

SOME FACTORS IN THE MAKING OF THE COMPLETE CITIZEN¹

At such a time as the present, when society is being shaken in world-wide upheaval and everything seems to be in process of change, it may appear almost too venturesome to assume that there are permanent principles for the education of the citizen. But perhaps now, more than in periods of stability, it is incumbent on those who have not yielded to the panic that society is beyond recovery, believing that a good purpose is being wrought out in the history of mankind, to clarify and enunciate, as far as may be, a few of the essentials for a permanent and happy human order, which we believe have been proved by experience to be necessary for high civilization.

I

TRADITION

THE meaning of education depends upon its supreme end. By derivation the word signifies the process of breeding or training. For what are human beings to be bred? Artisans are bred to become expert at their trade; artists to paint or etch; scientists to discover the secrets of the natural world; those who follow the usual professions to serve their aims: and, alas, a multitude of men and women have no breeding at all; of slipshod ways they live from

¹A course of four lectures delivered on the Sharp Foundation of the Rice Institute, March 21, 22, 23, and 24, 1933, by Sir Robert Falconer, K.C.M.G., formerly President of the University of Toronto.

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hand to mouth. But in addition, the artisan, artist, scientist, professional person, or one in any calling has other duties to fulfill as a citizen; therefore he is to be bred as a member of his community. But even here is the supreme end of education attained? Surely not, for the man himself is greater than his calling, or his citizenship, or both combined. Education must breed men. There are moral qualities which are essential for the person who is to walk worthily of his vocation and to be a good citizen.

The purpose of these lectures is not to consider all the factors that go to make a citizen, but to select a few essential principles that enter into the making of the man who will fulfill in the completest manner his function as a member of the community. We shall treat of qualities that are inherent in his culture. The word is not quite a safe one. It may seem to betoken exclusiveness, a preciousness of mind and spirit parallel to what "good form" is in society; an exotic plant the hues and fragrance of which are enjoyed only in well tempered conservatories. An individual quality culture must indeed always have, but to be genuine it must be a much more robust bloom than that of a hothouse plant for the select few. True culture is like the flowering of plants that can stand ordinary climatic conditions around the dwellings of average educated people; often indeed just wild-flowers developed by skill into richer and more prolific garden varieties.

The culture of a nation should be the expression of its soul. In its totality it is more than the sum of the cultures of its individual members; men in the mass take on something that is not found in the units. So the culture of a nation or an age, while dependent upon the culture of individuals, and even upon the intenser culture of the relatively few in groups, is an atmosphere that rises out of but also envelops

individuals through their fellowship as members of society.

The culture of the individual is derived. We say, for example, that a person is a "Victorian" or a "Southerner"; and we mean that his bearing, his manners, his outlook are like those which were prevalent in the Victorian era, or in the Southern States; not fully reproduced, of course, in any one person, but frequently and at critical periods breaking through the individual shell; suggestive catches, as it were, of the dominant tones of his contemporaries.

From this it is evident that culture is not just another word for civilization. The dictionary, indeed, defines a "civilized" person in contrast to a "barbarian" as "refined or enlightened"; but if we only had some way of indicating by outward and visible sign the inward grace of refinement and enlightenment, so that all men could detect it, we should often be saved shocking disclosures. It is said in the *Life of Lord Cromer*¹ that he "entertained kindly feelings" for one of the Khedives of Egypt, Twefik Pasha, who "in comparison with his infamous predecessor was a satisfactory ruler; neither a murderer, a spendthrift nor a thief—negative qualities which, judged by the moral standards of the society in which he lived, might be said to rise to the level of positive virtues." This Khedive could hardly be called "enlightened" or "refined"; but Cromer would not have banished him from the pale of civilization as a sheer barbarian. Nor do you need to search our cities with a lamp to discover men and women whom you would at great risk call uncivilized, but who would at once prove to you by utterance and behavior that they were neither refined nor enlightened. The education of an individual is not to be estimated in terms of the house in which he lives, the motor he drives, nor even of the rare pictures that hang upon his

¹ By the Marquess of Zetland, 133.

