatively quiet and inconspicuous growth will be essential before there can be any sweeping change in our national character. As a rule, increase of genuine vigour and refinement of personality occurs primarily from the contagion of actual contact with the same qualities in others, though able persons enlarge upon and refine what they receive.

What is Character ?

When I used the word "character" I have in mind three elements. First is purposefulness, or the pattern of desire—the vision of the life it would be well to lead, of the kind of a world which, so far as wisdom, judgment, and good will can determine, it would be well to live in.

Second, I include good will and the skilled and disciplined drive of desire which presses toward the realization of aims and purposes. Great insight into what would constitute a good life for one's self and for society has value only as expressed in

well-considered action, though under the term "action" I should include the disciplined and carefully expressed thinking of the student, and the work of the artist, as well as the more obvious activity of the labourer or the businessman.

Great vigour of action by itself, however, may have no more social value than the capricious force of a tornado, unless it is directed by a vision of what is desirable. A tornado may, by chance, break down harmful barriers as well as destroy values. The activity of Napoleon had some incidental value in breaking down what was obsolete in the structure of European government and society, and was not without constructive undertakings of importance, but it was largely capricious. What a pity his tremendous energy was not directed by a great vision of a good social order, and by the ethical controls which would have led him to use suitable means.

The third factor is the ethical or moral quality, the habitual choice of means that are wholesome in their own effects. Even when the desired end is good and the disciplined energy great, it is important that the methods used shall be in themselves ethical or moral.

My definition of ethical or moral action is as easy to state as it is difficult to apply. That is an ethical act which is good when judged by its total consequences—which is good for the future as well as for the present, for society as a whole as

well as for ourselves. That action is unethical which, while its immediate or personal result may be good, displaces action which would result in greater good, or has later effects or effects on others which are undesirable and which outweigh the good. In practice, "good" and "bad" must often be supplanted by the less absolute terms, "better" and "worse", but that does not alter the argument. Our ability to judge the total effects of our acts is always limited and imperfect. It is increased by education and experience, by constant effort to use and to refine such discrimination as we possess, and by the leadership of men of exceptional insight.

Uniformity Supports Variety

When I speak of a pattern of desire or a vision of a good society, I do not think of some one type of social organization which is inevitably better than any other, but rather of certain personal and social attitudes and traits that are good in any desirable society, and of certain social conditions that are universally advantageous. I firmly believe that there are some common and universally good attitudes and conditions which mankind as a whole should seek to achieve. This does not mean that I hold to the doctrine, which some socialists attribute to Karl Marx, that there is a single inevitable form of society toward which all humanity slowly but irresistibly moves. On the contrary, I believe that the tendency of social evolution is toward diversity, not toward uniformity.

Let me illustrate my meaning by referring to the wasp family among insects. In the same environment some species of wasps have become highly social creatures, whereas other species have developed almost completely solitary habits. Except for mating, the solitary wasps of some species apparently have nothing to do with each other, and never even see their offspring. At some point in the evolutionary process the wasp family began to diverge into these strikingly different types. To take liberties with Tennyson, there seems not to have been

"...one far-off divine event
To which the whole (wasp) creation moves."

In some of their characteristics even the earliest wasps had crossed the Rubicon and could not retrace the path of their evolution. They must all have jointed bodies. All have multiple eyes and external skeletons. They must breathe by a system of air tubes. A wise wasp will accept these characteristics, and will live in accordance with them. But at the beginning of their divergence into separate species it was not yet fixed whether they should be social or solitary, whether they should build their nests of mud or of paper, whether they should nest underground or in the trees, whether their bodies should be slender or thick, black or yellow. They could develop varying types in these respects without violating the fundamentals of their wasp natures.

Like the family of wasps, man in some respects has his type of life permanently fixed, whereas in other respects he is still free to choose and to develop divergent types. It seems irrevocably determined that he shall be a warm-blooded animal, and that he shall live in the air and not under water. Among these unchangeable traits is that of being a social animal. It is established, apparently beyond possibility of change, that man does not live to himself alone. Robinson Crusoe carried with him to his lonely island a vast social inheritance without which he probably would have perished. We need not further argue the conclusion that man is a social creature, that his well-being is determined, not by himself alone, but by society, and that he in turn has an influence on the well-being of society. I state that conclusion briefly as being the universal consensus of informed opinion. We are safe in taking man's dependence on society as unquestioned and unchangeable, just as we can take for granted his need for breathing air. This condition of being a social and not a solitary animal is the fact which, more than almost any other, should determine one's vision of what constitutes a good life. Intellectually we need not argue this fact, but failure to recognize it in actual conduct is one of the chief hindrances to social development.

A Seamless Fabric

We must come to recognize that all human activity is, to use a legal expression, "affected with

a public interest". Social life in its evolution becomes ever more like a seamless fabric or a living organism. In a society without arbitrary barriers the inmost action of every person affects society as a whole. No activity of a man, either in thought or in outward act, is wholly private in its consequences. The recognition in law that some certain kinds of action are "affected with a public interest" is only an intimation and foretaste of the recognition which we must come to, that all action is of that character.

The justification of a large degree of personal freedom is not that some kinds of activities are solely private in their effect, but rather that considerable freedom is good and expedient for practical reasons. External control and regulation of intimate personal matters by law is generally arbitrary and relatively undiscriminating. In respect to many activities a normal, intelligent person can direct his own affairs with greater economy and discrimination than can be secured by legislation or other external regulation. Free men working together for common ends in the long run are more effective than men regimented by outward authority, whether that authority be economic, political, or spiritual.

Moreover, a large element of personal freedom is good because free men are in some degree creative. Since no two persons are just alike, a man who originates his own action will give it some of the original quality of his own unique personality.

Self-direction may interfere with the quick efficiency that uniformity of action sometimes achieves, but it adds variety and richness to life, and constantly introduces new elements of excellence. We cannot wholly dispense with imposed uniformity of conduct, such as our traffic rules, or as in the manufacture of uniform products like automobiles, but we do well to strive constantly to increase the range and the capacity for self-determination.

For practical reasons a large degree of personal freedom is good—yes, essential—to a good social order, but this very fact makes all the more necessary the development of social-mindedness. It still remains true that all human activity is "affected with a public interest" that "man does not live to himself alone," "for we are members, one of another." The conflict between those two great facts, the interdependence of men in society, and the practical value of self-determination and personal freedom, can be resolved only by personal character, which directs free action to social ends. Under a regime of personal freedom the first great principle of conduct is that a man's actions shall be determined by their probable total effect on society as a whole, and not on himself alone.

A Trend Toward Diversity

As to the type of social order men shall adopt, there is room for choice and for honest differences of taste and of judgment. It continues to be true that the tendency of social organization is in some

respects toward diversity and not toward uniformity. It does not follow from this constant tendency to diversity, however, that all ways of living are equally good, or that selection is only a matter of taste or of prejudice. Great differences in value do exist, and efforts to select the better way have always characterized the human adventure. The method of open-minded critical inquiry and comparison, a relatively new technique in human affairs, promises to help greatly in the selection of the better among possible ways of living. Yet, diversity in social organization will be an increasing and not a transient phenomenon, unless uniformity should be brought about by some compelling influence, such as close association made necessary by the limited land area of the earth. Although certain elements of uniformity of social organization will gradually prove to be universally desirable, and will become universally accepted by all peoples, as the postal service has in large measure become accepted, there probably will remain important variations in the way human societies choose to organize.

We can picture some of the forms which social organization may take. There is that most enduring of all past types, the close family group, with loose organization beyond the family, which has been typical of China through the longest continuous civilization the earth knows. There is communal or communist organization, for ages characteristic of Central Africa and of some of the most highly

advanced American Indians, and now being essayed in Russia. There is the proposed totalitarian state, like that of Italy or of Germany, which can perhaps be dissociated from the atrocious manner of its introduction in those countries. There are the Scandinavian and American systems, of tolerance for divergent types of social organization within the loose framework of a general government. America has given tolerance and shelter to many forms of society. We have the intensely social dwellers of our large cities; the lonely, highly individualistic men of the remote mountains; the industrial feudalism of "company towns"; the nearly century-long communism of the Amana community in Iowa; and the partly democratic, partly socialist, partly individualistic, partly aristocratic, and partly feudal social order of most of our country.

Conceivably any one of these or of other types of social organization might become dominant over the earth; or, on the other hand, diversity may continue to rule and even to increase. One may imagine a time in which men who incline toward a particular type of social organization may gravitate toward the regions in which the chosen type prevails. In one region family groups might dominate, as in China; in another region communism might have the right of way; in still another, a pragmatic experimental social attitude might prevail, as in America today; whereas somewhere else might be the American big businessman's

utopia of rugged individualism in a few supermen, who would with gentle paternalism direct their docile employees. All these types might live, each in its own region, but with harmony in their mutual relations, each making its own peculiar contribution to the enrichment of world society. Some incredulous person may observe that when this time comes, vegetarian lions will be kept as house pets.

I do not believe that human society is ready to make a final choice among all these and other possible types of social organization. A much greater range and variety of experience will be desirable and necessary, and a far higher level of educated intelligence, before men can wisely burn their bridges behind them and irrevocably commit themselves to some one unchangeable manner of living. In knowledge of social organization men are yet but playing awkwardly in the kindergarten. I hope that my lot and that of my children may long fall in an experimental society, where many choices will be open and where learning by varied experience will be the accepted social attitude.

I find myself not in sympathy with those people who are constantly trying to force us to final and arbitrary conclusions concerning a desirable social order. A few months ago, when H. G. Wells was visiting in this country, I had the pleasure of a luncheon with him and a number of members of the President's cabinet. When Mr. Wells expressed opinions on affairs in America, the various persons at the luncheon, because of innate reticence, or for

some other reason, seemed not to be conversationally or argumentatively inclined; so I rushed in where cabinet-member angels feared to tread.

Mr. Wells said that America must decide on its course. He said, "You must decide whether you are going in for big business or for little business."

I countered that we did not intend to make any such decision. I said that America, I hoped, would become like one of our great forests that I visited recently. There were trees one and two centuries old towering a hundred and fifty feet overhead; underneath them was another level of trees—ironwoods, sourwood, birches—growing half as high, and filling in the interstices where the sunlight was not being used by the larger trees. Then another order of trees—hawthorns, dogwood, and sassafras —filled in the unoccupied places in the more humble positions. Next below were viburnums and laurel, and beneath them blueberry bushes and smaller plants only a few feet high; and still underneath them came a whole class of flowers that get their sunshine and do their year's work early in the spring before the leaves on the trees are out, and while the sun can shine through. These included trillium, hepatica, Jack-in-the-pulpit, and anemones. Then down on the ground and on the tree trunks were mosses and lichens. That whole variety was included in the forest.

We sometimes think of the trees overhead as enduring, and of smaller plants below as transient; yet it is probably true that some ground plants,

such as the trilliums, are older than the trees themselves. Some of these plants develop a new bit of root stock each year while the oldest part decays. Barring accidents, such a plant may live for centuries. Size does not determine the duration of the forest life.

My picture of American business is not of a choice between big business and little business, but of proper distribution, just as there is normal distribution between large and small in a primeval hardwood forest. Let the essentially big remain big, the essentially middle-sized remain middle-sized, and the essentially small remain small; let each respect the effective functions of the other, recognizing that size may not determine enduring quality.

I talked that way to Mr. Wells, but he said, "No, you must decide between big business and little business." Then, he added, "And America must decide between individualism and socialism."

