

Lecture VI.

THE REGENERATION OF CIVILIZATION.

Two little boys were standing hand-in-hand watching a very imposing ecclesiastical procession. As choir, students, and clergy passed by the smaller boy showed signs of fear. When it came to a number of bishops arrayed in copes and mitres the nerves of the little chap began to give way completely. He was encouraged by the older boy with the remark, "Don't you be frightened, Jimmy, them's only mens dressed up".

When we look at the processions of civilizations on the stage of history we feel that beneath the imposing array of achievement and the splendour of the robes man's hands have made we have beneath it all man, the hunter, "dressed up". To say this is not to disparage man. It is an attempt to understand him. Nature made man a hunter. We need to accept that fact and work out its implications. Civilization has not radically changed man. Six thousand years of history are not going to wipe out a probable six hundred thousand years of previous history. Nor is the soul of the hunter going to be taken out of man or even greatly changed in the immediate future. If there is to be any regeneration of civilization it must, to begin with, accept man as he is, a hunter dressed up.

By "regeneration" we mean the "renewal" of civilization to a more vigorous and wholesome life. This is a well established use of the word, although it is also used in other senses. Josephus speaks of the "regeneration" of the fatherland after the exile and Philo speaks of the "regene-

ration" of the earth after the flood. It is in this sense of a renewal of the life of civilization that we use the term. It is not a case of a new beginning, but the effort to change for the better what is already in existence.

If we cannot hope to make fundamental changes in man, the hunter, can we hope to change the direction of his hunting? It would seem that our only hope of any effective "regeneration" lies in this direction, and we need to remember that the hunter has many admirable qualities. His aggressiveness and ruthlessness, which cause so much trouble when directed against his fellows, can be admirable qualities when directed against the forces of nature. They have helped man to penetrate to every corner of the world, to brave the elements, to conquer wild beasts, and bend other kinds of beasts and cattle to his will. The hunter also learned to be a comrade in the hunt and thus perfected the arts of co-operation. He shared the thrills of the hunt and the joy of success. The animal slain in the hunt did not arouse his hatred or hostility. No ugly passions arise in the heart of the hunter towards the beast or bird taken in the hunt. There is, rather, a feeling of gratitude and goodwill. Toynbee in one of his illuminating footnotes to his *Study of History* (Vol. 5, p. 231) comments on this attitude of the hunter. He says: "A hunting community is apt to look upon its game not as a hostile and hateful enemy but as a beneficial and amiable friend. The act of slaughtering the game does not seem to loom very large in the hunter's feelings and thoughts about his relation with the animals through whose death he lives; and at moments, and in situations, in which he cannot avoid recognizing the ugly truth that, for his own

selfish ends, he is depriving the animal of a life which the animal does not wish to lose, the hunter usually shows embarrassment and ruefulness. He prefers to think of the animal—or the god incarnate in the animal—as a benefactor who is voluntarily sacrificing his life for man's sake. In fact, the primitive hunter's attitude towards his game is not at all like his more sophisticated successor the warrior's attitude towards his human adversary. It is actually more like the Christian's attitude towards Christ."

We can see then that there are great possibilities in man the hunter. A poet has even seen in Christ the "Hound of Heaven". It was left to modern man to turn hunting into a sport and war into an entirely secular and scientific business of slaughter and destruction. Pre-civilized man might kill occasionally for ritual purposes, but he was generally restrained by strong tabus. Modern war would be inconceivable to him. He had not developed the sentiments that would sustain it. Fellow human being were not the objects of his hunt. This may have been because man's fellows had little property to pillage, and there was also plenty of room in the world. Like the stars in their courses, where the space is so great that there is little danger of collision, so the hunting tribes had a wide world to move in and largely stayed in the courses and hunting grounds allotted to them by custom. Whatever the reason it is clear that organized warfare belongs to civilization. It comes with the development of the State, and the accumulation of property that is an incentive to brigandage and needs protection. As superstitious or religious sanctions fall away and the existence of the State depends more and more nakedly on its power to organize violence the business of war becomes a more and

The Regeneration of Civilization.

more crude and ruthless killing of one people by another. This process reaches its climax in modern secular totalitarian war, where no one is exempt from liability to slaughter. From newborn babes to octogenarians—the bombs fall on all without discrimination. No restraint is now left on the business of war. The process can hardly develop further. It reveals what man the hunter can do when he is perverted into hunting his fellow-man.

