

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE OVERFLOWING ENERGY OF MANKIND

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THE OVERFLOWING ENERGY OF MANKIND

§ I. *A Short History of Leisure*

CHAPTERS XI and XII and XIII are the darkest chapters in our survey. They have dealt with waste and poverty, with the weaknesses of governments and the mischief of bad government, with war preparation and economic war, and with the black cloud of approaching over-population. They have also shown man apparently unable to save himself from grave disasters, caused by his own defective monetary arrangements. He is seen injuring and perhaps destroying himself—without waiting for external Nature to turn upon him. The note of confident progress that pervaded our recapitulation of human achievements grew weak and died out altogether in some of those sections.

But hope remained, waving a tattered flag above the panorama, if at times it was difficult not to wave it very much in the manner of a danger signal. We have now said about all there is to say in a work of this sort, about these vast instabilities. We shall glance at them once again in our chapter on Education, and weigh their gravity in our conclusion. But for the rest we will disregard them. If civilization crashes, the story ends, and this work is no more than the measure of a frustration which will matter in the end to no one. But civilization need not crash. If it does not crash, then it will go on, we may be sure, to the fullest realization of the hopes and liberties, that scientific and mechanical, progress have made possible.

One inevitable consequence of continuing human progress is a steady increase of human leisure and human resources. At present much of that leisure takes the form of unemployment and impoverishment, but that need not be so, and also, as needlessly, much of the wealth and vitality we have accumulated is guided by patriots and munition salesmen into the disagreeable and unprofitable expenditure of war preparation and the consequent war orgies. Nevertheless, for the present, at any rate, humanity enjoys

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much more surplus time and energy than the past ever knew. How that surplus time and energy is employed is a necessary part of the human spectacle. It is a developing aspect of that spectacle. It opens out a vista of very important and perhaps even very novel activities in the future.

No sociologist has yet attempted to measure the leisure of a community. No biologist indeed has yet devised a comparative scale for the surplus energy of a species. To the *Science of Life*, Julian Huxley contributed some very interesting and suggestive material on the play of animals. He wrote that living species for the most part stick closely to business; they do not play. Play appears only with the more intelligent vertebrates. It is of definite biological importance, and it is for the most part confined to the young. It is almost entirely an educational rehearsal of the serious activities ahead of the young. But among creatures at the level of dogs and cats, even the adults, in times of abundance, will lark about and exercise themselves. Generally, indeed, when they are grown up they sleep, digest and recuperate between exertions, but the play is there. When we come to the monkeys and apes, there is considerable restlessness and activity, even on the part of the mature, outside the food hunt and the sexual storm. They are not only sexually excessive but curious and experimental. Many birds also release exuberant energy in song beyond any biological need, and penguins, ravens and jackdaws will play in a very human manner.

Nomads and savages, in favourable seasons, have time on their hands and a surplus of energy to expend. They exercise and dance and play games, decorate themselves, make amusing objects. But the onset of the larger cultivating community, the onset of foresight, that is, and enforced toil, restricted the spontaneous activities of the multitude very greatly. Only a limited proportion of the people won to any notable share of free time and free activities. The mass was caught and remained entangled in the net of unavoidable work.

Throughout the ages of cultivation, the peasants, the great majority of mankind, have had little leisure or surplus energy. The life of the peasant is still a very continuous round of labour; in Christendom he goes to mass (itself the vestige of a fertility blood sacrifice) on Sunday morning, but often before and after that on Sunday he finds something to be done to his ground. His

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wife and womenfolk, and the wife and womenfolk of the smaller townspeople, seem unendingly busy. As the proverb goes, "A woman's work is never ended." Over all the countries affected by the Hebrew tradition there is indeed the Sabbath, but that is not a day of leisure and the release of surplus energy; it is a day not of enjoyment but of ceremonial inactivity, a day of restraint. Chess may be played by the orthodox but not games for money, and the gad-about is restricted to the limits of a "Sabbath day's journey." The relationship of the Judæo-Christian Sabbath to other days when work is taboo, for workless days are found all over the world, is discussed in Hutton Webster's *Rest Days*.