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walls, or the music to which he listens. Education is an inner characteristic partly derived from reaction to environment, but never constituted solely by external conditions. Mere "good form" passively absorbed is like a surface stain which does not reach the texture of thought and judgment. Culture is the soul of civilization: it is the spiritual reaction to environment; indeed it constantly creates a new environment for itself, refashioning tradition into a more ample abode for its day of life. Civilization, however, is not simply external environment. In a civilized society there are embodied ideas of authority and freedom; and part of the function of civilized nations is to promote the maintenance of good order and security, which make possible the fullest culture of the individual and of society by ensuring for it the most favorable outward conditions.

The individual is a member of the spiritual family of his own land and age. He inherits its cultural traditions, but in inheriting he must as an educated person appropriate them, make them really his own, and in that process remind them with the stamp of his own personality, and thereby make the only real contribution which it is in his power to make to the culture and civilization of his own time. Thus in using the word culture I am not thinking of refinement of manners as the badge worn by a distinguished but select order: I intend by it the quality of the spiritually developed manhood of any day or country, in fact, education in its widest sense. It has the note of comprehensiveness, expansiveness, liberality. Culture is the mark of a "liberally" educated person, because he must give generously of what he has, must be willing to share with all who can and will take what he has to offer. Culture in its essence is constituted by such universal qualities that it is a veritable gospel. Like the Spirit of Wisdom of old, liberal Culture also cries

aloud even in the market-places: "Ho, everyone that thirsteth, Come ye to the waters." Moreover, just as the Good News in Galilee was to be received by the active response of the inner man, or by faith, so liberal Culture is to be accepted by an active response that involves the effort to understand it and the volition to work it into the fibre of one's being.

Culture cannot be fully embodied in the recluse; the genuinely educated man finds himself in the community; he becomes of necessity a citizen. Some of the chief factors that have gone to his making are Tradition, the exercise of Enquiry or Freedom, the pursuit of the Beautiful, and the faith and practice that are involved in Religion. Into national cultures all these ingredients have entered, though in varying proportions; but those cultures are likely to prevail in which they are best balanced. In the individual, also, in whom these principles are harmoniously effective the highest quality of citizenship is manifest.

We shall consider first Tradition, or the element of Continuity. Every age, like every individual, has an inheritance of ideas, sentiments, tendencies, which make up the capital stock for its life's adventure. These are the background of continuity. Entering into life with this possession we do not come as strangers; nor when we depart do we leave a desolate wilderness. Our years are fleeting, but culture has a long life. Were it not that we feel ourselves to belong to a human family which persists we might think that all is delusion; that our life on earth is the shadow of a dream. But ties invisible though real, mystical yet compelling, bind us together. We inherit and we transmit. We have confidence in our day when we think of those from whom we have come; we in our turn work until the night falls, because in our descendants our good works follow on when we are no more.

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This is the secret strength of the family, the clan, the nation. How powerful it is we have seen in our own time with awful reality, when our finest youth gave up their life at the call of the nation, which to them had no visible reality beyond their home with its tradition and the environment of school, village, or city.

The potency of the Family is universal, and it will, in spite of recent attempts to dissolve it, remain dominant. But it is stronger in older countries than in new. Where families have been established for centuries we get an aristocracy with supreme confidence. The very fact of the survival of a family through generations induces the belief that it must be of superior quality, that its traditions are of such value that the possession of them carries a sort of divine right to rule those of "lesser breed." This is an undesirable concomitant of a good human characteristic, but now it is being fast got rid of as education becomes more widespread.

Our new world also can show both the good and the bad side of family pride. It is not altogether snobbery. It is an impressive homage to progenitors whom in our loyalty we believe to have been worthy, whose traditions of things well done are a stimulus to us, and whose virtues we hope to help to perpetuate. Pedigree-hunting is ridiculous, because traditions that are really transmitted soon make themselves felt; character is its own seal to genuine descent.