We may reasonably speak of war as we know it as a perversion of man's nature. In the animal world dog does not usually eat dog and a species does not, as a rule, prey on its kind. The fact that man took to this way of life set him some of his major problems. On the principle that evil is often overruled for good we see war in history not wholly as an unmitigated evil. It has compelled men to form larger and larger communities. In these enlarged communities men have been compelled to live by law and learn ways of greater and greater co-operation. War has stimulated great acts of invention and achievement. It has been the occasion of supreme heroism and self-sacrifice. It has stimulated loyalty to a community and overcome selfishness. It has raised the forgotten man to significance and given occupation to the unwanted. It comes as a relief to many in the monotonous drudgery of life. "One crowded hour of glorious life is worth an age without a name", and often it is left to war to provide the opportunity for the "crowded hour". This and much more can be said about the stimulation that comes from war. It is easy to see that it was a temptation to which man the hunter would be particularly prone once the conditions arose that invited brigandage. Nevertheless the element of perversion in man's

The Regeneration of Civilization.

nature is seen in the fact that war arouses all sorts of ugly and inhuman passions in man's soul. It fills him with fears and hatreds and greatly accentuates the tragic in life. It spoils the possibility of free comradeship beyond the group and haunts man's soul with thoughts of murder and destruction. It shatters man's dreams of peace and friendship and commits him to the terrible duty of killing people like himself whose one desire is to enjoy a home, a family, and wholesome work. War is a perversion of man's hunting soul. He could have achieved by love all that he was compelled to achieve by fear. He did not move quickly enough under the inspiration of love and so was overtaken by the awful necessity of compulsion. In spite of the fact that war compels us to do many things that are wholly evil and repulsive, it also compels us to do many things that we know very well we should have done without the necessity of war's stimulation. If we will not be drawn by love we shall be driven by fear.

However, the important thing to remember is that man need not hunt his fellows. For most of his life on this earth he did not do so. But now that he has fallen into this terrible perversion we have the task of getting him into more truly natural ways of life. A hunter he will remain, but can we teach him and convince him that hunting his fellows in any shape or form can no longer be tolerated? It is along this line that the hope of regeneration lies.

We quickly become aware of the fact that man's hunting of his fellows is by no means confined to the military sphere. As a matter of fact the outbreak of war is usually the sign that the hunting in other spheres has got out of hand. The hunting spirit operates largely in the

The Regeneration of Civilization.

economic sphere. The State too often becomes an instrument by means of which class preys on class and is protected by law. There is also hunting in the political and social spheres. A perverted hunting spirit in all these spheres can bring in greed and selfishness and all that is ugly and inhuman. We see war as a major symptom of a general disease, a vast and pervading perversion in the soul of man. We are also led to reflect that perhaps the virtue of pre-civilized man was somewhat negative. He did not hunt his fellows because there was no particular profit in doing so. As soon as it became profitable, or looked as if it might be profitable, man fell quickly enough to the temptation. This may not seem an encouraging reflection, but it is no use thinking that the elimination of war is going to be an easy matter. There is no hope of doing it at all without radical changes in the structure of our human societies and a concurrent determination to think in new ways about our relations to our fellows. War is in the system of all modern nations. They make wars as inevitably as bookmakers make bets. If we do not want bookmakers to go on making bets we must set them to work making something more interesting and useful. If we do not want nations and classes to make war we must find something more interesting and useful for them to do.

It is clear that this is an extremely difficult thing to do. We have examined the nature of man's mental make-up. We have seen his instinctual energy conditioned into a group self, which in turn takes on a variety of forms or modifications. There is the family self, and the school self, the professional self and the national self, and so forth. All these are forms or modifications of the one fundamental group self. In relation to

The Regeneration of Civilization.

all these forms the individual self brings to bear its critical and rational activities, but when man acts he acts through one or other of the group forms. Even when man acts as a scientist where rational thinking is at a maximum it is a form of the group self that inspires and directs the activity. In reason there is light but no power. Even the individual self is a form of the group self which has attained to more than ordinary freedom from other forms of group control and where reason or rational thinking more chiefly but not exclusively resides. By the very nature of its interest in the individual being this form of the group self creates within itself an almost independent mental activity and institution. That is why the individual can feel free of the group, but as a matter of fact there is mostly a lot of illusion in this particular feeling of freedom. The individual self seeks to monopolize rational thinking in defence of its relative freedom from the group self. It is the tension between the two that makes man awake and alert. Both need to be strong if life is to be rich.

As we cogitate on our modern problems we begin to see that they are reflected by similar problems within the mind. It reminds us of our catechism. The outward and visible is seen as a sign and symbol of the inward and spiritual. It becomes a question of the relative importance of the various forms of the group self. We have seen civilization emerge by the assertion of the paternal form of the group self to the domination of the mind. This led to the great ancient forms of state totalitarianism. Fascism is a modern version of the same sort of thing. The middle ages showed us a reaction from this towards the deeper and more fundamental form of the group self represented in the institution of

The Regeneration of Civilization.

the Church and deriving its power from maternal influences. Modern democracies show us the domination of still another form of the group self. Professor Hancock drew our attention to this in a letter to the "A.B.C. Weekly," 6/7/1940, where he says: "Chamberlain's resignation is symbolic, and is a more important landmark than the Reform Act of 1832. It marks the passing of an age—the age of the Business Man, 1832-1940".