In reply to this I said : "I hope that America is not going to make that decision. America likes to use different kinds of social organization. America likes communism. In many respects we serve everybody alike regardless of his resources. Our fire departments are communistic. We serve everyone alike from public funds. Our public school system is communistic. There also we not only serve the public from public funds, regardless of relative financial contributions, but we compel children to take the schooling offered. Our highways are

largely communistic. Probably half of all state and local taxes in America are levied for communistic purposes.

"We have state socialism in our country. Look at all the great municipal water supplies where government is in business. Our great irrigation systems are socialistic. America is not afraid of communism and America is not afraid of socialism, except as some people hold them up as terrible menaces. America also believes in democracy; we elect officers to represent us in government.

"On the other hand America is not afraid of other forms of social organization; America is not afraid of autocracy, of aristocracy. You have here a great university (the University of Chicago). Unless it is governed differently from most other great endowed universities, it is autocratically managed, and a little group of men who are its trustees choose their own successors. Yes, we have long-time, self-perpetuating autocracies in the management of many of our endowed colleges and universities. Yet I find liberals from all over the United States coming to places like this to study. You will find as great regard for academic freedom here in this autocratic institution as in the supposedly more democratic state university. America is not afraid of autocracy so long as autocracy has a social purpose.

"America is not afraid of despotism. One of the most absolute of industrial despotisms has been the Ford automobile industry, controlled by two men; and yet America has not frowned upon that

great organization. To the extent that social-mindedness and sound economics have been evident, America has been rather proud of it.

"America has recognized that, in certain places, autocracy has seemed to have a higher degree of effectiveness than have democratic methods. We have been ready to let many forms of social organization live and thrive among us. We have judged them by their service to our society, and not by any abstract theory of social organization."

I said something like that to Mr. Wells, but he shook his head and said, "No, no, America must choose between socialism and individualism." A few days later he went back to England. In describing his visit he implied that there is no philosophy of government in America; that America is just drifting along.

In my opinion America has a philosophy of government—a philosophy which is sceptical of abstract theory, and of abstract reasoning, a preference for trying out life in various ways, and for guiding our policies by the results. This philosophy represents a certain modesty and humility in the American mind. We do not presume to answer the riddle of the social universe all at once. We are willing to feel our way tentatively in the faint morning twilight of human society, and to decide our course a few steps at a time. This is the American philosophy of government, which has stubbornly resisted efforts to overthrow it, whether

those efforts come from the extreme left, from communists who would destroy it for a certain kind of regimentation, or from the extreme right, as represented by certain businessmen's associations or by certain fascist newspapers.

Universal Expedients

When I speak of a vision of what might be, I do not have in mind a set pattern which is better than all others for the organization of society. Yet we do well to define as clearly as possible those attitudes and disciplines which most probably will be everywhere and at all times wholesome and desirable, no matter what form social organization may take.

I have no other criterion for good conduct than the results. That is, good conduct is that which is expedient. But no expediency is fully sound that takes into account only the immediate consequences. The soldier who dies for his country gives expediency a larger meaning. The ultimate expediency is that which is good in relation to the whole of life and of time. There are attitudes of life and qualities of character which so nearly meet these conditions that within the limits of our judgment we may speak of them as ultimate expediency.

It is these universal expedients, I believe, which should provide the foundation for personal and social ethics. Given them, many and various forms of social order may contribute to the value and quality of living. In fact, as these universal qualities

are developed, some of the present burning issues of the political, economic and social world will shrink and fade until they become little more than matters of taste and convenience. Without these universal qualities of character, on the other hand, the most ideal structure of human society may be but a finely designed framework for hell on earth.

To a large degree in our present society, personal and social conduct is not the result of purposeful search and determined mastery, but of a haphazard mixture of native impulse, early training, religious influence, the prevailing social habits, and one's own occasional contributions. Very generally these elements constitute a conflicting mass of factors, without unity of philosophy, outlook, or design. As a result, action is determined by the most immediate pressure, or by the deepest seated habits. Such patterns of action do not provide a foundation for a good social order.

It is possible and highly desirable that a common groundwork of personal and social life and action be developed which will give the fullest possible incentive to the growth of character, which will be universally expedient, and which will keep open the road to social evolution. It is obvious that such a common basis of personal and social action will not come spontaneously into existence, and seldom will be acquired by chance. It is an achievement to be paid for by deliberate, consistent effort.

Elements of an Ethical Code

If my assumption is sound that such a common groundwork of character is essential to any desirable social order, then its achievement should be a primary undertaking of every person. As the first element of such a universal framework of character, I have included the full and vital acceptance of the fact that each individual is an integral part of all human life, present and future, and that his actions should be determined by their possible total effect, and not solely by their effect on him alone, or on his immediate circle, or for the immediate present.

Another principle, almost as important, is that there should be open-minded and free inquiry as to what constitutes the good life and ethical conduct. We have no final revelation of what is good, but must achieve our concepts of values through cooperative search and trial. Unless our aims are constantly tested by open-minded criticism, and unless they are inclusive enough to provide room for human values in all fields, strong character may become an instrument of fanaticism, and may do harm almost in proportion to its strength. Tolerance and humility of spirit must accompany great courage and great commitment to purpose. Without the attitude of critical, open-minded inquiry convictions turn into dogmas, and social progress may be blocked.

Such critical inquiry in the long run does not mean increasing divergence of opinion, but rather

the opposite. In the field of science, where open-minded inquiry is the accepted attitude, consensus of opinion has been achieved over a greater area and to a greater degree than in any other field of vital concern. Where inquiry is inhibited, as in religion or government, conflict is greatest.

The present-day prohibition of free inquiry in certain Asiatic and European countries will hamper the gradual growth of insight and of judgment on which a good social order may be built. As a college president, I know that a spirit of free inquiry in the field of human relations is not generally welcome to industrial America. I know that very dominant industrialists will go out of their way effectively to express their disapproval of very small colleges where freedom of inquiry exists. A great university may tolerate a few unconventional inquirers, just as the emperor in his palace goes through the annual ceremony of washing a beggar's feet. The courtiers know that this rite is not intended to set a prevailing type of social action. It is too commonly true that a college or university teacher of vigorous, penetrating mind and of social purpose, who fearlessly, though in a responsible spirit, inquires with his students into the bases for human behaviour and of social relations, risks his academic life, unless he happens to be a ceremonial exhibit of liberalism; and that the institution which encourages him probably will suffer in its financial support. The same difficulties await the minister, the professional man, or the corporation employee

who has an active, open mind and applies himself to the dominant problems of the day.

It is not only in the economic field that open-minded inquiry is needed. Shallowness and flabbiness of personal living hide behind intolerance of criticism. It is not true in personal and social life any more than in science that one man's opinion is as good as another's. Rigorous, open inquiry drives men to necessary conclusions, and is an essential factor in achieving sound unity of opinion.

Another element which I should include in a universal ethical code is the habit of honest and open dealing. The effort of men to withhold the truth from each other and to deceive each other mars many kinds of relationship, confuses issues, and leads men to use a large part of their energies in trying to circumvent each other. The general absence of complete and thoroughgoing integrity is one of the chief obstacles to a good society. There can be no good and stable social order without personal integrity.

Another very important element of conduct is the habit of self-denial, foresight, and accumulation of reserves for times of stress. Periods of stress will come. They can be best surmounted by those who have kept themselves vigorous and tempered to privation, who have achieved poise and have learned to use their energies temperately, who have habitually lived within their means, who have reserves for emergency, and who have planned in advance the steps to take when stress comes. Good

intent needs to be skilfully and wisely implemented. Such character is not quickly improvised. It is the result of a philosophy of living and of long, conscious discipline.

Another universally expedient principle is that a person shall not waste his biological resources. Regard for physical and mental health, and effort to increase the energy and to refine the capacity for insight and discrimination by wholesome living, are desirable in any social order. Disregard for the best conditions of personal fitness is not evidence of open-mindedness or of tolerance.

Similarly, eugenic conscience is essential in any good social order. The greater part of our inheritance from the long struggle of life is in the biological and cultural gains we can pass on to our children. To waste that inheritance for trivial reasons or for pride of social status is one of the fundamental immoralities. One of the evidences of intelligent character is action according to essential values, rather than action according to traditional codes. Because deliberate birth control is a relatively new social phenomenon we have not yet developed for it an emotional eugenic conscience; yet few other issues of personal and social living are so momentous.

In addition to desirable types of action, of which I have endeavoured to give examples, there is the underlying matter of the emotional drive, that commits the whole personality to the achievement of such habits of action. Some persons and some

organizations would approve the types of conduct I have described, and yet make peace with personal and social habits that are fatal to any desirable social order. A great drive of desire is essential which will lead men constantly to pay a great price for what they value most. Emotional drive does not imply nervous tension or strain: it is at its best when associated with quiet reserve, poise, and conservation of energy.

Character in Business and Government

We have then these three elements: a picture of the world as it might be, which gives purpose to our lives; our ethical principles which determine our manner of action; and emotional drive which leads us to put our whole energies into conforming our actions to our ideas. Let me illustrate some ways in which the general possession of these characteristics would affect business and government by simplifying and vitalizing economic and political organization.

Where the qualities which I have described are dominant, rigid types of business and political organization will be replaced by informal recognition of relative qualities in men. Where, because of lack of character and resulting lack of mutual confidence, various elements of society try to hold arbitrary power and to prevent other elements from exercising power, there results great loss in the contributions which men might make to the social order.

Capacity to contribute to social wisdom, social purpose, and social values is not the possession of a few, but in varying degrees is widely distributed through the population. To a still greater extent there is latent capacity that might develop under favourable conditions. It is social wisdom to keep open to all the opportunity and the incentive to take part in governmental and economic affairs. Any social, political, or economic stratification which rejects contributions from any competent source is unwise.

It is equally true that social wisdom and purpose are not evenly distributed through the population. Some persons have much ability to contribute, and some little. Some have capacity to make one kind of contribution and some another kind. Almost irrespective of how far men may advance, that condition will remain. It will continue to be true that society does well to take full advantage of the leadership of men of exceptional insight and wisdom, and that for a long time to come a few men will be leaders and many men followers. In any wholesome society leaders will largely influence the direction of social action. The problem of how they shall lead remains. Shall it be as friends and as trustees of their special abilities in the service of the common good, or by using their exceptional ability to advance their personal interests?

If leadership shares responsibility and opportunity whenever such sharing can add to the growth of personality and to the general welfare, then we

shall have a good social order. Real democracy is not equal sharing of power and opportunity; it is equal commitment to the common good; it is a programme of sharing opportunity and responsibility to the full extent to which capacity exists to make good use of them. Where men can have full confidence in each other, leadership will generally be acknowledged and accepted. For men of moderate ability to lack confidence in those who are in positions of power and leadership creates stresses in society. It results in some form of oppressive discipline from above, or in crude revolt from beneath, or in both. Men crave to have confidence in their leaders, and only by repeated disillusionment do they lose it.

Democratic government, lacking confidence in leadership, in order to protect the mass of men from exploitation by the few, establishes the principle of suffrage with one vote for each qualified citizen. In the determination of public issues the ballot of the most stupid and ignorant voter counts as much as that of the wisest and most public spirited. By this arbitrary device valuable resources of public judgment are lost.

On the other hand, private industry very generally strives to prevent the rank and file of employees from having any part in the determination of policy, except where grudging concessions are made to organized labour. As a result, employees lose interest and often cease to try to contribute as much as they can. Industrial sabotage is very

much more general than the managers themselves realize. A few years ago I took part in an extensive study of restriction of output in industries that did not have organized labour. We found that restriction of output on the part of workingmen in many industries and other activities in this country was far more widespread than the public, or the managers of those industries, realized. There is a tremendous loss in this country because of the failure to take advantage of the contributions to industrial policy which workers might make.