The festivals of the cultivating communities, apart from seed-time and harvest sacrifices, are few; they have lost the frequent dances, so stirring and hygienic, of the more savage people. Man, as we have insisted throughout this book, is not by nature a toiler: toil is a phase in his development; he has had to be subdued to toil, and whenever an excuse appears cheerfulness breaks through. Nevertheless, through the ages in which the main human community has been developing, through the last seven or eight thousand years, that is, the great industrious working majority has been almost devoid of leisure and spontaneous activities.

It was only at the centres where wealth accumulated or where a strong element of nomadism remained in the social mixture that holy days lost their severity and became holidays. The pastoral peoples have never given up their races, that exciting trying out of horses, and among them we find also the bull-fight and such-like sports. These mingle with foot races and combative exercises. The nomad trader brought his more eventful habits to meet the peasant spirit in the market and fair. The gipsy stirs up peasant life. The fair with its shows is a very ancient thing in social life. A few score times in his existence the peasant goes to the fair, partly to trade, but also to feast, dance, get drunk, fight and, for a few precious hours, relax from his lifelong servitude to the soil.

Great towns, in which a large element of the population, like the Roman voters, for example, was exempted in some exceptional way from the need for continuous labour, display the maximum of leisure in the ancient world. In the classical period the architectural evidences of real holiday-keeping appear in amphitheatres and hippodromes. We find those clubs of the ancient world, the baths,

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becoming important features of the urban life. There and in groves and temple precincts we find also gentlemen of leisure meeting to walk and gossip, and presently to engage in philosophical discussion.

Except for the leisure of these favoured centres, a leisure which vanished again for long centuries with the collapse of the Roman system, the ordinary human life in the cultivating communities throughout history has had neither leisure nor recreation. It is only with the coming of power machinery and large industry, that the work of the common human being begins to be limited to regular hours leaving a daily margin of daylight and activity, and that a grudging but increasing amount of holiday appears. Nowadays there is leisure for all. The modern worker, under good conditions, gets his daily, weekly and annual leisure as he gets his daily bread. Never did the mediæval worker waste daylight as he does. It is quite a delusion to think that the past was a leisurely time and that this is a driving time. The past was a time of almost universal drudgery and insufficiency, and the ages of leisure and plenty lie ahead.

Some interesting books about leisure (C. E. M. Joad's *Diogenes or the Future of Leisure*, for example) have been written recently, but there is as yet no comprehensive survey of the ways in which this expanding element of surplus time and vigour is being used. That limitless encyclopædia of which we are always dreaming would trace in its ample pages how leisure has spread down from class to class in the last century or so, and how new occupations have been found for it. Man does not like prescribed toil, but man is an energetic creature and leisure has never meant idleness for him. Probably our encyclopædia would classify man's leisure activities roughly after this fashion: as (1) exercise and sports, (2) hygienically unprofitable games, (3) sexual dissipation, gluttony and drunkenness, (4) gossip, parading in costumes and loafing about, (5) seeing shows, (6) wandering and travelling to see and learn, (7) making things for pleasure or, as the Victorians called it, "hobbies," passing insensibly into (8) art, (9) philosophy, scientific enquiry and experiment.

The student of the general history of leisure will go very largely for his material to the contemporary novels, plays and accounts of lives and "characters" of the past. These begin to bear their witness about the period of the Reformation after a phase of

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pestilence and social warfare had strained the mediæval economy severely. There was little fun upon the toiling, needy countryside then except for the seasonal holidays, "May games, Whitsun ales, Morris dances, leaping and vaulting." The village seniors played skittles and quoits and drank beer, and the visit of a garrulous pedlar was an event. A book of ancient "sports and pastimes" would not rouse the envy of a slum child to-day. Except perhaps the bull and bear baiting. The town worker had to practise his archery in any time he had to give it, and, to make sure that he did so, lapses into football and other games were legislated against and severely punished. Bowling was prohibited altogether in England "for the meane sort of people." After darkness stopped the work, before they went to sleep, there was taverning, "eaves-dropping" in the villages and mischief in the dark streets. Only the fairly well-to-do had light enough for reading. The leisure of the common people, if one reads between the lines of the increasing literature of the times, shrinks rather than expands throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. People do not seem to be working vigorously, but they are incessantly drudging. They knew no better; they did not complain.