All these failed, and all similar would-be organisations must fail, because they create a state of unbalance both in the mind within and in society without. The mind cannot tolerate the domination of any one form of the group self. It means an attempt to send all the other forms into repression. It is a way with mind that things sent into repression find a way out. If healthy expression is not allowed they will find expression in nightmares and neurotic symptoms. Witness is born to this in society without where repression leads to discontent and rebellion. Man is not made for the domination of any one particular form of the group self. In each case the domination may be accepted for a time while ways and means are being discovered to effect change or revolution. Not even Hitler can wipe out of the race the effects of all past history. He may powerfully influence a generation, but with all his thoroughness he cannot prevent the reassertion of mental elements that it is beyond his power to destroy. The complexity of man's mind is an abiding inheritance. It makes for richness and variety in life. Any form of organisation that does not accept it as a fact and make provision for its expression is retrograde and reactionary.

The Regeneration of Civilization.

But it is one thing to accept the complexity of man's mind as a fact, it is another to know what to do about it. If we are not to exalt one form of the group self and send all the rest into repression, which is the totalitarian solution, how are we to arrange for the reasonable expression of so many of the forms and interests of the group mind? If we allow them untrammelled expression they cancel one another out and produce social and mental paralysis. For instance, if the Church is allowed to do as it likes, and the State is allowed to do as it likes, and the business man, and the soldier, and the artist, and so forth, each to do as he likes, the result will be social bedlam. It will not mean freedom for any one. The mind within and society without will be torn asunder by irreconcilable and conflicting interests.

It is clear that if there is to be a democracy without there must also be a democracy within. It is not a matter of getting one of these before the other, it is a matter of working for both at one and the same time. When we are serious about one, we shall be serious about the other. Thought and action should be two sides of one activity. We shall create internal democracy by our striving to create external democracy. Our intuition enables us to see the possibilities in advance, and our reasoning powers enable us to work out ways and means, but action alone can establish the fact. Action is as important for mental transformation as for social transformation. Both depend on action.

If therefore we accept democracy as our goal we need to see what this implies. We have seen that freedom cannot be allowed to every interest or impulse. It is a matter of defining the place of each interest in relation to the whole. When

The Regeneration of Civilization.

this is done we can expect a richly varied and yet genuinely free and united society. We seek to escape the unity of domination and to establish the unity of harmonious activity. We desire the unity of an orchestra, not the unity of an army, a creative unity, not a mechanical unity.

It is obvious that the democratic aim is far more difficult of achievement than the fascist aim. Still we can see that Fascism inevitably results in conflict, internally and externally, and while it is no doubt difficult to get the democratic choir into order, yet it promises less conflict and better music in the long run. The fact that democracy has never yet been achieved does not affect its value as a goal of endeavour. Everything so far achieved in the ordering of human society has broken down. It failed to make adequate room for progressive growth and creation. In genuine democracy there is no final form. It is a ceaseless growing into fuller and richer life.

We make provision for this growth by defining the place of each mental and social activity and then by each working harmoniously with all the others. For instance, the function of the Church is to teach by attraction and persuasion. It proclaims the supremacy of truth, righteousness, and love. The function of the State is to work out into legal forms the social justice that both Church and State proclaim. It enforces the law impartially on all and is itself bound by the law it enforces. The function of the business man is to create and distribute the material wealth of the community in the interests of all. In the same way each group has its function and functions in relation to all. In most cases the one person functions in a multitude of groups. There is complex overlapping and

The Regeneration of Civilization.

relationship which makes the community a living whole. In the State, for example, every citizen in a democracy, whatever functions he performs, takes his part in fashioning political forms and legal regulations. In his citizen capacity the democrat seeks to influence the laws made by the State which control his other forms of social activity. It is the duty of the democratic State to see that justice is secured to all groups whether they be strong or weak and it is the duty of each group to see that its case is fairly and truthfully presented. While all this is being done the State is responsible for law and order.

The fact that the power of compulsion is in the hands of the State leaves it open to grave temptation. So far democracies have not succeeded in preventing sectional classes and interests from gaining power over the State and using its machinery to forward their own particular interests. We have not yet seen a true democracy at work. Only an enlightened citizenry can rise to the democratic way of life. But even in our present immature democracies there is far more social justice and personal freedom than anywhere else in the world. It is a matter of holding what has been gained and moving forward to more efficient and satisfactory conditions.

A glance at the past will enable us to see more clearly where we stand. In days of old when the world was wide and there were relatively few people in it man could go on his way trusting to his native wit to make those chance discoveries which would help him in an hour of need. Some men have always had the ability to see quickly how to make shift with what lies to hand. These make good pioneers.

The Regeneration of Civilization.

But with the progress of civilization and the increase of population man's needs became more urgent. He set himself to find out new ways and means to serve his purpose. For instance, he wanted to make longer voyages and needed bigger and better ships. The art of navigation demanded increased attention. One thing grew out of the other. New trades arose to meet new needs, and man set himself deliberately to invent new machines to do his work and increase his wealth. The age of invention arrived that has given us our modern industrial equipment. It does not mean that no place is left for chance discovery, but man no longer depends on it to meet his needs. The age of the machine has now thrust man into a very crowded world. He sees that this business of invention in the past was haphazard and unorganized. One man invented a machine, and, as a rule, another exploited it. There was little attempt to interrelate inventions for the sake of the community as a whole. The machine served primarily the person who managed to get possession of it and only incidentally those who could buy its products. The age of the machine has led to an unholy property scramble of peoples and nations and empires, with war as the inevitable result. The highway of life has become jammed with disorderly drivers of powerful machines and it has been nobody's business to organize the traffic.