If, instead of arbitrary exclusion of contributions of judgment from employees we could have free play of contributions, with mutual respect and confidence, then as between capital and labour in a large industry there would be no hostile groups trying to overcome each other either by votes or by strikes. The many often would defer to the judgment of the few. There would be a common search for the better way, rather than a bitter strife for supremacy.

Both the effort to give every person an equal vote in determining policy, and the effort to exclude large numbers of those directly interested from any voice in policy-making, are exceedingly wasteful of social resources. The differences of method are not so complete as this description might indicate, for democratic government is often influenced by expert opinion, and industry sometimes seeks advice from employees on matters of general policy; yet a great social waste still remains.

In a fortunate board of directors, as in a family of high quality, there is an informal searching for the best wisdom, experience, and judgment. If there is general mutual confidence in the integrity and social purposes of every one concerned, differences of capacity to contribute can be freely acknowledged, and constant effort will be made to enlarge the participation of all in the formulation and execution of policies. For two and a half centuries the English Society of Friends (the Quakers) have conducted their official meetings without voting. The consensus of the meeting is recorded by the clerk. If there is not a general consensus, decision is postponed.

Imaginative Capitalism

With the present level of character in business, it becomes necessary for government to interfere by restrictions and regulations. Yet the increasing net of regulation being thrown about business to prevent wrong-doing is very far from being a clear gain to the public. As necessary as these regulations may be, they hamper free and efficient action, increase costs, and often partially prevent the very ends they seek to achieve. They may become so burdensome as to consume much of the administrative energy which might otherwise be expended in creative effort, and may go so far as largely to destroy the interest and zest which are among the greatest resources of our business life.

With a high quality of character in business this great loss might be avoided. Let us suppose

that the controlling forces of a corporation, the stockholders and directors, are intelligent, disciplined, and socially-minded persons. How would they act in directing the affairs of the corporation, and what would be the results ? Each one of these persons craves self-expression. He desires to share in decisions which concern the control and direction of his own life. Being socially-minded he would realize that each employee has similar cravings. Those in control of the corporation would therefore explore the personnel for capacity to take part in the formulation of policies. They would share management to whatever degree there was capacity in the personnel to assume it. If they should have reason to think that latent capacity for self-direction existed, they would strive to provide opportunity and incentive for its development. Little by little, self-government would emerge to whatever degree the capacity for it might exist, or could be developed in the personnel. Interest in the greatest general good would make this the natural course. Industrial democracy would emerge to the fullest extent feasible, but not to any greater extent. Quite possibly the original owners would become subordinates.

Those initially in control of the corporation would appreciate the possession of economic wealth as a means for satisfying their wants. If they were socially-minded they would realize that their employees have the same desires, to be similarly satisfied. Those initially in control would therefore

promote the sharing of net incomes of the corporation in a way to produce the greatest sum total of those satisfactions which can be had by the possession of economic wealth. That might not mean equal division, for some persons would have greater capacity than others for making economic wealth provide satisfactions. Some persons might have greater need for wealth than others, either to use as an economic tool, or perhaps because of a greater number of dependents. If socially minded good-will should generally prevail, the variable apportionment of income, while informal and not according to any arbitrary rule, would gradually become free from caprice, and would be roughly in accord with the general social good.

Those in control of a producing corporation would desire in their own affairs to know the quality of the goods they purchase. Therefore, if they were socially minded, their own advertising would be thoroughly honest and representative. It would neither deceive nor overpersuade.

Since everyone desires as nearly as possible the full results of his labours, if those in control were socially minded, they would not take excessive profits. They would manufacture, distribute, and sell as cheaply as would be consistent with good working and living conditions. They would refrain from taking too large incomes, and from spending on a scale that would be impossible to others whose needs for goods were similar.

Such management would differ from socialism as we hear it advanced, in that there would be comparatively free play of initiative, judgment, and appraisal on the part of those responsible for the corporation, in each case to the extent which, in the consensus of judgment of those involved, would bring about the greatest total of satisfaction. Consensus of judgment would not mean taking formal votes on the "one man, one vote" principle. Consensus of judgment may be arrived at by the deference of the many who do not know to the superior judgment of the few who do. The balance of competence to judge may shift endlessly as different subjects for judgment arise.

With the level of character I have indicated, the question of public versus private operation of utilities or other monopolies would become only a matter of relative convenience and economy, to be settled case by case or class by class in a common search for the best way. Private owners would not be clinging to vested privileges, and public officials would not be seeking to extend personal power. Perhaps natural monopolies—power, gas and water supply, highways, communications, such as telephone, mail, and radio, and education, including schools and newspapers, would be generally, though not universally, public. Perhaps undertakings in which individual initiative, taste, and personality would add distinctive quality to the product, as well as opportunity for adventure and self-expression to those directly involved, would

usually be privately or co-operatively administered. Decisions as to public or private administration would be ordinary business problems, and not political issues.

A Universal Solvent

The special abilities and special conditions of men are so infinitely varied and so changing that they never can be wisely classified and organized into any rigid social scheme. Life is far too complex for that. Self-interest and the will to power can take on subtle forms and mislead the mass of men. There is only one basis on which the universal play of abilities among men can work to the fullest extent. That is by the self-discipline of enlightened, socially minded character. Given such character, the infinitely varied capacities of men to contribute to the social good can be cumulative—or more than that, can be factors multiplied into each other—with resulting total increase in present welfare, and in the rate and the range of social progress.

This being the case, the greatest of all social aims is that of developing the qualities of character and intelligence which will lead each person of his own volition to try to play that part which is best for society as a whole. Such an attitude would vastly simplify the processes of social adjustment. Enlightened character is a universal solvent of social evils.

One repeatedly finds that to act in a manner which would be normal in a good society, and

which will help set the stage for a good society, is difficult or dangerous in the society that is. Enlightened selfishness will not bridge that gap. Repeatedly it may be necessary to act in a way which is detrimental to the person involved, but which in the end will be good for society as a whole. To provide a commonplace illustration, we have the old saying that "honesty is the best policy." Now so far as individual prosperity is concerned, no observing person can accept that saying as always applicable. We see both fortune and public honours acquired dishonestly and passed on to succeeding generations. We often see honesty heavily penalized. But most of us would agree that we should like to live in a world in which honesty would be the best policy. To make the transition from the social order we are in to a better one, requires that many men shall work at laying the foundations for that other order at great cost to themselves. To do that is evidence of character.

Men who are engaged in such effort do not need our pity any more than does the explorer who risks all he has to discover a new region, for they are doing what they prefer above all else. They have a zest for living which gives life interest, and a sense of well-being which remains only with those who feel that their efforts may have enduring value.

CHAPTER III

THE LONG ROAD

IN THE FIRST chapter I gave my reason for thinking that the prevailing level of personal character is the controlling factor in determining the extent to which government and business will be part of a good social order. I stated the opinion that the limits of successful development have approximately been reached under present conditions, and that before a markedly better social order can make headway it is necessary that a much stronger foundation of national character be built. In the second chapter I endeavoured to outline those common elements of character, and of what I call ethical or universally expedient conduct, which are good in any social order and which will act as a solvent of many of the infinite complexities of our time.

In this third chapter I shall try to suggest what we as individuals can do about it—what kinds of programmes to accelerate social evolution are possible to socially minded persons today. The expression, "the acceleration of social evolution", indicates fairly clearly the nature of the process I have in mind. To outline such programmes without error would be to do what no one has done before. Every large project of personal and social advance has failed in some degree to achieve its aim. Yet many of these attempts have left their residues, and

it is of these fragments of achievement that human culture is built. If we again do our best, building on the past, our efforts may have some residue of enduring value.

* * *

The personal attitudes and the qualities of conduct I have suggested as necessary to lay the foundation of a good social order do not represent simply mild ameliorations of existing defects, but rather such a radical advance in motives and disciplines as would result in a strikingly different social temper. Because of the greatly increasing complexity of our modern life, growing out of modern technology, stresses are being put upon our social structure that are extreme, and the whole situation demands, as I say, not simply amelioration, but something more in the nature of revolution of personal and social outlook.

What comes to pass today when young men or women undertake to live by intelligently developed convictions which are distinctly more exacting than those generally prevailing? How many ministers find it feasible, in the daily situations in their parishes, to indicate clearly and in detail what it would mean in business, in government, and in general life, to live by what I call the universal expedients? How would a lawyer's practice thrive if he should require of each client that his action should be entirely honest and open and that the whole good of society and not the immediate

advantage of the client should determine his handling of a case? Some lawyers have achieved that status, but the legal profession in general has not.

Suppose an intelligent young man today, controlled by the general principles I have described in the previous chapters, undertakes to get a job. Perhaps he begins by working for a lawyer. He carries briefs back and forth, admits visitors, types legal papers, or makes engagements. As he goes about his work some of the business of the office may seem to him to be antisocial. Yet his part, taken by itself, is mechanical and routine, the purpose being supplied by his employer. His own individual tasks, one by one, may seem entirely ethical, yet the sum total of such increments, given meaning and purpose by direction of the head of the firm, may be antisocial. What can the young man do?

Perhaps he takes a job with a utility company. He may read meters, make out bills, or wire houses. Every act may in itself seem upright. He may learn from various sources that the company has acquired its franchise by improper methods, that its rates are excessive, that its propaganda departs from the truth. Perhaps he is asked to write letters to Congress protesting the enactment of regulating legislation, and refusing to do so, his employment is shortly terminated in a "routine reduction of staff".

Next he may work in a freight crew on a railroad, and as a beginner may be a flagman or a

freight handler. He finds the crew highly self-organized for putting in as many hours of overtime as possible. For him to object and to do a full honest day's work makes life intolerable. He may then work in a factory, only to find limitation of production so well established that again to do a good day's work would make him an outcast among his fellows.

A drug store may furnish his next job, but telling the plain truth about some of the goods he sells makes his term short. Then he may attach himself to the printer's trade and in time run a type-setting machine for a newspaper; he may wonder whether to shut his eyes to the selfish propaganda and warped news which he prepares for the public, or to fare forth again. He may ponder on the fact that each person he has worked under is a member in good standing in his church and a respected member of his self-respecting community.

To take another illustration, assume a man and wife in one of our cities who have intelligently and energetically developed a life philosophy, and have worked out practical interpretations of the general principle that one's conduct of life should be determined by the total results to society, and not by the results to the home group alone. Suppose that in professional life or in a small independent business this family has achieved a way for expressing these principles in everyday living.

Now comes the problem of passing on that achievement to the next generation. Parents are only a part of their children's environment, and they find that the social environment does not supplement their efforts. If the children are not recluses, but have normal relations with their fellows, there is tremendous pressure to become like them. To be otherwise is to seem exceedingly queer. When the time comes for the children to choose husbands and wives there is the requirement of tolerance for divergent outlooks in the new home, and always the one who differs from the prevailing type is under pressure to conform. There is also the choice of the children's careers, and the necessity for painfully working out independent occupations, perhaps with loss to social and economic status, or of losing self-direction by being employed with some firm, perhaps with a nation-wide corporation.