Meanwhile, in the accumulating mass of more prosperous people, the beginnings of all the nine categories of activity just enumerated were appearing. People who once rode about their business and hunted by necessity, now rode and hunted for health and pleasure. The deadly pastime of card games was elaborated, and a touch of reality given to its futility by gambling. It is less trying to the eyes to play cards than to read by candlelight. One got drunk in the dining-room and made love discreetly in the drawing-room, and the gentry periodically left their estates to their stewards and forgathered at Bath and Tunbridge Wells and in London, observing and getting excitements out of the novel people they encountered. The theatre reappeared; not the informative miracle play of the Church, but the comedy and tragedy of the classical world adapted to modern needs. Much attention began to be paid to witticisms and sentiments. The reader may find the sort of witticisms in Swift's *Polite Conversation*. The novel developed.

There was, however, a steady resistance to "frivolity" in the puritanical household that played so large a part in the development of the capitalist system of business (see Weber's *Protestant Ethic*).

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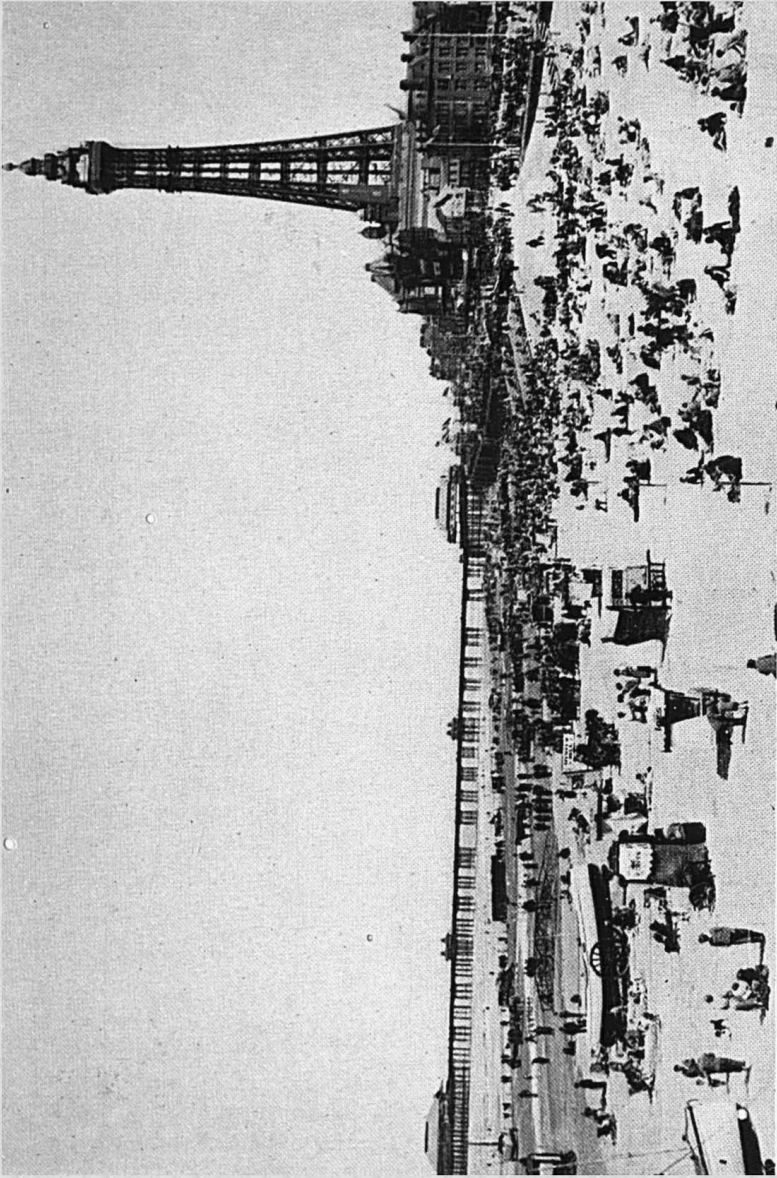
This retarded the spread of leisure to the employee and directed the mind of the employer towards serious literary and scientific interest. Reading increased. The novel, at first merely tolerated on week-days, presently, under a false claim of edification, invaded the Sabbath. The state of affairs for the employee in the early nineteenth century is shown in Samuel Warren's *Ten Thousand a Year*. His poor poverty-struck shopman works intolerable hours and has no form of leisure occupation at all, except dressing up "above his station" and going for a walk on Sunday, pretending to be a gentleman. "Going for a walk" was an important phase in the life of everyone who could afford the time in the serious nineteenth century. It was healthy; it was not frivolous. A hundred years ago it was the chief relaxation of the university student and the university don. All the country round Oxford and Cambridge was dotted daily with intent, wide-striding men. Sport, as an integral factor in university life, had still to come.