It is clear that something has to be done about this. If the highway of life is to be kept open for rational progress somebody must frame the new laws of the road and also have power to police the traffic. And this holds for the world, as well as for the several nations and empires. The machine has given the world industrial unity and cannot escape it. It is because we

The Regeneration of Civilization.

refused to face this fact in time that we now find ourselves in a supreme disaster. Hitler has made the issue clear. Either he will order the world his way or those who defeat him must accept the responsibility of ordering the world some other way. The victors in this war will have the world on their hands. They will be responsible for managing it whether they like it or not. If they fail in or shirk their duty another Hitler will arise out of the ensuing chaos and the whole issue will have to be fought out again. There is no escape from the fact that the machine has made the world an economic unity and that sufficient political and spiritual unity to order the world must be forthcoming if we are to escape a repetition of the present disaster. World unity must be recognized and organized. It is not a question of a plan or no plan, it is a question of a good plan or a bad plan. A plan there will be or a renewal of chaos. If the United Nations win the war, as they can if they maintain faith and integrity with each other, the fact that they are a group gives the democratic spirit and method a golden opportunity to enter into possession of world responsibility. The great danger is that they will shrink from it and fall back into their various isolations again. If they do, they will bring down judgment commensurate with their crime.

The world plan must needs be at first in general terms effectively regulating the armed forces of the world and those trade relations which are the intercourse of living groups. The problems of migration will also need super-national attention, as will the care of the backward races. But the more detailed work of planning will devolve upon the national States. Planning simply means the organizing of the

The Regeneration of Civilization.

whole people into the work of the nation. There must no longer be any unemployed or neglected citizens. Democratic planning means that high regard will be paid to the principles of freedom and personal initiative. These will not be restricted unless the general welfare demands it, and the whole citizenry will have a voice in saying what the general welfare is. But it is necessary to realise that if we are democratic we must act with decision and conviction as democrats. A democracy is not a conglomeration of all sorts of opinions. It is a definite faith and practice, and there are certain things it cannot tolerate because they are simply incompatible with democratic belief and action. Fascism, for instance, cannot be tolerated within the democratic system. Fascists would simply sprag the democratic wheel and cause disaster. They must be restrained until they can be converted. Democratic planning is distinguished from totalitarian planning by the fact that it recognises and provides for the variety of function and interest in the community. It acknowledges the right of each group or profession or class to contribute its influence and ideas in the working out of the plan. It insists that all must act in the spirit of democracy and use democratic methods, and the welfare of the whole body is the overruling consideration at all times.

The State is the institution on which the work of evolving and administering the plan will primarily rest. It is entrusted with the power to legislate and control. It remains important therefore that all the influences forming the minds of the citizens should be inspired by the democratic faith. It is no use thinking that we can maintain a democratic order and at the same time be careless about the training of citizens in

The Regeneration of Civilization.

democratic ways. The mind within and the social order without must, as we have seen, be two sides of one activity. If we profess democracy then we must see that all our education facilities are used to inculcate the spirit and work out the methods of democracy. Schools and universities, wireless and cinema, press, pulpit, and platform must live and move in the democratic faith as the assumption on which political and social life rests. The fact that democracy is what it is gives each and every one of these educational agencies a large world to function in, but it does set limits, limits within which the definitely anti-democratic person will be restrained, by force if necessary, but limits within which the democratic person will feel himself perfectly free.

When democracy has been thoroughly established the necessity for restraint can recede further and further into the background, but it is folly to think that democracy can be established and take firm root on the basis of vague and pious aspiration. Democracy is fighting for its life today. Vagueness and indefiniteness are no fighting faith. Men who are asked to die are justified in asking just what are they dying for. Democracy must work out its answer in word and deed. It may not be reducible to a slogan, but it can be felt and known to be a living faith and a rational faith in the schools, colleges, and other educational agencies in the land.

In the education for democracy, that is to be fashioned into our institutions for training citizens, there will be a new emphasis on comradeship and social responsibility. Truth and integrity will be worked into the fibre of the young mind. In a democracy business will not need sharp or deceitful dealing, the day of cunning will

The Regeneration of Civilization.

be over. It will be possible to be honest and earn a living. That has not always been the case in the past, in the sub-democratic age we are leaving behind. We shall learn that to be a democrat is to be a whole person, trained to serve one's fellows, and to find perfect freedom in that service. We know that we ourselves will be both partners and sharers in a community of service, and this confidence will remove the fear of want and the dread torment of insecurity and unemployment. If we are thus given a reasonable sense of security there will be no need for an unholy scramble for the accumulation of large stocks of private wealth. The wealth of the community will be our security and our service in the community our real form of insurance.