I have given these few cases of possible occurrences just to illustrate that modern life has many of the characteristics of a seamless fabric. Whether we will or no, it is very difficult for one of us to live according to exceptionally exacting standards. There is no need to multiply cases. The situation is not cleared for the executive who apparently is a determiner of policies. He finds himself in a maze of responsibilities, associations, commitments, and compulsions which to a considerable degree regiment his actions. The time may come when he feels that he ought to stand for principles, even

at great loss, and yet there are the employees of his firm to be considered, whose incomes might be jeopardized by such independent action on his part. He is also under social pressure from friends and fellow businessmen. Society allows him to spend his earnings much as he will, but if in the actual process of making his money he lives rigorously by his highest standards, he may be creating contrasts that will embarrass others in the same industry, and he may find himself suddenly in a hostile industrial atmosphere under great compulsion to do business in the usual manner. Prevailing moral codes are not just personal matters. They discipline society and to a large degree determine its quality.

Trusteeship

Wherever a man is in such relationship either to individuals or to the public, that in any respect they cannot protect themselves, but must rely upon him, then his true relation is not that of a trader or a strategist, but of a trustee. It is that attitude of a trustee, rather than of trader or strategist, which we find so difficult to establish. Such relationships, in the words of Mr. Justice Cardozo, "impose a duty to act according to the high standards which a man of the most delicate conscience and the nicest sense of honour might impose upon himself." In our present-day life more and more of our relations in business and in government are of the character of trusteeship, and nothing less than the

sensitiveness to responsibility which Cardozo describes is adequate.

Trusteeship is not a new relation brought into existence by modern life; it is an old, old relationship of which the increasing sensitiveness of men to social responsibility is making us more aware. The ancient saying that "a merciful man is merciful to his beast" is but a statement of the trustee relationship in a primitive situation.

Modern life, with its rapidly growing complexities, greatly increases the number of situations in which the only sound relation is that of trustee, and the growth of a sense of responsibility has not been sufficiently rapid to meet these changing conditions. Take the business of advertising; to a very large degree society cannot accurately judge its veracity. The advertising man is therefore in a position of trusteeship, and only if he acts as a trustee, and not as a strategist or bargainer or exploiter, has he fulfilled the obligations of his calling.

In some of our great industries we have cases of price-fixing. I have been told by a man prominent in such an industry that without price-fixing, competition would be so severe that the industry would wreck itself—that the custom is a social necessity. Yet the public cannot protect itself from internal agreements and price-fixing. Therefore, any such control should be in the spirit of trusteeship.

Consider investment banking. The investment banker may send you his prospectus, yet, unless

you have able investment counsel, you are at a great disadvantage in judging his statements. The investment banker is fundamentally in the position of a trustee, and not of a trader. Unless he maintains the position of trustee, and works with the motives of a trustee, he is very much out of place in society as it ought to be.

Take newspaper publishing. How little we are able to appraise the news we continually read! Only the newspaper man, only the publisher with an organization behind him, is able to present most of the news to us, and we must to some extent rely upon him or else have a general scepticism that leaves us uninformed. The position of the newspaper publisher is that of a trustee of the public welfare. If he fails to maintain that position, then he fails in a fundamental responsibility to society.

Some dealings, we may say, are just business relationships where strategy, trading, and shrewdness may prevail. But there is a constant tendency for a man's standards of honour to come to one common level; a tendency for the same standards to control in the exacting status of the trustee and in the everyday give and take of life. As emotional states and personal standards carry over from one case to another, the whole of life tends to rise to the higher level or to sink to the lower. The distinction between trusteeship and the more ordinary relations of strategy and bargaining is as difficult to make as is the distinction between public and private acts. Just as every human action, no matter

how intimate and personal, is "affected with a public interest", so every relation has in it some element of trusteeship. In practice it is impossible for us sharply to differentiate our acts, this minute acting as trustee, and the next minute by "enlightened selfishness". A single spirit will tend to characterize one's life as a whole.

One of the weaknesses of modern life is the assumption that we can quickly and readily change from one attitude to another, this minute acting as a trustee, and the next by shrewdness and bargaining. In newspaper publishing, in buying and selling securities for clients, in advertising, in the manufacture of proprietary medicines, and in other fields, we see the relation of trustee sadly confused with that of clever dealing for personal profit.

An Open Road

The end we should seek is that every human activity, in government or in business, in science, in art, and in every other field, shall be judged, not on the prevailing ethical level, but by the highest possible standards on which an intelligent consensus of judgment can be achieved. Repeatedly, individuals or small groups gain a discriminating view of human conduct and by great effort rise above the mass, and then in the course of a few generations the distinctive character they achieved seems to be lost again in the mass, as a wave that has risen to a high crest sinks back into the ocean. Yet, I repeat, wherever a genuine contribution has been made to

human living there tends to be a residue, and the accumulation of those residues constitutes civilization.

Every person who has poured the energy of his life into an effort to achieve a pattern of living that has enduring significance, craves that the results of his efforts shall not be lost. Seeing the blind stumbling and intolerance of men, and realizing his own shortcomings, he would do whatever he can to throw light on the path of social evolution and to accelerate its progress.

I am satisfied that, in general, our limitations in this respect are not biological. We see very simple-minded men who rank low in intelligence, who yet, having lived in communities where dignity and fineness of character were common, have acquired those characteristics as unconsciously as they acquired speech. Such men are social if not genetic assets. I am satisfied that there exist in human nature and in the circumstances of our environment all the resources necessary to accelerate social evolution to perhaps a hundred times its present rate, resolving internal conflicts, achieving new co-operation and new harmony, conserving old values and creating new ones, bringing into being a new social world, as science and industry have created a new world of communication. Science and industry work largely with inert materials, whereas in social evolution it is conceivable that the materials may themselves awake and conspire to speed the process.

Suggestions

I should like, if possible, to make some suggestions on this problem of ways and means to accelerate social evolution. I have no mystic formula. I do not know the way. I can only indicate what I have thought and what possibilities have occurred to me, as I have turned the matter over in my mind year after year in various working situations.

There is no single way above all others to speed up this process. Science, the arts, education, business, and government all may contribute, yet a single thread of purpose should run through all these activities. First of all there is needed a burning desire within individuals—desire so strong that they will give all they have for the achievement of a better social order. That, it seems to me, is a first requisite. If it is lacking, if we do not care enough for a different order to pay a great price, then we can scarcely have great hope. One of the fruits of that desire must be a clarifying of aims and purposes, because zeal, without insight which is disciplined by critical inquiry, may be no asset.

I am repeatedly surprised that men of good intent can go through life without facing for themselves more explicitly the issue of a basis for ethical conduct, and without working through to a solution, each for himself, of what constitutes ethical conduct in his own life. I am surprised to what extent traditions, impulse, early teachings, and outside pressure, are allowed to combine in an accidental, haphazard way to drive a man blindly, without

his ever having analyzed and appraised his own code of ethics, and without his having tried to get clear reasons for his principles of action. We need clear ideas of our methods of arriving at ethical judgments, and of principles of ethical conduct. Some of our conclusions may be almost universally acceptable, and can be taken as immediate guides for action; others must be held tentatively until there is better basis for judgment; whereas still other issues must perhaps for a long time remain as open questions. Yet I believe that if we are persistent and sincere we can nearly always arrive at a central core of consensus of opinion, judgment, and ethical principles that will to a large degree provide adequately the chief guidance of our lives.

Next, clear and moving statements of clearly conceived principles of personal and social life are powerful influences. We never know when or where young vigour may be searching for light, craving to be inspired and given direction; and though in our efforts to achieve clear expression we may stumble and expose our confusion, there is sometimes a craving for light that will even use our failures to its advantage. The time and effort spent in actually achieving character and purpose in one's own living, and in giving it clear and effective expression, are important beyond measure. If responsible, valid, and effective expressions become frequent in society they may result in turning the general current of thought and interest to the need and possibility of a new birth of character,

and when a current of thought begins to flow it may greatly increase in volume.

Unless a living sense of the importance of the issue is created, no general interest will develop. The most profound truths may be stated clearly, and yet, unless there has been developed in the public consciousness an emotional interest in those truths, they will not seem to have any importance. This is the case not only in the field of ethics, but in every field. As an instance, seventy-five or more years ago Gregor Mendel, the Austrian monk and biologist, developed and stated a principle of inheritance so fundamental that I think today it would be appraised as the most important biological concept that has been presented since the doctrine of evolution. He sent that statement to the leading biologists of Germany. The current of thought at that time did not happen to be running in his direction: so men who considered themselves to be among the world's greatest biologists sent back his papers and told him to go about his prayers. The trend of thought was on other issues and the discovery was not received with a living sense of its value. As a result, the world waited many years before Mendel's writings were rediscovered.

With repetition of the theme of the dominant importance of motives and character in society, the time will come when the current of thought will run to that conclusion, and there will be created

general awareness of, and interest in, that truth. When that awareness occurs, the truth of the principle may seem to be self-evident, the general conviction and action may turn in that direction, and the resulting changes may be very rapid and very great.

As another step, it is important that those whose whole resources are committed to this endeavour should discover each other, should profit by each other's experience, and should gain courage and inspiration from each other. You know the story of Elijah in his cave, discouraged in the belief that he was the only man in Israel who had not bowed his knee to Baal. Then it was revealed to him that there were thousands of others. In going about the byways of the world I have found in several countries men working alone in their little corners, men who are committing their whole lives to the achievement of a better pattern of life, but each feeling that he is working alone. It is well for such men to realize that there are others of like purpose, and to get the strength and encouragement that fellowship provides.

There is scarcely any more effective means for bringing about social change than the "apostolic succession" that results from the intimate association of persons of clear purpose and great commitment with small groups of young people. Leaders in business and in public life are men of exceptional native ability, who project onto the larger scene of action the motives and methods they have acquired

during early years. Although mature persons of good intelligence continue to profit by experience and responsibility, and grow as they work, yet for most of us the main drives of purpose and our fundamental ethical controls usually are carried over from youth. Thus the environment of childhood and youth actually determines the quality of the leadership of a few years later. If there exist throughout our country many homes, neighbourhoods, schools, churches, colleges, and informal fellowships, within which such qualities of character as I have described are dominant, then out of such environment will emerge men and women who will give the same qualities to the management of business and government. In fact, I see no other source of leadership than such centres of influence, which may be ever so humble and unseen, and yet be potent. If such centres are lacking, then we shall continue to bemoan the lack of great leadership. There is a saying that in times of stress "the Lord will raise up a great leader". But such a leader is not suddenly "raised up". He has been silently building up his life for probably twenty years or more.

The real qualities of business and government during the coming decades are being determined, not so much in the political and business institutions of today as in those homes, communities, schools, and colleges, where fundamental life outlooks are being established. It often is true that the smaller the social unit in which one works, the greater is

the possibility of creating and maintaining a highly distinctive quality of excellence. In the intimate associations of a home or small community, qualities of good will, fair dealing, and unselfish co-operation may be developed with a completeness that would be very difficult in an organization including hundreds of people with many divergent outlooks. In a small industry employing ten persons it may be possible to select employees or associates with such care, and to have such intimate relations with them, as to secure a high degree of agreement and commitment to exceptionally exacting standards, commitment which may persist as the organization grows; whereas, if the industry were initiated on a larger scale, it might be impossible to develop the same completeness of mutual understanding and the same capacity for appreciation and co-operation among employees and executives.

There is very good reason to wonder whether the Christian religion would have emerged if there had been a thousand apostles instead of twelve. It was with some insight that William James said, "I am done with great things and big things, great institutions and big success, and I am for those tiny, invisible, molecular moral forces that work from individual to individual, creeping through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets, or like the capillary oozing of water, yet which, if you give them time, will rend the hardest monuments of man's pride."