The onset of the annual "holidays" in civilized life would be matter for an interesting special monograph. In the Middle Ages the migratory urge, which has never been altogether eliminated from the human make-up, found a relief in pilgrimages. We do not know what proportion of the population went on pilgrimages or how often they went. Nor do we know the quantitative proportion of pilgrims in the world of Islam to-day. The German student and the German artisan have a mediæval knapsack tradition, but the latter wandered not so much for fun as to find work as a journeyman and settle down ultimately for good. For the bulk of people there was nothing like "the holidays" of the modern community, until the dawn of the railway era. Restless souls answered the call of the seas, of overseas adventure and of emigration. Lively lads enlisted or ran away to sea. For the most part, these restless souls went for good and never returned. Ordinary folk stayed where they were from start to finish. Samuel Warren's draper got no holidays, and had he got holidays he would have been hard put to it to find where to go. But people in prosperous strata above were already observing a seasonal migration to "town" and the "spa" in the seventeenth century. Directly the railways arrived, this fashion spread down into the middle classes. The railways assisted, by the introduction of excursion trains, which truly "supplied a long felt need." Now the whole working world takes holiday and our encyclopædia would



(By courtesy of the Southern Railway)

A BREAK IN THE WORLD'S WORK
Bank Holiday crowds at Waterloo Station



(By courtesy of the Blackpool Corporation and Messrs. Saidman Bros.)

THE LEISURE OF THE WORKER

A small section of the beach: Blackpool, Lancashire

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have long histories of the seaside resort, of the battle against mixed bathing and against modern relaxations of costume, of the development of winter sport, of mountaineering and tourism. It would be a continuous unfolding of freedoms and refreshment, of new methods of catering and attraction, and on the whole it would be a very cheerful and encouraging history.

And, moreover, this great extension of leisure and this very considerable development of leisure occupations bear very importantly upon the economic and social difficulties we have discussed in Chapter XI, §§ 5, 6 and 7. The primary needs of mankind, we have shown, are being satisfied by a smaller and smaller proportion of workers. Therefore, unless the standard of life rises, there must be a steadily growing proportion of the population unable to earn money, without spending power, and therefore without the ability, unless some form of "dole" steps in, to get and consume even their primary needs. By shortening hours, introducing more and more holidays, cutting down the working life at both ends, this surplus of unemployed workers may be reduced. But if also the standard of life for the primary productive workers rises by the development of leisure occupations, amusements, holidays and entertainments, there will not only be an increase of the numbers—or at any rate a check upon the shrinkage of the numbers employed in primary production—-but also a new world of secondary employment will open up that may at last become as great a spectacle of activities as the old. This, indeed, without a revised currency credit system and a secure world pax, will not solve all the present perplexities of mankind, but it is a factor of very great importance indeed. Want more, live more fully, is the command of the new civilization; enjoy that others may also serve and enjoy.

§ 2. *The Travel Bureau*

There must be a section here, even if it has to be a very slight and allusive section, about the readiness with which human beings will at the slightest chance escape from fixed locality and everyday routines and set out to see the world. Hitherto, there was not much chance for the generality of people; now every railway station appeals to the migrating impulse with gaily coloured posters of foreign scenery. Before the present age "over the hills and far away"

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was for most people an unrealizable reverie. There must have been a certain amount of coming and going in Greece at the season of the Olympiad. Tourists went up and down the Nile in the great times of Egyptian security and scratched their names on monuments and buildings already ancient and wonderful. And pilgrimages creep into history very early. There were pilgrimages in Egypt and Babylonia. I do not know of any good history of early travel, travel for piety or curiosity, or for the latter disguised as the former. The command of the prophet that all faithful Moslems should visit Mecca at least once in a lifetime made that form of wandering a great feature over all the East, and Christians began to resort to Jerusalem from the third century onward. All through the Middle Ages the pilgrim bands journeyed about Europe to this shrine or that, and for the sheer gad-about element in these wanderings see Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. In pre-revolutionary Russia the roads were pleasantly infested by tramps, each with his bundle and his kettle, seeing the world and living casually *en route* to pilgrimage centres. But there has never been anything before like the vast volume of journeys made frankly for pleasure that goes on to-day. Catering for pleasure travel is now an important industry.