It is clear that democratic education will take a new interest in each individual child. It is the very opposite of mass education. It is concerned to see that each child is trained for a full, free life and effective citizenship. Health will be a first and basic consideration. From birth, and even before birth, the health of the child will be a social concern. The medical profession will no longer be primarily concerned in making sick people well, but will be responsible for preventing anyone getting ill. The present practice is stupid and undemocratic. Regular medical, dental, optical, and mental examinations could not only reduce the work of hospitals and infirmaries, but also that of the police. Such examinations would enable citizens to be placed in the work where they would serve most happily and efficiently. The present haphazard methods of employment belong to a crudely ignorant and unorganised age. A beginning has been made in the right direction, and, as a matter of fact, the regeneration of civilization will consist largely in taking

The Regeneration of Civilization.

all the most promising and useful activities that have appeared in recent years and making them generally available to the whole community. We must begin with the infant. Nursery schools are as important as high schools, and primary schools are as important as universities. Education should begin at birth and never end. This means that training must be intimately related to life and work. Work must become recognised as part of a citizen's training for living. We can now produce more than enough for all the world's needs when once we learn to produce for the world's welfare. There will be no need for high pressure methods of production. There should be less and less need for the present stress on mass production. Neither is there any reason why man should be condemned to live in ugly industrial cities, towns, or suburbs. Man can produce all the world needs and at the same time live in country and coastal cities each large enough to carry all the facilities and amenities of modern civilization, and yet not so large as to make life impersonal and uprooted from mother earth. Each city should aim at a rich variety of life. Each should carry a university and all cultural facilities. Each should be encouraged in civic consciousness. A friendly rivalry with neighbouring cities could stimulate excellence in artistic, cultural, sporting, and industrial activities. In this way man the hunter could find alternatives to hunting his fellows without wholly renouncing the impulse to competition.

Assuming the victory of the United Nations, it will be their responsibility to provide a democratic structure for the growth of a world community. In practice this means that the representatives of the governments of the nations,

The Regeneration of Civilization.

especially those of Britain, America, Soviet Russia, and China, shall begin as soon as possible to lay the foundations of an international law that will apply to all, victors and vanquished alike, and will be enforced, to begin with, by the power of the United Nations. There must never again be any pretence of handing power over to a facade like the League of Nations. That would once again be made a device whereby nations jealous of their national sovereignty will seek to evade responsibility. Power cannot be transferred in this way, and responsibility must rest where the power is. The responsibility for world order will rest primarily on the shoulders of Britain, America, Russia, and China. The citizens of these great powers should see that their governments do not falter. When the structure of a world democracy has been sketched out other powers can be admitted into the law-making partnership. The conditions of partnership must be that the essentials of democracy are accepted as the way of life and that all law-making will proceed on that assumption. The Russian and Chinese people are aiming at real democracy and are making rapid strides in that direction. So also are the British and the Americans. None has yet arrived, but in partnership their progress can be maintained and accelerated, and in victory they can carry the world with them if their faith does not fail. There are enormous obstacles in the way, but there will also be great power available for use in the right direction.

The forces of obstruction in the international sphere will arise from the same sources as the forces of opposition to democratic planning within the national sphere. The reactionaries will stand guard over ancient privileges and interests. Folk who have long enjoyed a mono-

The Regeneration of Civilization.

poly of governmental offices will not welcome democratic advance, and classes that have traditionally wielded political and social power will resent the possible intrusion of others into their exclusive domains. Even more important than these are the deeply entrenched industrial and financial groups that have held economic control in large and vital areas of the world's life. These have been taught to fight for their interests with skill and tenacity. They have exercised enormous power in the British and American democracies and there is no sign at all that they have any intention of resigning their power or of using it other than in their own interests. They are states within the State, governments within the recognised national governments, closer to the people whom they control than any other governments, alert and quickly off the mark to seize the main chance in every changing situation. As a class these people are not likely to welcome democratic planning. It means the subordination of their interests to the interests of the whole community and the essential democratic control of their activities. This they will resist. It is hardly in human nature, that is, in man the hunter, to hand over such sovereignty without a struggle. They will still desire a free hand in the markets of the world. If a new Hitler arises they will once again sell him munitions of war. They will do this even if their own children are blasted to pieces by the guns they sell. It is a strange business, but the immediate market and the immediate profit are irresistible to the full-blooded traditional man of business. On the way to hell they would drive a deal with the devil on the sale of coal. Such is the strength of the business man's creed. He has done many good things in his day, and the evil he has done will

The Regeneration of Civilization.

be readily forgiven if he is constrained to serve the common good in the days to come.