The necessity for working out our pattern of life on a small scale need not be looked upon as a limitation. It may be the very condition that makes success possible.

If the quality of future leadership is being determined largely in the quality of living of small groups, then, since such social units tend also to provincialism of outlook, it is necessary that the attitude of open-minded inquiry be carefully fostered, so that universality and good proportion may be achieved, as well as intensity of commitment.

Leadership is effective only if there are followers. A great leader with no followers may be a tragedy. In political life, for a leader to appear whose motives and principles of action are beyond the comprehension and appreciation of the great majority, may mean that for the time being the people will seek leaders with whom there is a greater bond of common motive. Whether a country is led by a Hitler or a Huey Long on the one hand, or by an Abraham Lincoln or a Masaryk on the other, depends partly on chance, partly on the sensitiveness of the people to various types of character and motive, and partly on the skill with which men of high purpose interpret that purpose to the general public. For the production both of great leaders and of great followers, those who work in homes and small communities often have the best opportunities through the formation of character to bring their vision of good life to realization.

In almost any community, a person who actually determines to achieve a great pattern for living can find some few others to share that adventure. Whether one be teacher, minister, businessman, farmer, or housewife, it is generally possible to find a few associates, perhaps young people, who will sincerely unite in a common effort to bring the conduct of life into conformity with the highest standards. Practice at leadership in intimate relations and on a small scale is the best training for more extensive activity. The making of our future in business, in government, and in life generally is in the hands of every person of sincere purpose and of strong courage. It is not reserved for the elect.

* * *

Ways and Means

For men of the capacity and experience of entrepreneurs it would be entirely possible, as for instance in manufacturing, to develop industries, and with them communities, committed to high standards of social relationships such as I have indicated. Since men vary greatly in their responsiveness to fine purpose and great expectations, it is important to choose associates from top to bottom with great care. Some persons will give everything there is in them to be a part of an adventure of great social significance, whereas others seem to lack any sense of aspiration, and will take selfish advantage of any freedom or confidence given them. Lack of

the insight or the courage or the firmness to make exacting selection of associates will greatly jeopardize the prospect of success in such a venture.

Undertakings of this character would have certain distinct advantages. In most industrial communities there is great waste. There is limitation of output on the part of employees, excessive withdrawal of profits by owners, and careless personal spending by many of those associated with the undertaking. In a group of people such as I have described, intentional restriction of output would disappear, and careful budgeting by workers, with friendly guidance, would increase the real value of income. Integrity in products would help to establish markets. By these means the initial disadvantage of rigorous adherence to an exacting social and personal code might be more than overcome. Some men have made substantial progress in such undertakings.

A man with exceptional business capacity may live by ordinary prevailing business standards and achieve a large measure of ordinary business success, or he may choose to use his exceptional ability on a smaller scale of operation to overcome the difficulties of achieving an exacting pattern for his life. A man of exceptional ability who by following prevailing conventional practice could develop and manage an industry of ten thousand employees, by committing himself to the achievement of distinctly more exacting social standards in business

might find his unusual ability fully used in developing and managing a much smaller industry. If such a person should feel that an industry with five hundred employees, conducted according to the best standards of a good social order, would be a greater achievement than an industry of ten thousand employees conducted on usual lines, then he might contribute in an important way to establishing a new pattern of living. Incidentally, a business established on that better basis might have great vitality.

Robert Owen was a successful manufacturer who had a social purpose and a creative imagination. For a time all England marvelled at the efficiency which his socially minded industries could develop. Then the vested interests in industry and church took advantage of his lack of subtlety in expressing his opinions, and of his intellectual independence, and turned against him. Outwardly he seemed to be defeated, where if he had been a "realist" in the ordinary sense of the term, he might have adjusted himself to prevailing conventions, and so have saved the appearance of success. We sometimes take that easier course in business and in government. We may sometimes come to places where we must choose between the realities of success in maintaining our standards of value, at the cost of seeming to fail, and the appearance of success in surrendering our pattern of living. It is at that point that failure often comes. Robert Owen clung to his principles of living at the cost

of seeming to fail, yet out of the stimulus of his work grew the Rochdale co-operative movement, which is now world-wide, has many millions of adherents, and is one of the most significant developments of a century.

George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, called the Quakers, required his followers who were in business to drop the age-old habit of haggling in merchandising, and to name their terms without equivocation. In England the same habit of haggling over prices was then general that still prevails in Turkey, Greece, and the Orient, where a merchant may ask four times the price he expects to receive, and the buyer may offer a quarter as much as he expects to pay, and then haggle until they arrive at a price. The organized followers of George Fox today do not number more than perhaps a hundred thousand, and much of their distinctive character has disappeared, but his policy of open prices in merchandising is becoming world-wide and has added to self-respect in economic and social relations.

Limitations of Pioneers

Efforts of men to achieve new standards of excellence, and to perpetuate those standards in social groups, have generally been characterized by certain limitations, which have led to short life, dilution of purpose, or rigid dogma. First of such limitations is the tendency to be concerned with only a small part of the whole of human values.

The socialists have tended to see economic considerations as the one important basis of a good social order. The Quakers and the Puritans saw rectitude of conduct as primary, and were inclined to ignore beauty and recreation. William Morris and his associates saw beauty as the central value, in comparison with which even Morris' projects of social reform lost interest. Modern science inclines to the attitude that critical inquiry is the one high-road to excellence and truth.

None of these partial views is adequate. For a vision of social values to be safely enduring it should be universal, concerned with everything that affects well-being, and should strive constantly to keep the various elements in good proportion. Even emphasis on character might become an evil if it should crowd out normal interest in and consideration of other values.

A second limitation is the tendency to become dogmatic and to develop a rigid tradition. A desirable and enduring fellowship requires that there be critical open-mindedness and willingness to consider any evidence, and to modify attitudes as critical inquiry may demand.

A third limitation is the tendency for great commitment to lead to excessive strain and tension, and to the rapid consumption of nervous energy. The "acceleration of social evolution" does not imply increased tax upon vital reserves, but rather the contrary. Until men can achieve quiet and

confidence, can live so well within their vital limits as to have resilience and reserves of energy, their aspirations may be frustrated. Many a seeming forward movement has burned itself out because it lacked wisdom to realize that "in quiet and confidence there is strength."

A fourth limitation is the tendency of the members of any group to blend into the general social mass, and to lose the distinctive quality which was the reason for the existence of the group. The gradual fading away of intensity of commitment and of clarity of aims has been the fate of many promising movements. This is due in part to failure to develop skill, technique, and policy for maintaining vitality and distinctive quality. Great social leaders often fail in their methods for making their work endure. Skill, intelligence, and the best possible design are necessary to give enduring significance to good motives. Though a man should row against the current rather than drift, he does well also to cultivate practical sense and skill to take advantage of wind and tide when they can be made to serve him. Does a kind providence protect well-meaning men or institutions from ill effects of lack of practical competence?

* * *

Thoroughgoing study is needed of the causes of success and failure in efforts for the social good, and of the forms and principles of social organization which have helped or hindered such efforts.

I think it would be very interesting for an individual or for an educational institution to make a thorough, comprehensive study of the organizations—business, political, religious, and fraternal—which men have developed, following through their histories to see what elements of excellence helped to maintain vitality, in what way they kept open the road for excellence, and wherein the normal expectation of institutional life was reduced by mistaken methods or policies of organization. Such a study might throw substantial light on the process of human organization—light that would be welcome in business, in government, and in other fields.

Yet, it is with hesitation that one emphasizes attention to effective mechanics. Many of the qualities that make life good for individuals and for communities are intimate and intangible, such as self-respect, mutual regard, open dealing, and firmness in principles that seem right. If these qualities are destroyed in the process of insuring success for a movement or for an organization, the results may not be worth while. Those who turn to the philosophy that "the end justifies the means" often see as ends the survival or increasing influence of a person or an organization, whereas the means they use may be destroying fundamental, longtime, human qualities that are among the primary values of social living. Obvious success may have too high a price. There is no value in acquiring great skill in using methods that are

inherently destructive of the ends to be achieved. Much of government and business consists in using just such destructive skill, and in considering its use "realistic" and "practical". Intrigue and sharp-dealing may become very skilful and powerful and give evidence of immediate success, although they are undermining the very foundations of society.

The Prospect for Pioneers

For the average person there is the day-by-day process of living in accord with this exacting pattern of life, regardless of the difficulties that may result. For independent farmers, for doctors with independent practice, and for many other persons who direct their own efforts, this is not desperate advice. For some reasonably successful persons it might mean nothing more serious than giving up perhaps a five-thousand-dollar income for possibly a fifteen-hundred-dollar income, moving into a smaller home, foregoing college education for the children, and in general preparing to face a difficult world. A budgeting of resources, a hardening of personal fibre, and a constant watch for feasible ways of meeting emergencies, would make such adjustments possible.

The common pursuit of more exacting standards does not necessarily imply equal achievement of discipline on the part of everyone. The Masonic order, the Communist party, and some religious orders give a hint that in the pursuit of any social

aim varying degrees of achievement may be recognized. A rigorous and Spartan regime may be self-imposed by persons who are determined to pay any proper price for the achievement of a better order, while other persons might approach such commitment in varying stages. A relatively small number of persons, determined to work out the necessary implications of a good design of life in relation to the social order, both in ideas and in action, without limitation or compromise, might achieve a pattern of living of great value, which would have general and friendly, even if imperfect, reception. The possibilities of freedom, of good will, of beauty, and of progress in our society are so far beyond present realities that mild amelioration of the present defects of prevailing character is not enough. We need action that is as radical in many respects as that of the founder of the religion many of us profess. Such radical departure from prevailing custom will at first be limited to relatively few persons.

Building a New Social Order

The building of a new social order might in a rough way be compared with the revolution in the dairy industry which has occurred in Minnesota during the last fifty years. Half a century ago the milk and butter of that state were mostly produced from scrub cattle of generally low quality. A few specialists were saying that if the best strains of cattle should be used, the production of milk and

cream could be doubled without increasing the number of cattle.

Some farmers and dairymen believed these statements, and some did not. Yet, even those who fully believed in the possibilities of a great improvement were not at once able to make the change. Their capital was invested in their low-grade cattle, and they did not have money enough to buy the best stock. They could not stop producing milk and cream for the market and wait until a superlative stock of cattle could be purchased, for the public needed their product from day to day. Even where farmers had the available money to purchase the best stock, the breeders of fine cattle did not have a large supply available. The breeders could not afford to have on hand a large number of finely bred cattle until their product should be in general demand among dairymen. For a long time most dairymen and farmers had so little appreciation of the finest stock that the breeders had but a very limited market.

The process of change to better strains therefore was gradual. A few dairymen and farmers bought good stock from the breeders and discovered great increase in productive capacity. They bred these good animals with their scrub stock with two results. The productiveness of the mixed offspring was better than that of the scrub stock, but on the other hand the distinctive quality of the few highgrade cattle was repeatedly diluted by the great mass of ordinary stock with which it was

interbred, and permanent improvement tended to be lost by that interbreeding and dissipation of quality. President James J. Hill of the Great Northern Railroad distributed numbers of pedigreed animals to Minnesota farmers, but in the unskilful and indiscriminate breeding with common stock which followed, definite influence of these relatively few high bred animals was soon lost in the cattle population.