There is no need to expand here what the reader can expand very amusingly for himself by applying to any travel agency. As this page is being read there must be hundreds of thousands of people in great liners upon the high seas, on pleasure journeys halfway round the world. There are scores of thousands of hotels full of transient visitors, trains of excursionists and trains de luxe rattling from country to country, and hardly a mountain pass or lovely highroad without its omnibus motor-car of passengers agog.

It is plain that, given prosperity and spare time, the great majority of human beings would go round the world two or three times and gratify an ample appetite for novel scenery and the different ways of men.

§ 3. *The World of Sport*

With the brief time at our disposal the writer and reader must now walk very quickly through another long, airy and attractive gallery in the vast museum of human activities this present work has evoked. This gallery is to represent all that efflorescence of

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athleticism and of looking-on at athleticism which goes on under the name of sport. It is an enormous and conspicuous aspect of modern life, and it may be capable of much further development.

Our gallery would pay its tribute to the athleticism of classical times. We have little record of sport in the older civilizations, except kingly hunting and the bull-fights, gymnastics, and funeral games of the Cretan and other Mediterranean peoples. Those were palace affairs. The Aryan-speakers seem to have brought the chariot race with them when they flowed over and subjugated the ancient civilizations, and they seized upon and developed the sports of their predecessors. There were races on horseback so early as the third Olympiad, but the horse race never rivalled the chariot race in classical times.

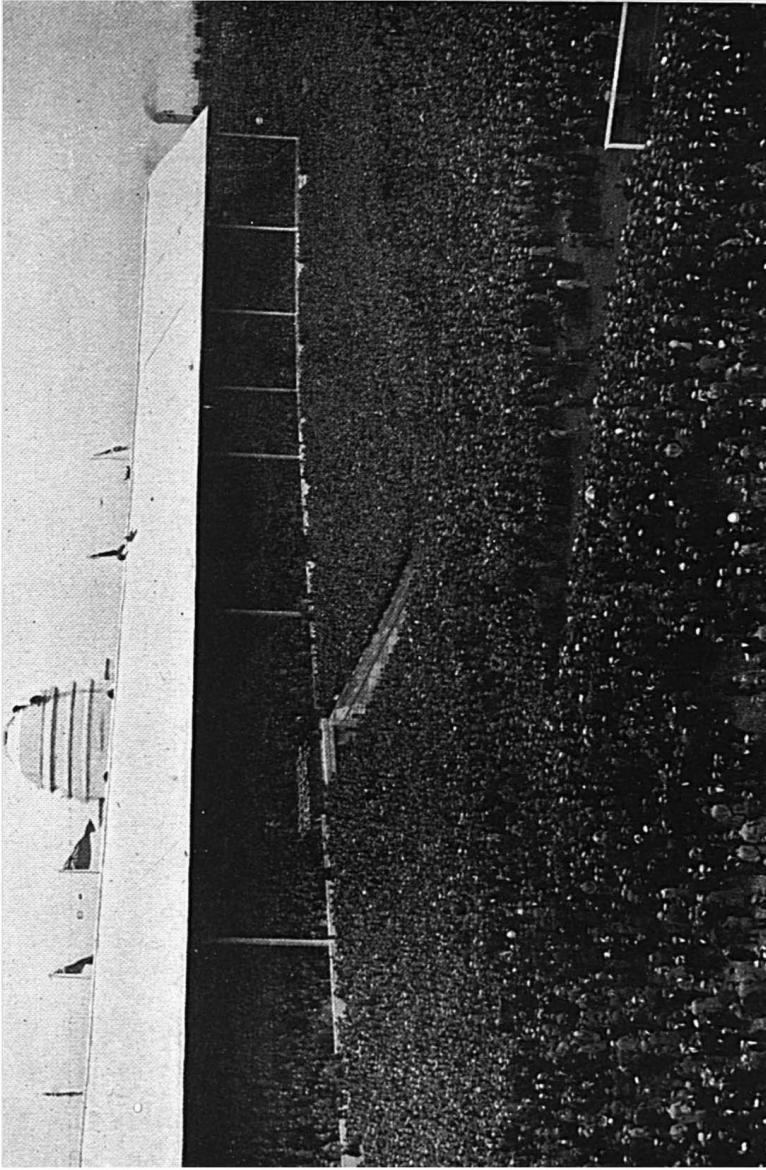
We should trace the development of the Olympic games from a village festival to a great meeting which united all Hellas, and we should show how the gladiatorial fights of the Roman amphitheatre arose side by side with the Aryan chariot race in the hippodrome, out of a revival of the Etruscan sacrifices. Running, wrestling, boxing, weight throwing, were the main sports of the Greek meetings—and of all the ancient world. Roman gentlemen tossed balls to one another in the Baths, as Petronius tells us, but the widespread, regular playing of set ball games for exercise, from cricket and tennis to golf, seems to be a recent thing. There is scarcely a trace of it in the classical literature. Games more or less like tennis and polo appear obscurely and intermittently in Persian, Arab and Egyptian records, but never as widespread practices. They were associated with mediæval courts and chivalry. To play tennis, the hard original tennis, you needed a castle moat.