In the rearguard action which he is likely to fight the man of big business will seek allies to resist the new democratic way of life. He will probably find a powerful ally in reactionary religion. Big business will see the propaganda power in conservative religion. It will be able to provide finance and pose as the benefactor of pious causes. This will make a very powerful combination and may well be strong enough to frustrate the work of democratic planning. If it does it will either provoke a violent revolution or bring about a further stage of the international struggle. The civil struggle is the more probable because as this war moves into Europe it will become more and more a revolutionary struggle than it appears to-day. It is, in fact, a revolutionary war, but at the moment the revolutionary aspect is confused by the international factors. Fascism seeks a reactionary solution of the world's problems in the age-old aspiration of universal domination. Hitler is serving this aim with Teutonic thoroughness. It should be the last demonstration that man needs in being educated out of seeking a solution in this direction. There could hardly be a more convincing demonstration of what universal domination by a single power means. Humanity will not need further lessons on this subject if democracy can really get under way and keep moving rapidly in the right direction. It is a race between the freedom that democratic planning can secure and preserve and the subjection that Fascism demands. There is nothing new about Fascism. Every tyrant in history has demonstrated it in the bodies and minds of his slaves. There is always something new emerging in

The Regeneration of Civilization.

democracy because it represents man as a creature in the process of growth. To move in the right direction is the real quest of democracy. It is this movement aspect that frightens conservative and reactionary religion and will probably make it an ally of the selfish interests of big business.

One of the themes on which reactionary religion is likely to dwell with great emphasis is the supposed atheistic influence of Soviet Russia. In some cases this will represent honest fear. In others it will be the result of national prejudice and class hatred. Whatever the reason the more patiently and truthfully information about Russia can be spread abroad the better. It would be foolish to pretend that the Church in Russia did not suffer terribly in the revolution. But it also is necessary to remember the intimate relation between Church and State in Russia to realise that no overthrow of the Czarist regime could leave the Church untouched. A revolution is a tragic business and we should be careful never to allow conditions to arise that would provoke another, but the important thing is not what has happened in Russia in the past, but what is happening now, and what is likely to happen in the future. As Mr. Churchill has wisely remarked: "If we stop to hold inquests on the past, we shall lose the future". Competent observers have noted the compatibility of the political, economic and social sides of the Soviet system with the ideals of Christian brotherhood. There are large elements of Christian inspiration in what the Soviet has set out to do. There is no reason why the Christian leaven that is undoubtedly present in Russian life should not leaven the whole lump, as our hope is that it will do also in our own society in due time. Here it

The Regeneration of Civilization.

is probably right that I should quote some authorities for the above position. Toynbee in his *Study of History*, Vol. V, p. 586, after pointing out that the Communist party in Russia had been militantly anti-Christian, goes on to say: "And, when we ask how this has come to be when socialism and philanthropy loom as large as they do in the Christian tradition, the answer is, of course, that the Christianity against which the Communists have declared war is neither the first-century Christianity of Jerusalem nor the fourth-century Christianity of the Roman Empire, but the nineteenth-century and twentieth-century Christianity of the Western world and Russia. It is our modern Western and modern Russian practice of Christianity that has given this occasion for an enemy to blaspheme; and a practice that has aroused a hatred and contempt which are plainly as sincere as they are vehement must have fallen far indeed below the Christian practice of the first four centuries." Toynbee, who elsewhere in the same volume, p. 178, points out that "such of the dynamic element in Marxism as cannot be traced to Christianity can be traced to Judaism", sees in the Communist attitude to Christianity not a thing to be ignored or berated, but "a challenge to the living generation of Christians to examine their consciences and to throw themselves, once more, into an essential Christian activity which they have neglected, or even abandoned in modern times". This surely is the right response to any militant anti-Christian propaganda that may survive in Russia. There is reason to believe that atheism even before the war was losing power in the Soviet Union and that the process continues. We may safely leave the Russian Christians to look to this matter and turn to a more recent witness. In his very

The Regeneration of Civilization.

interesting book, *Mission to Moscow*, the U.S. Ambassador, Joseph E. Davies, points out that, "If Marx, Lenin, or Stalin had been firmly grounded in the Christian faith, either Catholic or Protestant, and if by reason of that fact this communistic experiment in Russia had been projected on that basis, it would probably be declared to be one of the greatest efforts of Christian altruism in history to translate the ideals of brotherhood and charity, as preached in the Gospel of Christ, into a government by men. The point is that the Christian religion could be imposed upon the communistic principles without doing violence to its economic and political purposes, the primary one of which is based upon the 'brotherhood of man'". Ambassador Davies contends that Nazism is "utterly antithetical" to Christianity and that therein lies the difference between Communism and Nazism. Communism is compatible and even akin in spirit to Christianity, while Nazism is "utterly antithetical", pp. 376/7. There is a parable in the Gospel of St. Matthew about a man who had two sons, and he said to one, "Son, go and work in the vineyard to-day", and the son replied, "I go, Sir", but he went not. Then the father asked the same of the other son, and he replied, "I will not go", but later on he changed his mind and went. The question is then raised, "Who did the will of the father"? It is clear that God and history will judge both Christendom and Russia not on their professions but on their actions and this reflection is enough to bring humility to us all. There is reason to believe that Soviet Russia is going to be one of the most significant spots on the earth's surface for a long time to come. The spirit of man is reaching out for fullness of life and is doing it in Russia with remarkable energy

The Regeneration of Civilization.

and ability. A warm-hearted and sympathetic appreciation and understanding, leading to comradeship and co-operation, would seem to be the right and the Christian attitude towards this brave and enduring people.