But there was one factor that helped to save the situation. The professional breeders refused to mix their best strains with any others. The gradually increasing market among farmers and dairymen which resulted from growing appreciation of better quality enabled the breeders to import and breed from the best available animals. In the constantly increasing offspring of their registered herds, occasional exceptional animals appeared from time to time, and the breeders' standards of achievement were steadily raised. With the increasing recognition of high quality, farmers and dairymen began to adopt the breeders' policy of vigorous exclusion of all commonplace stocks. Gradually whole herds on farms and in dairies were composed entirely of thoroughbred animals, the scrub stock largely disappeared, and the doubling of yield of milk and cream was actually achieved in many communities.

Yet the breeders continue rigorously to keep their own pedigreed stock distinct, except that they allow the addition of other lines that have

maintained high records for several generations. The dairymen and farmers profit by the breeder's efforts, and they make his work possible by supplying a market for blooded stock. The breeder, on his part, constantly raises the standard which may be achieved, and is very uncompromising in protecting the best stock from dilution by interbreeding with the mass.

The few exceptionally productive cattle of half a century ago, if they had been scattered through the entire mass of the cattle population and had been bred indiscriminatingly, would soon have been swallowed up and their distinctive quality lost by continued dilution in the great mass of low quality, as was the case with high bred cattle supplied by the Great Northern Railroad. It was because the professional breeder carefully kept his herd distinct, and constantly made more exacting standards for membership in his herds, that the slowly achieved qualities of his best stock were perpetuated, and made available wherever a desire for improvement existed. By receiving into the accredited stock any non-accredited strains which had maintained acceptable standards for a considerable period, good quality could be preserved, new blood could be infused into the breed, and the danger of excessive inbreeding and decadence could be reduced.

Any comparison will break down if pressed too far, but within reasonable limits this procedure

of dairymen and farmers on the one hand and of breeders on the other perhaps furnishes a helpful analogy to an effective method for the acceleration of social evolution. High quality in individuals and in individual institutions may occur over and over again, but if it is to be diffused and diluted through the whole mass of the population, most of its distinctiveness may disappear; whereas, if such exceptional quality can keep its distinctness and identity, can be reinforced by other similar quality, and can reproduce itself, a new type of social order may come into existence which in time may occupy the field. In the meantime the general influence of that exceptional quality may modify the prevailing social order and may prepare the way for a newer and more exacting order.

The process of breeding superior cattle, which I have described, is very similar to that by which, through thousands of years and with many variations, men have endeavoured to protect and to increase whatever excellence has originated in the human stock, or in human culture. Yet, the very use of this analogy of the cattle breeder gives a hint of the dangers inherent in the process; for it is a common result of the breeding of thoroughbred strains of animals that, though they come to excel in the particular qualities for which they were selected, they may be sheltered from the rough and tumble of all-round natural selection, and may lose vigour and hardihood. The breeder

may even be eliminating strong points of which he is unaware.

As compared with the simple and limited aims of any breeder of thoroughbred animals, the purposes of distinctive social groups, such as I have suggested, are exccedingly complex and elusive. If groups of men and women are to undertake exceptionally clear and exacting definition of those personal and social qualities that would be desirable in any form of society, and are to commit themselves to living uncompromisingly by those standards, then they should take precautions both against provincialism and against softness. Against provincialism the attitude of open-minded inquiry is a necessary specific. To avoid softness it is important that any such group, at least after a reasonable period of infancy, shall be economically self-sustaining, and shall not rely on endowment, prestige, vested interest, or other shelter from the stresses of real life. Too often organizations that begin in an effort to achieve excellence, in time come to rest on the fruit of past efforts, and may even become burdens to the rest of society, because those who made the original efforts failed to transmit their spirit to those who followed.

Islands of Brotherhood

America is dotted with the vestiges of efforts to work out practical social programmes in the form of community efforts. The names of Brook Farm in Massachusetts; Arden, Delaware; Greeley,

Colorado; Amana, Iowa; Fairhope, Alabama; Ruskin, Tennessee; New Harmony, Indiana; Oneida, New York; and numerous others come to mind. In many cases nothing but a name and a tradition remain. In others, standard American towns have emerged from the efforts. Nearly always some fatal defect has prevented significant development—a narrow religious creed, a one-track economic idea, the assumption that a paper programme will create a corresponding social fabric of flesh and blood, the assumption that a miscellaneous collection of men and women will in some mysterious way catch the spirit of a leader, neglect of ordinary business thrift and judgment, the tendency for unstable and discontented people to flock to a new undertaking—all these and many other causes have led to failure. There are almost as many reasons for failure of such community efforts as there were for failure to make a "flying machine" remain in the air, and almost as much justification for scepticism as to the worthwhileness of continued efforts. Few people who have undertaken such developments have studied the causes of failures of others.

Keeping in mind all the dangers and difficulties involved, for many reasons it would be desirable for persons who are committed to actually achieving what I have called the universal expedients of a good social order, to begin to build their own economic and social world. If such men are to escape the constant dilution of their purposes

by society at large, it is desirable that there be *islands of brotherhood* where men of like purposes can strengthen each other and can create a milieu in accordance with the universal expedients of a good life.

It is popular today to disparage anything in the nature of distinct communities for people of common purposes, yet such groups have in some instances maintained exceptional quality. The settlement of New England might be cited. It transferred to the new environment the dominant character of the colonists. Had there been in the original settlement greater quality in the stock, with less of entrenched class privilege and with fewer indentured servants of low character, the results would have been better. We may think of Plymouth Rock and the Puritans as representing Massachusetts, but sometimes we forget that Massachusetts was chiefly settled by a corporation of gentlemen with an old-world outlook of vested interests, and by their retinues of indentured servants who had little or no vision of social purposes. The Puritan population was a small proportion of the whole Massachusetts settlement. The Jews, a religious and social group, but not a biological race, have in some degree maintained a distinctive life. Perhaps their peculiar ethical quality never was much greater than it is now.

The Waldensians are said to be descendants of early Christians in southern France, who kept the

simplicity of apostolic days and never united with the Roman Church. They bear the name of Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons of about eight hundred years ago, who gave away his property and worked among them. Their liberal theology led to violent persecution, sometimes almost to extermination. The few survivors retreated to high and relatively inaccessible Alpine valleys, where they maintained their distinctive ways through the centuries. Until the French Revolution they were repeatedly under great hardship and persecution, and their history records desperate and heroic episodes. Two groups migrated to Germany, though most of them remained in the high Italian Alps.

Half a century ago numerous Waldensian families came to America and dispersed through the population. How far they have preserved distinctive traits, I do not know. Thirty-two families came as a colony to a tract in North Carolina purchased from a real-estate promoter. On arrival they found their land to be barren eroded shale hillsides, but as they were strangers, unfamiliar with the language, and with total resources of less than fifty dollars a family, they could only accept the situation. Nearly all children born during the first five years of the new colony died in infancy.

Still, they mastered that barren soil and made it fertile, and developed several industries which still thrive, especially textiles. Some young people

have moved away. Today about three hundred Waldensians, in a community grown to three thousand, to a large degree keep their distinctive ethical and social quality. Poverty among them has almost disappeared. A sense of trusteeship in industry carried the entire community through the recent depression without distress. It is now more prosperous than surrounding regions. These Waldensians meet their obligations, live within their means, are industrious, friendly, neighbourly people, with growing cultural interests. Have they maintained their peculiar characteristics to a greater extent than those who lost themselves in the population ?

It is difficult enough for people of generous income to make the sacrifices necessary to maintain discriminating ethical standards. For people of small means, the undertaking to live uncompromisingly so as to achieve the values of a new social order may in many instances precipitate grave personal and family crises. In such cases especially it might be well to undertake actual physical colonies on large tracts of land, where persons who have sacrificed economic position for their convictions can have a shelter in which to get a new orientation and a new foothold, where a common way of life may develop without too excessive attrition by inhospitable contacts, and where a partially independent economic world might grow. Co-operatives might develop to be important factors in such undertakings.

Yet, the modern world is dynamic—a living, moving, and changing world. It is not and may never again be static. The social order in which we must come to feel at home may be likened to the life of a sea gull, for ever in the ceaselessly changing, moving elements of sea and air, ever ready instantly to adjust itself to wind or wave. The time probably is past when our social order will resemble a pine tree, rooted firmly to one spot for the length of its life.

When I speak of the possibility of communities of like-minded and like-spirited people, it is not in the attitude of proposing retreat from the currents of the times. But since most of life today is not so much individual as social, in our economic activities we tend to be compelled to the type of conduct that is characteristic of the group. It is difficult under such circumstances for strikingly new and different types of action to emerge fully and to survive, and so under some conditions the grouping together of people of unique purposes may be wise.

The Prospect

Some of the greatest material advances of recent years have come by fundamental changes of principles, which were then followed by gradual evolution in the application of these new principles, rather than by slow evolution of old ways or by application of old principles. For instance, instead of relying on the gradually developing ability to

speak loudly in order to be heard at a distance, men turned to the telephone and radio—entirely new principles—which run far beyond any possibilities of development by the old methods of voice culture. Instead of slowly breeding horses to run faster, they developed the automobile, again a new principle. Instead of building longer and larger belts and shafts to transmit power, they turned to the new principle of electrical transmission.

There are times when the adoption of fundamentally new principles promises greater benefit than reliance on gradual evolutionary methods. The changes in character and motive which we need are not just ameliorative of our present business and political ethics, but are very great and fundamental—so fundamental that we may call them revolutionary; and they need support in order to become defined, stabilized, and permanent. They might be furthered by people of like mind and purpose gathered together in large enough groups to constitute effective social and economic units. Thus a hard-won way of life might be supported and encouraged and given permanence and reasonably adequate expression.

I believe that in America there may be a considerable number of persons who are ready to pay the necessary price of open-minded inquiry, to develop a radically different way of life, and to commit themselves and all they have to its achievement. In addition, there are many more young

people who are innately receptive to such an undertaking, and who would respond to effective demonstrations of lives lived according to universal expedients of personal and social conduct.

There is no one road to a better social order, and every person must find the road that is possible to him, rather than mourn the fact that some other is not open. The very diversity of the approaches may be a great advantage. I believe it is desirable for every person to define as clearly as possible the qualities which would characterize any good social order, and to endeavour to the utmost to achieve those qualities in actual practice, without compromise or dilution, in whatever may be his work.

* * *

We have been building a greater superstructure of business, government, and society than the quality of our character will long sustain. The evils of business and the evils of government are not new, but in our greatly complex modern life they are more serious than before. Breakdowns in business, government, and society will not quickly cease, for the causes are still present. In this and in other countries, the structure of our civilization is failing at various points. That has always been true to some extent of every civilization. Many a civilization has failed at one point while it has gained vigour at another, yet because of the unprecedented strains of unprecedented extensions of government and business, and because we are not

producing an adequate supply of social discipline and purpose to meet those strains, the failures of today may be more than ordinarily serious.

* * *

Now I speak a word in my own defence. Any person who has been at all observant cannot be unaware of the bad effect of such unusual suggestions as these upon one's reputation for practical competence. Such epithets as "visionary" and "impractical" will be among the milder criticisms. Atypical attitudes are generally held to be irresponsible attitudes. Yet, that action is most practical which has the best prospect for creating enduring values. A vigorous life of financial speculation may confer a feeling of great practical importance, but it may be a parasitic activity, leaving no essential increase in any human values. A career of political ambition and intrigue may win coveted power by sacrificing all principles that would give enduring value to power or position. Those engaged in such activity, unless they have a sense of humour and are at work only to keep from being bored with life, may feel that they are practical men, and that their activities are important.