The modern expansion of sport followed upon the industrial revolution and is closely associated with the revival of the universities. In the eighteenth century these institutions had shrunk very greatly, through the imposition of religious tests and the diversion of intelligent minds from scholarship to more interesting occupations. But the development of new types of well-off people, aware of a cultural inferiority, the general increase in wealth and the relaxation of sectarian jealousies, led to an influx of prosperous young men in the schools and colleges, anxious to become young gentlemen, but indisposed for any severe intellectual toil. The aristocratic conception of education through physical exercise appealed to them strongly.

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The "sportsman" was already appearing in the first half of the eighteenth hundreds. But "sport" was then a business of illicit boxing matches, dog-fights, race meetings and the like, rather than real athleticism. It was frowned upon by the authorities. Cricket was discovering itself in England, indeed, and one or two English public schools had crude games of football with distinctive local rules. One found local sports of a traditional type in Scotland, a few Swiss villages and scattered unimportantly over the world. The big expansion of sport belongs to the latter half of the nineteenth century.

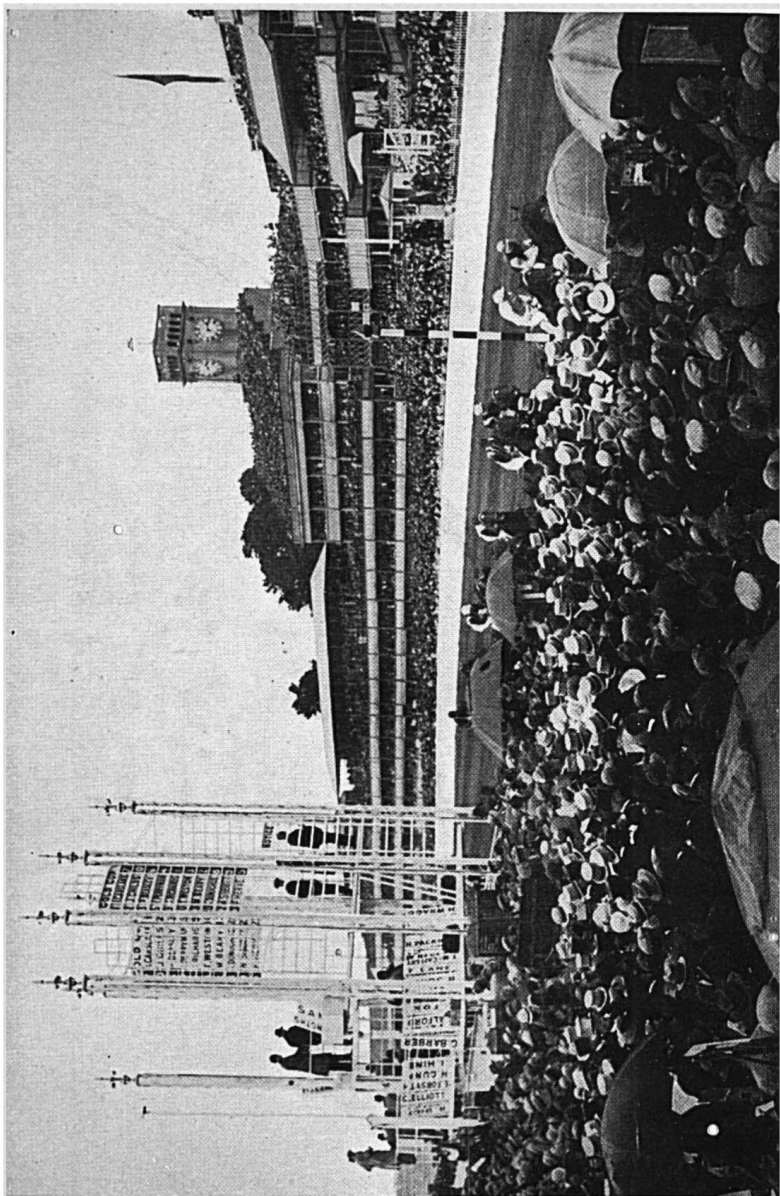
Then things went ahead very rapidly. The first athletic meeting in modern times, says Captain Webster in his *British Encyclopædia* article, was promoted by the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, in 1849. Exeter College, Oxford, was next in 1850. Cambridge sports came in 1857. Oxford followed suit in '60, the Oxford and Cambridge meetings began in 1864, and English championships date from 1866. The American inter-university meetings came soon after these British beginnings. International meetings appear in the record in the 'eighties. Thereafter there is a crescendo of sport. Our tale passes on to the revival of the Olympic games at Athens in 1896 and the appearance of great stadia for these gatherings, to remain as permanent additions to the athletic resources of the city of assembly. To such meetings Amsterdam owes its stadium; Paris, the Colombe stadium; London, the stadium at Shepherd's