It remains to consider more particularly the place of religion and the Church in the regeneration of civilization. Although the Church is the institution that is fashioned by the spirit of religion it does not follow that the two are completely identifiable. The spirit of religion can and does seek new forms of expression and every prophetic outburst is an attempt to find new wine skins for the living spirit of man that has found the old skins dry and intractable. As a rule the result is that the new creation, after the prophetic impulse dies down, makes its compromises with the old and a modified version of the original institution goes on its way. It is as impossible to found a completely new Church as it is to found a completely new State, and it would seem to be equally unnecessary. We cannot break with the past. That does not mean that we cannot take a hand in creating the future, but we can only do so by respecting the past that has made us, even when it has made us rebels. If we see the Church as the nursery of civilization we no longer seek a date for its foundation or become concerned about its continued existence. It will continue to exist as the State will continue into the indefinable future. The important practical question is not the existence or the nature, but the continuous refashioning of them to meet the challenges that are flooding in upon us. Their forms are man-made and may be reformed by man as he wills, but man has no power to scrap either the one or the other. The most violent revolution in either Church or State can have no other effect

The Regeneration of Civilization.

than modify what already exists. Both Church and State can be thought of as, and can be, ministries or powers of God, but this does not absolve man from the responsibility of sensing just when Church or State is serving God and when the one or the other is frustrating God's will and calling down judgment. Both Church and State can do good or do evil, serve truth or falsehoods. Both have been guilty of unspeakable crimes and both have achieved great things. In every age both Church and State are under the judgment of the spirit of truth, righteousness and love. No piety avails unless these are served and neither Church nor State can rightly presume on any exalted origin or privileged history. The one and only judgment that matters or is really relevant is whether the will of God is served, and only the sensitive spirit of man, imbued by the love of God and man, and actively serving truth and righteousness, can feel its way to decision. We may seek all possible guidance from the past, but the past has no final authority. The present truth of God alone is final if we could know it, but any claim to infallibility on the part of a man or an institution is simply arrogance. We are set here to live by faith and we can live vigorously and joyously by faith if we give ourselves to life as a gift from a reliable and loving God. We become pilgrims on a voyage of discovery with much more to be known than has ever yet been revealed. As we can bear it and accept it the truth will come. Our part is to seek it in love and humility. That surely is the way of life that comes to us from the Gospel and that surely is the way of life that the race of men needs to learn to-day.

This position has wide implications. It makes the Church a larger thing than Christen-

The Regeneration of Civilization.

dom. It sees Christendom as one form taken by the Church, but it sees Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and the rest, somewhat as denominations within or fragments of the Church. This does not make all of equal value, it really says nothing at all about the value of any of them, but it does imply that there are points of contact and affinity that should be sympathetically explored with a view to possible understanding and co-operation. We cannot follow up this matter here, but it is very important. If the world is being compelled to seek political and economic organisation on a universal scale there must be an inward and spiritual appreciation, understanding, and acceptance of this larger loyalty.

If we hold, as I feel we may, that Christendom has within its keeping some of the fullest truths and deepest insights that have come to man then from within Christendom must come the most fruitful leadership in the days ahead. That leadership must have a world view and a world interest. It cannot wait till the various Christian denominations find a way to institutional unity. That unity is important, but not so important as enlightened and kindred spirits, who sense the world's need, feeling their way to unity of action irrespective of traditional denominational loyalties. These old loyalties can remain very precious personal possessions like a love of home, but they will fail to attain to Christian standards if they remain sectional and uncharitable. As far as the traditional denominations are concerned it should become clear that the really important thing is to convert them to the Christian faith. Catholicism and Protestantism in any of their various forms are not necessarily Christian in spirit and action. They are human institutions seeking ever and ever failing to

The Regeneration of Civilization.

embody the spirit of the Christ. They no doubt embody more of that spirit than any other institutions, but that does not give them the right to arrogate to themselves the full possession of the Christ and the whole mystery of God. God is greater than any or all institutions and cannot be contained in any or all, but at the same time the flickering glimpses of knowledge that we have are chiefly contained for us in the Churches' treasury. There is the great classical religious literature, particularly the Bible, but much besides. There is the traditional worship of the Church, with its music, its art, its architecture, its ritual, and its ripe wisdom. There is the sympathy and charity of the Church at its best, its power to bring comfort to distressed souls, to give hope to the dispirited, and new courage to the broken in heart. These are services that will be greatly needed in the days to come as they are needed at this present moment, and in rendering them the Church through its priests will render an inestimable service. But this, precious as it is, is not enough. The Church can do many of these things and still be an obstruction in the path of man's very painful progress towards better things. The Church, if it is to play a Christian part, which is a prophetic part in the world to-day, must become a light to lighten the way along which man is now destined to tread. The Christian spirit must become the inspiration of political and economic and social organisation. It must give new life and meaning to culture and art. It must share with the State in the work of education in all its forms. Above all it must be the ever restless watchdog of man's essential freedom, that is, it must insist that man be recognised as a spiritual and personal being

The Regeneration of Civilization.

of unique character and worth. This concern for the individual must be balanced by a strong community sense, a sense of the oneness of the human race, and particularly of the close kinship of those who find in the Christ the captain of their souls.