Men often come to have a sense of validity, or feeling of reality and importance, toward conventional activities, whether those activities relate to speculating in Dutch tulips, to attempts to capture the Holy Sepulcher, or to efforts to control the state political machine. Such feeling of importance,

caught by contagion from the prevailing social milieu, is no true measure of real value. Genuine intellectual freedom will include the habit of endeavouring to arrive at one's sense of values in accordance with long-range purposes, rather than the caprice of convention or of tradition.

* * *

When we search the supply of moral leadership which will come forward soon enough to save the situation in government or in business, we do not find it adequate in view of the complexity of the problems in both. We must begin far back, in the slow, thorough building of character which will be tried out in the realities of everyday living, and which by aspiration, disciplined by open-minded, critical inquiry, will mature a philosophy of life reasonably adequate to the present day. As that quality of character is matured, it will result in leadership that will apply itself to the issues of the time. It will give concrete expression in every-day life to a new vision of the quality that life may have. When that vision is clearly expressed and clearly defined the people will gradually receive it as their own, and we shall in large measure have found the solvent for the complexities and limitations of government and of business—and of human life itself. The long way round, of building character, in the end will prove to have been the short way home to a good social order.

CHAPTER IV

CASES

WHEN A FRIEND had read the manuscript of the preceding chapters he wrote, "As I was reading I had the feeling that you ended too abruptly, just as I was expecting you to suggest a specific and valuable road out." This is a most reasonable criticism. I am keenly aware of the defect. A book such as this, like a play, should have acceleration and climax. It should propose a definite pattern, present it in sharp focus, and transmit a feeling of reality. Yet I find certain difficulties in satisfying those requirements.

It is said that for a long period his Satanic Majesty was in good standing with the heavenly host. But he was an individual of action, and the slow processes of cosmic evolution irked his soul. Finally, once upon an eon, he sat down to have it out for good and all with the Lord.

With his infinite patience the Lord began again to explain the process by which he worked, but Satan interrupted him. "I am tired," Satan said, "of hearing the story of the original heterogeneous distribution of the primeval substance; of its gradual accumulation into masses; of the unspeakably slow evolution of protons, of neutrons, of electrons, and then of atoms; of the formation of nebulae and of star systems and of planets. And

then you lost interest in the big job and got excited over little wriggling specks of organisms.

"And even so," he added, "you are not consistent. You are for ever trying something new. On the pointless little planet which interests you so much, you have created millions of species, and then have thrown them away. The rocks are full of your fossils. Why don't you take some one species and stick to it ?"

The Lord replied in his patient way. "But Satan, you never can tell. I may think I have a good idea, and I work at it as hard as I can. For a time I make great improvement, but then I sometimes find it good to make a new start. A new species is like a fresh mixture of plaster and water. At first it is very pliable, and can be given any bent I wish, but after it sets one can only refine it in detail. To make any fundamental change thereafter one must go back to some more elemental type, break up its stability, and try again. But I never have to go back quite to the beginning.

"Now, take this new species, man, that I have just created. I have more hope for him than for anything I have ever done. But I am not putting all my eggs into one basket. I am going to break up that species into races and tribes and families, so that if one branch of the species goes off up a blind alley, I shall have others to fall back upon. And then, in case the species as a whole does not work out, I have kept in reserve a million and a

half other species of plants and animals, so I can try again. For instance, there is the great auk. He lives a simple life and has a philosophic mind. I hope nothing unfortunate happens to him.

"But my great hope is in this new species, man. I have put a little extra phosphorus in his head; I have made his front feet very flexible and adaptable; and I have made him strongly gregarious, but without taking away his individuality. Also I have made him very curious. It is a hard combination to work out in a single species and may take considerable time, but I have great hopes."

At this point in the discussion Satan interrupted again. "But where are you getting to ?" he said. "We have waited and waited, for eons untold. Our hope is for ever deferred. Why can't you speed up the process ?"

Again with his infinite patience the Lord replied, "But Satan, we have speeded up. Don't you recall the billions upon billions of years it took to get to the first neutrons and protons, and then the long eons before we created the first atom, and the ages and ages before the first of the nebulae got to whirling just right ? But each step was shorter than the last. It seems only yesterday that I discovered the peculiar possibilities which the planet earth provides, and hit upon the device of organic life. And there, too, the process has been accelerating. You remember the scores of millions of years that passed before I could get two living cells to

live and work together as one. Yet that step was essential.

"Then, when the job seemed to be progressing hopefully, you recall the disappointment I had with the trilobites. For a hundred million years or so they were my crowning work. Then they proved to be such hard-shelled creatures that I gave them up and started over. I was forced to the conclusion that there is better chance for progress with a creature that has a backbone than with one that has a shell. And I was right. Think how much faster the vertebrates have evolved, and how the mammals have developed still more rapidly.

"And now there is this new species, man, with the extra phosphorus in his head, and his flexible and sensitive front feet, and his gregarious habit of working with his neighbours to do what one could not do alone, with his curiosity, and with his speech for carrying the gains of the past down to the present. I have great hopes for him, if I can only get his mental processes also to depend on a backbone and not on a shell. He, at last, may fulfil my hope—the hope that at last I may have beings to share with me the creative process, rather than to be only as clay in my hands. Yes, Satan, my process of evolution has constantly accelerated, and the rate of acceleration constantly increases. My patience is being justified."

But Satan was obdurate. "I am weary of waiting," he said. "My impatience accelerates

faster than your process. I am through with you. I want action." So he called his followers, jumped over the battlements of heaven, and started out to achieve his ends by his own method, which is that of trying to get effects without adequate causes. As he disappeared the Lord remarked, "Poor Satan ! Just like so many of the gods who tried to turn their chaoses into cosmoses, and could not take time to lay a foundation."

* * *

It is rumoured that the rebel's efforts thus far have not been highly successful, though his methods are still popular. An instance of their popularity, which again illustrates the difficulty of a synopsis of my subject, concerns the earlier and less exacting days of American medical education. A none-too-diligent or perspicacious son of an influential trustee had drifted leisurely through a four-year course and found himself in the senior class, almost ready for graduation. On the occasion of the last lecture in the course, as the teacher was about to begin, the young man rose and said, "Professor Smith, the members of your class have greatly appreciated your teaching. Now, in this last lecture, would you be willing to set aside the regular programme, and in the course of a half-hour tell us briefly and clearly and definitely just how to make people well when they are sick?"

Without undertaking a similar task, I shall nevertheless try to clarify my meaning by cases from my own direct or indirect acquaintances of

forty years. Repeatedly we see men and women who have the inborn possibilities for making great contributions to their times, who yet because of some elements of weakness fail to count as they might. To see where other men or women missed significant living may clarify our own judgment.

* * *

It is necessary that the mind be open and receptive to new truth. As a young man I knew a minister of great sincerity and energy. He lived by his convictions and with vigour gave his whole life to the general good. A considerable number of young men and women gathered around him and began to catch his spirit of willingness to pay any price for his convictions. Then the temper of scientific inquiry began to penetrate that group, and questions arose as to whether sincere purpose must necessarily be associated with the theological doctrines of a sectarian creed. In the minister's mind this questioning was evil. He opposed such inquiry and within a few years this group of young people had dispersed, most of them feeling that sincerity of purpose and narrowness of belief were necessarily associated and must be held or abandoned together. In his later years this minister worked chiefly with people to whom serious intellectual doubts did not come. He was potentially a man of far-reaching influence, but he could not break his shell.

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It is necessary to have such confidence in and respect for one's self and one's hard-won convictions that they will not be surrendered before immediate pressures. A sense of appreciation of enduring values must be stronger than that for current appraisals of what is worth while. One of the most discriminating and penetrating minds I ever knew, along with one of the finest personalities, characterized a man who as a boy found himself adrift in the world without resources. He made his way against very great difficulties, and won a position of nationwide respect for his successful and aggressive business. He could have done brilliant work also in law or medicine or education. I have seldom known a more ranging and creative mind.

Distrustful of theorists and idealists, this man wanted to make good in real life with real men, with no favours and no shelter or escape from reality. In the process of that undertaking his measure of success came to be the prevailing standards of successful businessmen, such as he had admired as a penniless boy. Financial income, social position, recognition among fellow businessmen—these came more and more to control his action.

He did not quite dare believe in his own best appraisals of values and could only trust himself when pursuing conventional goals. He became highly respected by practical men in conventional business and social life. He earned that respect,

but also he paid for it. I believe that with his intelligence, imagination, and universal range of interests, his great drive of sustained energy, and his practical common sense, he might have become the greatest American of his day, had he dared to commit his life to the values he rated highest. He did not have the self-confidence, the courage, or the audacity to do that.

To have contagion of character, it commonly is necessary actually to share people's lives and risks. The president of an old and honourable liberal college was highly regarded for his sound idealism. His college assembly talks on character were models of literary English that continued to be read in book form for a decade after his death. The president lived in a large house under the campus elms. He had academic honours. He met distinguished guests. He had what he needed to eat and to wear. In talking about character he never was explicit enough to offend contributors. Even when begging contributions he was a respected guest in the homes of the cultured and the well-to-do. He paid no great price for his convictions. The students felt kindly toward him, but they intuitively realized that he was apart from the real world. They might follow his example and keep pure in an academic retreat, or they might be a part of the rough and tumble of life, and conform to the usual ways of business. The president had talked of other alternatives but he had not demonstrated their possibility. He showed

by his life that he appraised honours and security as of greater value than aspiration and daring.

* * *

Worth-while character is not a vague feeling in favour of better social conditions, but a vigorous achievement of competence and of a way of living in accord with a hard-won philosophy of life and values. A man of great energy and of very liberal views found himself possessed of much money. He decided to make great literary works available at small expense to people of limited means, and developed a big publishing business. Yet no clearly defined convictions or purposes disciplined his social urge. The mechanics of profitable publishing began to control his programme. Books were blunderingly abridged and stupidly edited. Translations of masterpieces were so carelessly made that the quality of the original was lost. A host of trivial titles were added. Sex appeal was emphasized; quality largely faded away. I believe that many an intellectually alert young person may have been turned away from a life of ideas by the slovenly and irresponsible manner in which this publisher carried out what might have been a great project.

* * *

"Castles in Spain" have no leaks in the plumbing. They are perfect in every detail. It is only when we begin to build, not just with ideas, but with action and with brick and wood and iron,

that the stubborn refractoriness of materials and events becomes evident. We discover then what a vast amount of effort is necessary for a small amount of result. An active, intelligent mind can picture more in an hour than many men working together can build in a lifetime. A normal wholesome person will insist on getting satisfactions from his actual work and not primarily from his dreams.

The editor of a liberal weekly wished to do his part toward a new social order. For a time he wrote with responsibility and restraint. Then, little by little, the craving for a creative thrill overcame him, until at last he could dash off an outline of the one true policy on any paramount public issue in time for the weekly edition. As a result of his cheaply achieved sense of creation, he has contempt for the slow cumbersome processes of government and business. Had this brilliant man limited himself to responsible action in word and work, he might have been a national power.

If all but editors of liberal weeklies were free from this frailty, the loss might be endured, but this man exemplifies one of the chief defects of college-bred men and women. Ideas run so much faster than action, and require so much less effort for a given amount of thrill of satisfaction, that there tends to be a psychopathic separation of thought and action. In our stubborn world the meagre results of constructive effort give these men and women totally inadequate emotional stimulus,

and there tends to be an escape from constructive work and daring into a world of dreams. That escape is one of the most insidious of mental and spiritual diseases. Hitch your star to a wagon—your star of dreams to a wagon of genuine work and mundane accomplishment, if you would keep spiritually sane.