Not the least interesting phase of the history of this continent is the reassertion of tradition on the disappearance of the pioneer. The pioneer is eager to get away from civilization and to start afresh. Conventions and conservative ways he will have none of. He tries to shake off the hand of the past from him. His face is towards the future. Intent on his own surroundings, the pioneer establishes such modes of action as will meet his urgent needs. The vigor of the fron-

tier is more evident than its reflectiveness. For a time self-confidence may be a substitute for the handicap of ignorance about the civilization of the older world; indeed, in the pioneer's first stage it might have been folly to be wise. But the continued rejection of the sifted experience of civilization results in waste or distorted values, for even from the rubbish-heaps of the past a great deal of gold has been and may be separated out, and the pioneer will suffer from an inflated currency if he remains too long off the gold standard of the world's cultural commerce. The old is not so effete as the pioneer thinks it is. Valuable though his forthrightness and originality are, they cannot take the place of inherited culture. But if these supplement one another, thought guiding energy and fresh insight quickening wearied reflection, there will be a beneficial interchange of virtues.

Strange though it may appear at first sight, but not so strange on fuller consideration, the pioneer is as a rule a traditionalist in matters of conduct and in outlook on life. His fundamental morals continue to be those which he brought from his old home. In his new surroundings he has not had the necessary freedom from the material pressure for a living, nor been in the mood, to pursue sustained reflection. But in some respects he is better off than the new rich of the cities. "Main Street" on the frontier may be sincerer than suburban "Babbittdom." America has devised and created with almost unparalleled ingenuity the externals of life which make it possible for the average person to live in a degree of physical comfort that has probably never been equalled; and in elections there is no commoner cry than that the standard of living must not be lowered: a perfectly legitimate slogan if there were danger that conditions would be reduced until civilized humanity would be compelled to wear threadbare garments, live in

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hovels, and eke out a mere subsistence. Should it come to that, culture would vanish. Hitherto, however, we have been more successful in surpassing the rest of the world on the economic scale than in equalling it on the cultural scale. We have been, until the present depression, apparently so well to do that visitors from older lands expect to find in us more cultivation of the inner man than they actually do discover. There is less transmitted refinement of manners, less appreciation of what traditional education creates, a smaller number of interesting people than among those who occupy the same grade of dwellings in Europe. But this is only more obvious here than there because we have proportionally more new rich than they. It is so much harder to furnish the mind, to purge and purify the emotions, that the new rich have done the easier thing; they have by the use of money made it easeful for their bodies; and the mind may be threadbare though the body is well dressed, while dull commonplace may reign in drawing-rooms of walnut and mahogany. Such people are as a rule emotional and are swayed by conventional appeals; they are as much under the domination of uncriticized concepts of conduct as the pioneer on the vanishing frontier, if indeed not more so.

This New World as a whole is conscious, almost painfully conscious, of its need of tradition. *Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret et mala perrumpat furtim fastidia victrix*: "Even if you thrust out natural proclivity with a fork, it will be sure to return and without your knowing it a perverse daintiness will triumphantly assert itself." Though this was meant by Horace for the hold that country life had on the city dweller, the aphorism expresses the universal fact, that ingrained disposition will in time break through any veneer. However roughly the pioneer may try to extrude tradition, the next generation will bring it

back. We are aware that we are late comers, if Anglo-Saxons quite late comers, to this hemisphere. Ours is no aboriginal culture or civilization; it was brought by our fathers from Europe, and has been constantly reinforced by new streams from the same sources almost contemporaneously with the rise of their levels in the older lands.

Our respect for tradition is shown on this continent by the widespread desire to secure for the education of the people at large memorials of the life, literature, and art of the civilization not only of Europe but also of the far past. Libraries get lavish and intelligent support. They are storehouses in which both the records of the past of all peoples and the published results of present endeavor are treasured, and their use is made available by such ingenious methods that the library has become a valuable means of education for all classes and ages. The pace has been set for this nation by the Congressional Library at Washington, which is unsurpassed in the service it renders by its bibliography, card-catalogue, and distribution of books to readers and libraries all over the continent. Also the Museum movement is particularly strong in the United States. In no country do the great cities spend so much upon them, nor is there anywhere more intelligent support given them, nor better arrangement for fitting them to serve their purposes in the higher education of the public. Picture and sculpture galleries cannot, in the nature of the case, be so representative as the old galleries of Europe of past tradition, because the examples of European and Oriental art are limited, but they possess, nevertheless, an abundance sufficient to illustrate richly humanity's inheritance of art; though it can only be studied in its completeness by those who are able to visit its home centers throughout the world.