The future is full of work to do. Christians with faith and vision can renew the life of the Churches, called by the Christian name, and through them give new life to the world. They can be the spiritual channels through which the grace of God flows afresh into human life. Their sensitiveness can be the growing points of life on this planet, the fresh young shoots that burst forth to meet the sunshine of a new day. Either Christians will do this or the world will fall into a terrible depression of spirits, a disastrous failure of nerves. There is sure to be grave disillusionment after this war. A battered and tortured world will look around in bewilderment on the bodies it has mangled in its insane convulsion. The high issues which are at stake in the war will be hard to grasp and will seem to have turned to dust and ashes. The self-seekers and the cynical will emerge to lay hold of what they can get. The noble sentiments that the war inspired will be like the faded flowers of a banquet that is over. There was excitement while it lasted, but it was cruel and tragic excitement and the dawn of the new day will find people flat and numb. They will awake as from a nightmare. They will be unsure of themselves and feel that the whole bad business might engulf them again because they will see no effective and secure control in human affairs. Leaders will have a well-nigh impossible task. They will be tired men in a tired world.

The Regeneration of Civilization.

This is the situation for which Christians should prepare. All men of goodwill and alertness of mind should be called in as allies. The Christian claims that sources of strength and inspiration are available beyond those that obviously belong to man. He feels himself akin to the whole of God's creation and in relation to the living spirit of the Creator. He may speak of this undying source of power as the grace of God. It enables man to endure in dark days and hard times. It sustains hope and makes love joyous. In the days ahead the Christian and those who will stand with him will need all these resources because the tasks will be extraordinarily difficult and complex. Spiritual and personal endurance of a high order will be needed to give the rest of men hope. Life can only be ministered by living men. Others can catch the flame of hope and faith only from those in whom it is already ablaze. All the best laid schemes of men for democratic planning and everything else, of an organizational kind, will fall flat and fail to function if men of living faith are not available to give life to the body. If the Churches can provide these they will serve and save man in a supreme crisis.

And man is worth it all. Man is worth saving. Hunter though he is, he is a very lovable hunter. He may not yet be very much grown up, but he is full of promise to those who love him. The God who created him seems to see the Christlike possibilities in every man. Man seems hungry in a strange way for a Christlike perfection. Even when he is sinning greatly the child within him can usually be uncovered, and it is a child that once was a child of promise and can be made so again. As things are very few, if any, men ever grow up. They remain child-

The Regeneration of Civilization.

ren masquerading as men. They have grown men's bodies and put on men's clothes, but in their hearts, in their emotions, they remain children. The hunter belongs to the childhood of the race and we have not noticeably left that stage in man's growth yet. As a matter of fact motherhood seems to mature some women and give them a poise and confidence that does seem real, but in man the pretensions to maturity are bluff and blarney. He is only a child, and, in spite of his wickedness, a child of infinite promise. Man at his best is childlike, at less than his best he is childish. Man's childishness is the real reason for his appalling follies and stupidities. A child can be cruel beyond words and wholly self-regarding, but just because he is a child we feel that education can lead him out of this condition. Man's hope is in his immaturity, his primitiveness, in the fact that he is a child. He can be educated to better things. He has not yet finally arrived anywhere. In the work of education in the largest sense of the word lies then the hope of the Regeneration of Civilization. Man must be led along the way to the fullness of the stature of the perfect man by every educational device imaginable. The whole of life, one's work, one's play, one's worship, must be an integrated educational process helping man to overcome his childishness, so that in childlike charm he may grow up to responsible citizenship in a world-wide community.

This will mean a continuous enlarging of his loyalty, and an increasing increase in the area of his rationality. Intuition will become ever more sure and knowledge more and more comprehensive. Instinct and reason will learn to walk hand in hand in the service of the ever restless urge of life. We saw love at the begin-

The Regeneration of Civilization.

ning of the making of man's life. Love is also the conclusion of the story. It is still a warm feeling of contact with real things, but now at the end of the educational process the mother has become the symbol of all the givers of life. The mother is no less real as a living individual person, but the love which began in relation to her now embraces ever-widening circles of friends and interests and still more possible friends and interests. Love sets no limits. The more it is exercised the more comprehensive and disinterested it becomes. It rises to the love of God, and in God the whole human fellowship takes the familiar shape of the family form. Father and Mother now are seen as sacramental givers of life. The life through them flows out from God, the Author of all. And God is Love. The conclusion of the matter therefore is, "Beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God, and everyone who loveth has been born of God and knoweth God."