Bush (seating 50,000), Stockholm a stadium accommodating 15,000. These are far outdone in capacity by the Chicago (150,000), Yale University (80,000), Illinois University (60,000) and Ohio State University (75,000) stadia, and London has since added to its resources the Wembley stadium of ten acres holding about 98,000. The greatest capacity in the British Isles is now Hampden Park, the Glasgow Rangers' ground, which held 129,510 in 1930. In America, says the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (from which most of these figures are taken), there were only five stadia of importance in 1913, and now (1930) there are thirty. There is accommodation for two or three million spectators of athletic sport on any fine afternoon in the United States alone. The *English League* and *Scottish League* grounds (ignoring the hundreds of minor amateur and professional grounds) open every Saturday for football spectators are well over two and a half millions in capacity. There are four grounds holding over 60,000 in London alone (Wembley, Arsenal, Chelsea and the



(By courtesy of Sport and General)

THE UNDISCIPLINED CROWD

Some 50,000 people, out of a total attendance of about 150,000, on the actual pitch at the time advertised for the start, Cup Final, Wembley, April 28, 1933



(By courtesy of Allied Newspapers)

THE CROWD RELAXES

Ascot Races, 1931

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Crystal Palace Corinthians ground) and three others near 50,000 if not over (Tottenham, West Ham and Millwall). The original stadium at Athens which was reconstructed in marble upon its original ruins for the 1896 occasion held 60,000 people. The Roman amphitheatres were never quite as vast as this; the very greatest, the Colosseum, held, it is now estimated, about 50,000 (Talbot F. Hamlin).

These figures help one to understand the dimensions of the sporting world to-day. These gathering places are not like the Greek Olympic centre, used only once every one or two or four years. They are in frequent and habitual use. They add to our spectacle of factories, mines, plantations, transport, a vision of swarming myriads of usually sunlit folk in their places and in the arena, the shining bodies of beautifully fit and active racers, players and combatants, and the well-drilled ranks of athletic associations in display.