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No nation surpasses the United States in the scale on which its institutions have equipped expeditions to excavate old sites of buried civilizations in Asia, Africa, Europe, as well as in the Americas. Probably by no university of the world have the Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations been investigated with such resources as by the University of Chicago. All this expenditure of money and intelligent effort is striking proof that in our New World the force of tradition and belief in its present value are widespread. No civilized people can live to itself. Even oriental nations have absorbed much from the West, not always to their advantage; and western nations have drawn largely on the culture of the East. But both these sections of the world have their own traditions and principles of culture which are "classical" for them. By "classical" is meant that they belong to the highest class in their several branches, whether literature, painting, sculpture, or other forms of art; and as such they form the standards of excellence for taste. These standards are of the essence of and give vitality to tradition. Our western culture as distinguished from the oriental has taken its ideals to a large extent from the classical tradition which derives from ancient Greece and Rome. There are indeed in our national cultures many original products in literature and art which are of such excellence as to deserve to be called classical, but they owe a great deal to the earlier classics, and in so far as they are the product of recent nationality they are less universally accepted than those of Greece and Rome. In those classics there is no mere agglomeration of material handed down indiscriminately because it happened to come from that world; they have been transmitted not by chance but because the ages would not let them go; they are the gold which has been left in the sieve after many crushings and

washings. How much has been lost we can only guess at by what we have, often in part or mutilated, a fragment or shattered column placed in some rare setting, or a few lines; but we have enough to enable us to understand fully the classical ideals. We know what they were in government, morals, and religion; we know the languages in which they were fittingly expressed; we know the art and architecture which adorned the daily life of the cities. And modern culture is no less tenacious than it was in its youth of these traditions. Latin and Greek are the classical languages *par excellence* in this respect also, that they have entered into and have given form to so many modern ones; Latin especially underlying Italian, French, and other Romance languages.

But the factor of tradition in our culture, the conservative element that relies for stability on transmitted ideals, has come to us most powerfully through Rome. In fact, to quote Mr. J. W. Mackail: "Nothing in the world stands, it has been said, that does not come from Rome . . . from the race who organized and established civilization."¹ Though everyone is familiar with the fact that the Romans were great administrators, and that they gave to the world a system of Law that has left a permanent mark upon modern civilization, few understand how profound that impress has been, how our conceptions of ordered liberty and freedom, our ideals of universal justice and peace, are based fundamentally on the Roman tradition that reigned in Europe for more than a millennium after the beginning of the Christian era. "A jurisprudence incomparably superior to that of the Greeks," the Roman law has developed into modern International Law, the supreme value of which for civilization is now being tested as never before. But

¹ *Legacy of Rome*, 350.

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"Roman Law, so far at least as it enshrines a legacy of culture, is rather an expression of Roman character—a deposit of Roman common sense working through the centuries on problems as they successively arose—than the creation of any outstanding men of genius."¹

Qualities that entered into the Roman tradition were *humanitas*, *gravitas*, *pietas*. In the Scottish universities the chair of Latin is called "Humanity," the meaning of which it is somewhat difficult to define precisely, though the word is intended to imply that the studies conducted in that classroom have some cultural effect in producing a better understanding of human nature. But in Geneva, from which the famous Andrew Melville came to Scotland in 1574, the chair of Humanity included Greek as well as Latin. According to the *Diary* of James Melville, his nephew, "they having need of a professor of Humanity in the College, put him within two or three days to trial in Virgil and Homer."² In those days the "humanist" was relatively a far more important person than he is today. Of *gravitas* we see the expression in the dignity and justice of those who imposed law on the Empire and ensued peace for all the inhabited world; and of *pietas* in the loyalty to things sacred, in genuine reverence as a constitutive virtue in the Roman family. The idea that Rome was the "eternal city" had taken such deep root in the mind of the civilized world, that when it fell at the beginning of the fifth century panic seized upon the hearts of men: "The ancient majesty of the imperial city had been violated, and the magic of that great name was vanishing among agonies of regret."³ Henceforth the world became Romeless in the sense that no longer was Rome ecumenical, nor has there been since then

¹ *Ibid.*, 209.

² Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh* I, 78n.

³ Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, 72.

any such visible center around which the world has gathered. But the fascination of Roman tradition has revived again. Having slumbered for centuries it roused itself and inspired the national consciousness two generations ago, and more recently and possibly more intensely it has appealed to the Fascists. Fascism, due indeed to the dominating personality of Mussolini, has found no little strength in his call to the people of Italy to remember that once all roads led to Rome, and to recover for her again her agelong position as a leader of the world.

The universality of the Roman tradition, however, appears not in Fascism but in the Church of Rome. In some aspects this ecumenical institution has been the most enduring as well as the most representative outcome of the Imperial spirit. When with the break-up of the Empire Roman civilization began to decay, and when otherwise there might have been chaos, the Roman Church by its codified and authoritative tradition conserved, through standing for peace and order, much of the old civilization. Law generates a conservative type of mind, and when it constitutes part of the framework of an institution of religion, the tradition embodied in it comes to be regarded as so sacred that none may without sacrilege modify even slightly its structure. Tradition hardens into law; law is also a deposit of practice; dogma adds its divine authority. Though a variety of factors entered into the manifold movement that made breaches in this Roman tradition in the sixteenth century, in the Reformation "the real challenge was the challenge to the Latinism of the Roman Church, domiciled in Italy."¹ The rising Teutonic nation-

¹ Barker, *The Modern Churchman* xxii, 336.

A few years ago an English scholar in a Scottish University, who had joined the Roman Church, took the opportunity of transferring from his Greek chair to a vacant one in Latin. One of his friends explained to me that he found the literature and history of Rome more fundamental in his new religious faith, and more congenial to his temper.

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alities revolted against the Roman tradition which in the universal Catholic Church they felt to be cramping them.

We have all inherited in our culture enduring elements from Rome, even if we know nothing of Latin. My purpose in referring to that culture at some length is not to put in a plea for Latin, but to emphasize the fact that the complete citizen must recognize that a long and rich past has gone to his making. Of course we are not often conscious of the enormous power that tradition has upon us; and probably it is well that we are not; otherwise few would dare to challenge it, and progress would be very slow. It is a social power that bends the strongest. In it the past accumulates against us, like enormous waves at full tide which dash on the beach even the most strenuous swimmers and leave them contemptuously floundering in the backwash. Tradition may only be surmounted when with fallen passions its strength has for the time gone out of it. Today is one of the periods of weakening tradition. We see traditions dissolving as they come into contact with one another. It is not a case of one being substituted for another, but of cultures disappearing, as a garden is blighted when a chilling frost falls upon it. A different spiritual climate, some think a new Ice Age, has been spreading over the world, killing off plants that cannot resist the rigor of the blasts from other regions. The world has been so crushed together by modern transportation and mechanical transmission that civilizations are jostled by one another, and people are being carried off their feet from the old trodden causeways. They have lost their way and are dazed.

European civilization on its external side, chiefly industrial and political, has been introduced into Asia, and it has undermined the traditions of culture on which the civilizations of the Orient had been stabilized for centuries. We

do not need to idealize those civilizations. They harbored, probably to a much greater degree than our own, "dark places full of the habitations of violence"; but that those cruelties were more widespread or intenser than exist in the present chaos it would be unsafe to affirm; and in any case the most delicate products of their life have had their protection torn away from them. Young India, young China, young Philippinodom have come over to study in our universities and schools, and have quickly imbibed modern democratic doctrines without understanding the traditions of self-government, or realizing that the effectiveness of government depends upon the character both of the people and of their leaders. Recently Baron Hiranuma, leader of the nationalist party in Japan, spoke thus to his people: "When the American gun-boats forced our ports, we were several centuries behind the white races. To preserve the integrity of our territory we were obliged to adopt western civilization as quickly as possible. We had no time to choose nor to separate the bad from the good. Today we run the risk of seeing our culture submerged by a foreign civilization. I want the Japanese to realize anew that he possesses a culture of his own. It is his duty today to make a selection of western institutions and to reject those which are incompatible with our character." Representative government has not yet brought the salvation to Japan which its heralds in the nineteenth century proclaimed that it quickly would bring. We are told that democratic liberty has been so often administered by incompetent or venal men that by rebound there has been a demand for the strong hand, and militarism has leapt into the saddle.