* * *

Victories and defeats in the achievement of life purposes usually occur in early life and over small issues. The great defeats and victories of later years may be only larger exhibitions of what was long ago determined. A young newspaper man announced that he had a job with a certain big newspaper chain known for the low order of its ethical standards, and for its jingo spirit. He was a sincere liberal, but felt that he must temporarily make this concession in order to acquire skill and to make a living in his field. He could not see that what he was learning was not primarily the art of the newspaper, but compromise, moral surrender, and the loss of a sense of integrity in himself.

* * *

It is not enough to have social motives and to commit one's self to realizing them. It is necessary that one accurately measure his resources and relate his undertakings to his means. Not that risk and daring for great ends should be eliminated but that irresponsible action may thwart the finest

purpose. The president of a very large American industry undertook to do well by his workmen. He built a great workingmen's palace, such as might have done credit as a metropolitan club. He worked out programmes for recreation, for lectures, and for adult education. The same expansive spirit led him to build and maintain a palace for his own home. He had made no cautious and responsible estimates of probable long-time profits, or of the margin of profits he had to invest in workingmen's clubs. The business crashed, involving employees and investors all over the nation.

* * *

Our personal undertakings may come to seem so important to us that we feel we must preserve them, even at the cost of long-time principles of action. The founder of a school for poor boys and girls put years and strength into financing the institution, which had a strongly evangelical bent. People of means being as they are, the founder discovered that touching stories of human interest were effective. Sometimes the facts did not fully support the stories, but the funds were necessary. Little by little this need for dramatic effect has dominated, until the institution has come to be a show place where some things are not as they are represented, and where there is deliberate planning to set the stage for visitors. The young men and women realize this, and perhaps come to think of wholesale make-believe as a necessary element in successful living. A small struggling institution,

sound and honest to the core, might have counted for more in bringing about a new social order.

* * *

In building an effective life, no significant element of mastery should be overlooked. It is in the balance and proportion of life as a whole that wisdom and safety may be achieved. There is a man whom I feel honoured to have as a friend. Far aside from the main currents of thought and of culture, he has forged for himself a life philosophy of range, of depth, and of sanity. More than that, he has put that philosophy to work in his everyday affairs, in the necessary work of his home community. Social insight and constructive social effort began to grow up around him. As his spirit and motives were recognized, the calls on his strength steadily increased. He undertook more and more work, until his health broke. A long period of recuperation put him on his feet, but he had warning of limited strength. Again opportunities for public service multiplied. Again he undertook more and more, not able to face his physical limitations and to live within them. The second time his health broke more seriously than before, and he must for a long period be relatively inactive. He could not run a mile; he might have walked ten.

* * *

The prevailing social order tends to perpetuate its own values and to eliminate variants. For

new values to emerge and to become established, it is necessary that persons who undertake to establish new outlooks and values shall have penetrating insight, and vigour of mind which will cause them to see beyond what is conventionally prized to what is significant, and hold to it in spite of current customs and outlooks.

Forty or fifty years ago in a backward region a certain educational institution, under the leadership of its pioneer founder, broke with the classic tradition and brought about a remarkable unity of learning and living. Unfortunately for its educational prestige, this institution served under-privileged persons, and was not commonly looked upon as a pioneer type that might be adopted by education in general. The founder, a man of remarkable character, through a long period of service had gained respect and recognition. When he died his board of trustees wished the institution to be served by a man of the first rank, and so they chose a well-qualified classical scholar.

The new president had exceptionally fine character and purpose. He had in his hands an institution so original and so significant in its type that had he helped to realize its possibilities he might have contributed to a revolution in American education. But he had grown up to think of excellence as synonymous with academic scholarship. Almost unconsciously he tried to help his students escape from crude contact with reality, and to achieve the academic excellence which was the

glory of his Alma Mater. He did not realize that he half despised his job, and would have felt it an honour to be called to head the honourable and conventional institution from which he graduated. Under his direction practical contact with living became less and less, while he gloried in the increasing likeness of his institution to the accepted type. One of the greatest opportunities ever offered for a creative revolution in education was lost. A similar story could be told concerning half a dozen once promising institutions which began by associating learning with living. Those who guided them did not dare to continue blazing a new trail or to resist the great pressure to academic conformity.

* * *

The kinds of limitations that may bring failure seem varied and heterogeneous. Is there any common likeness which makes them related? Perhaps a few cases, which seem to me to be successes, may furnish a hint.

A man of exceptional ability was second in authority, and then was head of one of the largest investment banking firms in America. Then he sold his business, and has long administered his own estate. Wherever any class of men is being exploited, there he appears as friend and defender. Wherever some new force appears in our common life, as the radio or the movies, there his interest is on the side of making it a public asset. Through

long years he has steadily supported institutions of greatest social hope and promise. Also, he has on many occasions stepped in at a critical moment to give a temporary lift to a worth-while undertaking. He has not assumed the poverty of a Gandhi or a Kagawa, but has acted as the administrator of a large fortune, without the aim of building a monument for himself. He has been a liberal among conservatives, a democrat among aristocrats, a Christian among "practical" men.

* * *

A very intelligent young man desired to be a scientist, but was needed in his father's very mundane business. His good business sense and consistent thrifty management have built one of the well-known and highly respected industries of America. His spirit of integrity and of universal interest has had varied expression. The business is operated with primary regard for the self-respect and well-being of those who make the product, for the quality of the product, and for straightforwardness and decency of merchandising methods. But an open and curious mind has ranged beyond business. A little encouragement and financial help from this man gave first impetus in this country to one of the important developments of the century in psychology. In other fields significant scientific work goes on with his assistance. This man, too, is a liberal among conservatives, a companion and supporter of pioneers

on many fronts. Without ostentation, he has lived as he has thought and felt, with courage and with the zest to ignore convention.

* * *

Many years ago I knew a woman who lived in a small town in very restricted circumstances. To provide her family with the bare necessities she took four or five young men and women students to board, furnishing room and meals for ten dollars a month. She did her own housework, cultivated the family garden, did the family washing with "boiler" and wash tub in the kitchen. In extremity she would go to the ragpickers, buy the most promising old clothes, rip them to pieces, wash them, and make clothes for her family. A frail appearing person, she had once barely recovered from tuberculosis. As the years passed, a considerable number of boarders and roomers shared her crowded and primitive little house at the edge of the town. Most of them were very poor, some bringing butter, meat, or vegetables from the farm in exchange for board.

A generation later these "boarders" are well along in their life work. Though they came as a motley crew, diverse in personality, nationality, and background, there is a common thread of likeness in their later careers. A considerable number of them are cultural and ethical leaders in their communities, transmitting character and quality and individuality. Living in that little home often resulted in marked change of character.

I have often endeavoured to define the quality in this woman which had that penetrating influence. Intelligence was ordinary, there was little charm of personality, no air of authority, no prestige of manner. But there were other qualities that somewhat overcame those limitations. There was thoroughgoing integrity. There was a clear picture of those human traits which would make a good society—good neighbourliness, dependability, tolerance, a sharing of burdens—and a simple assumption that a better social order would exist in so far as individuals exemplified those traits in themselves. With a fairly clear picture of what would be a good life, there was a quiet firmness or stubbornness in holding to personal standards, regardless of how the rest of the world might go. Though this woman thought she believed a narrow religious creed, she believed more in consistent reasonableness, and when beliefs conflicted, the creed lost out. I think the key to that personality was a fortunate appraisal of long-range values, a stubborn courage in living by them, human sympathy, and a desire to be open to whatever truth or evidence might appear.

* * *

A country pastor in the Swiss highlands outgrew the conventional bounds of his work. During a quarter of a century he has been a medium of culture among a hard-working rural people. Today, through his influence, partly by his violin,

people of a dozen villages are acquainted with the world's great music. In their thinking they have reached beyond the church authorities and get inspiration from Gandhi, Buddha, Plato, and Lao-tse. His familiar talks have made the country people world-minded and universal-minded. Their hard poverty of mountain life has been relieved by handicrafts for winter evenings, introduced by this man and his wife. There have been improvements in home building, in farming methods. Young men and women have been helped to find significant careers. His physical limitations are very marked, but he has measured his strength and lives within its limits. Sometimes he has quit work and remained quiet for considerable periods. Without an auto, and with a weak heart that prevents him from riding a bicycle on the hills, this man still walks the miles of roads about his parish—a bringer of good will and of civilization.

* * *

A young man and wife have a fairly definite philosophy, which in the living of it tends to isolate them socially and economically from "successful" people. Economic opportunities have been passed by when they did not run parallel to their well-considered scheme of living. They have built a small business of a kind that helps free them from pressure to economic or social or political conformity, rather than have a larger income as part of a conventional industrial organization.

They prefer to share the lot of the unprivileged, to whose interests they profess loyalty, and this results in a very restricted standard of expenditures. Living on the plane of a labourer's family, they expend in socially creative work much of the time and energy commonly used in maintaining social status. They have time also to raise a large family, and time for living with their children.

There is nothing spectacular about these persons. They were simply two college students who appraised their social and economic alternatives and chose to live by their own judgment of what is most worth while, rather than by the current vogue. In my opinion, the decision of these two young people represents a choice that is possible to many young college people today, but is made by few.

* * *

Here and there one comes upon hints of community or group undertakings which may be forerunners of significant developments. A young friend of mine travelled around the world searching for promising undertakings of social reconstruction. He told me that the most promising efforts he met were in Chinese villages where Chinese young men and women were endeavouring to recreate on a small scale a social economy and a way of living. I hear brief accounts of a small "Order of Friends" in England, made up of men and women who are fully committed to the

best possible habit of life. During recent years a "Bruderhof" in Germany has included a group of men, led by a former prosperous publisher, who have been trying to achieve a consistent life in accord with their best purposes. In this case a spirit of retreat has perhaps set unnecessary limits to the undertaking, and the intolerance of the Nazi regime has further complicated the programme.

From India we hear of a very small group of well-to-do and influential men who call themselves "Servants of India". They have pooled all their economic resources, live on sixty dollars a month, and give their entire time and effort to bringing a new day for their country, not primarily in political freedom, but in relief from arbitrary customs, superstitions and prejudices. These men, who are Hindoos, Mohammedans and Parsees, have no affiliations with religious movements, but maintain a high level of living. I am told that their influence on the current of Indian affairs is very considerable.

The Danish Folk School movement has not been primarily vocational, but a searching for a way of living. Its remarkable regenerating effect on Denmark is common knowledge. At the heart of the programme was a fairly definite philosophy of life. When in Portugal, I heard that a considerable number of persons were meeting in small neighbourhood groups endeavouring to work out a personal and social philosophy. I was told that they are independent of any religious or political

organization, and are simply searching informally for light. I have been acquainted with a small and largely unknown institution in America which has given birth to more than a score of self-supporting organized rural communities, each committed to the effort to refine a way of personal, social and economic living.

* * *

Is there any desirable common pattern of action suggested by these brief sketches? I might endeavour to sum up their inferences into a concise and definite philosophy and scheme of endeavour. Perhaps it is better to end with an impression of loose ends and of incompleteness, for then some reader may be impelled to work out his own inferences and to achieve his own synthesis. It is not that which is given us ready made, but what we create for ourselves, for which we have a feeling of living value. It would be my wish to provide a stimulus to creative effort, not a formula for acceptance. Thus are those persons disappointed who turn to the last paragraph of a book to find the conclusion.

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