We must be patient and hope for better things, especially as our own democracies do not set oriental peoples the best possible examples of honesty and altruism. Probably we

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are more to blame than they are, because they have learned from us not a little doctrinaire theory as to the effectiveness of abstract ideas, which indeed we know by experience are explosive unless they are combined in a proper mixture. In our democracies government is restrained by experience which keeps the rein on too spirited adventure.

India is today perhaps the best example of an effort by a non-indigenous government to supply the experience necessary for the satisfactory working of modern ideas in a vast country, where there is no controlling unity of tradition among aggregations of people of diverse cultures and history. Years ago, in one of his essays, Lord Rosebery quoted with approval the striking figure, first used by Lord Randolph Churchill, of British rule in India as being like a thin sheet of oil spread over a vast and turbulent ocean, which would otherwise break into destructive billows, as conflicting religions and social traditions meet one another in violent cross-currents. Since then the commotions have increased, and at times they have rent the oil sheet with angry and threatening crests; but Britain is still patiently attempting to pour oil on the stormy waters, in the hope that before long passions will subside and the life of India will become calmer. But if that hope is realized it will be because by hard experience the conflict of cultures—real cultures, not external forms of civilization—will have been lessened. How soon this will come to pass it is useless to speculate. Last year in an address at the University of Toronto, Lord Irwin, one of the greatest of India's Viceroyalties, said: "If the question were asked whether there is at present in India such solidarity of sentiment, such fundamental unity of aim, as breeds willingness in the last resort to sink individual, class, or communal advantage for the

common good, the answer must regretfully, but not the less clearly, be in the negative."

In Africa the case is different. There the invasion of western civilization took the form, not of an attack upon old cultures by new theories of government or the social order, but of the trader and the permanent white settler. Those who know Africa best deplore the effect that these impacts have had upon its tribal cultures. Where white and black come together the latter often degenerates. After the impact he is driven as a dangerous derelict out on the high seas far from his old home, poor though that was. And the effect on the white is ominous, for he too may turn into a drifter unskilled, and become in time a castaway. In the Union of South Africa there were said to be in 1929, one hundred and fifty thousand "poor whites," or one-tenth of the white population.

As we look out into the future of the world, the problems that should cause us most anxiety are not economic but racial. At present our commercial and industrial depression fills the scene for the average person; but he who considers even casually the world view must realize that the more distant prospect is the more alarming. We can diagnose our present economic troubles; our economists are agreed that they spring chiefly from over-emphasis on nationalism, expressing itself in too high tariffs and in political self-sufficiency, and from fear and mistrust of one another. We must learn sense and get into a more cooperative frame of mind. Unless human nature has in our time permanently lost its balance, our economic recovery is sure though it may be slow, and possibly society will be radically changed, though here again the conservative power of tradition must be taken into account. But racial clashings are growing

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more violent and bitter. Our material civilization is both degrading and making resentful those who on closer intercourse are becoming conscious of their degradation. It is also putting our skill and our destructive ideas at the disposal of highly intelligent races whose traditions are very different from our own. If the white man deals insolently with those of other color he will meet insolence in return. Our civilization has proved to be such a solvent of the cultures of Asia that the Orient, more materialized by the loss of its native traditions, may reinfect the West. What a spectacle would civilization present were the mind of Shanghai like a pall to extend over both East and West, and were the lawlessness and hatreds of seething races to dominate the world. Then the City of Humanity, for which the Stoic hoped, would be so far off that even the colors of the dream might fade away.

The most spectacular overthrow of tradition, or indeed it may be the uprooting of it, has taken place during the last dozen or more years in Russia. Its old culture has disappeared with the killing off, or the extrusion, of the former educated classes; and those now in control have sought to destroy the cultural *ethos* of the old Russian character. How effectively the substituted economic society will permanently satisfy the cultural demands of human nature, in which they probably lie embedded like roots with the top growth cut off, it is useless to speculate. It may be that in time these cultural roots will push up through the old buried life and crack the mausoleum of a dead experiment. On the other hand it may be that the old tradition has been so exterminated that slowly a new tradition will arise; and in that case will it remain distinctly national and Russian, or will it aggressively challenge western civilization for world control? In such a struggle the victory

would be decided by the quality of the culture that each would offer to mankind. Which would be best worth having? There is much in our tradition that would be rejected as worthless or outgrown; therefore in order to secure its vitality, we should submit it constantly to scrutiny.

In view of the present condition of the world and of its probable direction, we who are pondering the kind of education that would seem to be most effective for citizens of our own countries, must not be oblivious of the fact that we cannot shut ourselves from a world that, whether we like it or not, throngs us on all sides. Nor can we assume that all our traditions are so attractive that the outside world will readily accept our ideals. A few years ago in a conversation with a cultured Chinese gentleman I suggested, somewhat tactlessly I am afraid, that the world would be a much happier place if the English-speaking peoples could come together with a more common purpose. He at once replied that the rest of the world would be suspicious of the powerful imposition of their ideals. My reflection on that occasion at my own table was felt by him to be due to the old Anglo-Saxon assumption that our civilization should be supreme. The complete citizen of today must be more than a narrow nationalist. We are suffering, as we all know, from economic nationalism; but our troubles will be more radical and enduring if we continue to isolate ourselves culturally. At the recent meeting in Toronto of the American Historical Association, the President, Professor Bolton of California, gave timely emphasis to the necessity of studying American history in the context of the western hemisphere in order to avoid the danger of undue nationalism. I should go further in regard to education for citizenship, and say that we should aim at sympathetic understanding of the attitude of other races to ourselves. Their

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points-of-view will be presented with greater self-confidence in the future, and as we get to understand them we shall not wish to force our traditions indiscriminately upon them, but we will get down to our own essentials, which I believe will, when they are tested, be found to be of universal significance. Further consideration of this will be given in the next lecture.

The theme of this lecture has been that Tradition is a mighty influence in culture, and that it conserves the gains of the Past. It brings the fruits of experience down to us on the river of time, a ceaseless traffic that enriches each generation afresh for its few years in the continuing City of the human race. There is a saying of Pascal which illuminates this idea: "All the succession of men, throughout the course of so many centuries, must be considered as the same man who always subsists and is forever learning." As the individual develops by using aright the experience of others, so the culture of each age should be richer than that of any previous age, inasmuch as we are maturing. In its infancy the world held many views that now we know were the result of imagination, not of verified observation. "When I was a child I thought as a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, but now that I am become a man that child's world has passed away." But though that world has passed away the culture of earlier days has helped to make us what we are, and much of it is permanent. Permanent chiefly not in accumulated knowledge, though that is important, but in the more matured faculties that have been transmitted. To quote Pascal again, who was one of the first to enunciate the idea of the progress of the race: "Those whom we call the ancients were veritably new in all things, and properly speaking were human beings in infancy: since we have added to their knowledge the experi-

ences of the centuries that have followed them, it is in us the antiquity that we revere in them may be found." It is one of the remarkable facts of history that the conception of progress, which is so axiomatic especially in this western world, was such a late arrival in human thought, not having come in strength until well on in the eighteenth century in Europe, and as yet hardly at all in Asia. Indeed it may be confidently affirmed that uniform progress is not evident in all ages and all countries. There are outbreaks of genius among peoples as among individuals, but it appears that those gifts made by peoples, epochs and individuals are not lost, and that though here and there "we seem no painful inch to gain," as we look out upon the sea of humanity the main does come flooding in.

Tradition is a more healthful constituent in the education of a progressive society than of a static one. In the latter it may bring on sclerosis and a premature old age; for it is a mark of approaching senility to be ever lingering on the golden days of the past, to mutter with a sigh, "things are not what they were." Whereas in a progressive world tradition is the foundation on which those who come after us will erect nobler structures than we have seen. But for such foundations tradition must be tested and that which stands the test be built into them.