And these stadia are not all. To them we must add the race-courses with their grand-stands, their coaches and parked automobiles, and the vast crowds of spectators and crowd-followers that assemble for such festivals as the English Derby or the Ascot week, and also we have to indicate such grounds as Lords and Kennington Oval, where they play cricket, and Wimbledon, with its tennis courts established for fifty years, must also come into the picture. And then from these culminating centres our eye must go outward, and all over the countryside of the modern communities are the football fields and baseball fields and cricket fields and tennis courts, where the balls fly and the healthy bodies flash to and fro. And then, in the less sunny weather, there are the running associations in vests and shorts, the "harriers" and paper chases, and so forth, and the resolute walking men, and the men in training loping cheerfully through the mud, fists clenched and lungs and heart at their steady busiest.

Add now to all this the paddled canoes, the single outriggers, the fours and eights and all the more leisurely rowing boats, that swarm upon every river near a great town. Add also the diving and swimming that go on in rivers, lakes, swimming pools and public baths. Add also the swarming beaches, the bathing places, and the basking lightly-clad multitudes wherever there are sands by the sea. Bring in also the immense activities and pleasures of the snow sports that

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were almost unknown until the last decades of the nineteenth century, the lugeing, the ski jumping and the ski excursions. And the ice sports, the skating and curling. Mountain climbing is an older delight, but except for a few pioneers—De Saussure climbed Mont Blanc in 1787—it does not go back more than a century. And these pleasures are no longer monopolized by a small rich leisure class. There has been a great cheapening and distribution of athletic material—I do not know how far the development of rubber described in Chapter II has not made the balls so necessary for many games accessible to medium purses. Modern industrial methods have given the world cheap standardized balls. Without such balls the contemporary development of games could never have occurred. Football, one of the cheapest of games, has spread from the English industrial districts all over the Westernized world since the war. Any afternoon now one may see in the London parks a string of boys from some East End elementary school, who would already have been factory workers half a century ago, going out with a schoolmaster in charge of them to play their weekly game of football. Even in Egypt and the Sudan now the small boys play football.

All this in itself means human happiness on a world-wide scale. And never was there anything of the kind on earth before. Just like the swelling human population and the overwhelming production of staple goods, it is a consequence of the invention and discovery of the past century. There is no reason why we should not hope to see free, ample and lovely exercise in the open air brought within reach of every human being. There can be no limit to the beneficial extension of athletics.

But when we consider not the extension but the specialized intensification of athletic exercises and the domination of public attention and leisure by these activities, it becomes necessary to qualify our benedictions. It is good for a man to be fit and well developed; it is quite another matter when he gives, and is incited and driven to give, his whole being to the extreme exploitation of his neuro-muscular system. It is good for a community to have plenty of exercise; it is very bad for it to subordinate all other interests to sports and games. Athleticism in the present generation goes, it is admitted, too far. Reasonable sport accumulates energy, but excessive sport wastes it. From Euripides to Rudyard Kipling,

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with his "flannelled fool at the wicket" and his "muddied oaf in the goal," public-spirited men have had harsh words for the specialized athlete and game player.

The ascendancy of sport is particularly remarkable in the United States of America. And from the United States universities come the boldest apologies for this tremendous concentration upon athleticism. Before the end of the nineteenth century university sports were mainly in undergraduate hands in America, as elsewhere. These were in part insurrectionary against the prevalent mental education. But the insurgent spirit of the richer and bolder students put the sporting side of the collective life into such prominence that the faculties of instruction had to accommodate themselves to the realities of the situation. The great "educational" value of sport was officially and formally discovered. An Inter-collegiate Conference found sports could be used to "supplement and broaden modern education" and made the peak of a "physical education pyramid."

The "physical education pyramid" one can concede, but how careering about in fields in a semi-nude state can be supposed to "supplement and broaden" anything that an honest man would call education staggers the imagination.

However, on these assumptions and by much unsubstantial assertion of the moral benefits—"clean and healthful living" of athletes, for example, and "development of loyalty to the institution and to fellow members of the college community" (the gang spirit, in fact)—the way was paved for the partial conversion of the American universities into athletic training centres. The athletic coach has now become the equal or superior in pay and dignity of the merely intellectual teachers, and the exhibition of sports an important source of funds for these institutions. Sport has indeed assisted in the financial revival of several state universities, whose merely intellectual teachers had failed to attract students in paying quantity. Conceivably some of them indeed might do even better financially by scrapping their intellectual faculties altogether, competing by scholarships for youngsters of athletic promise, and concentrating upon the stadium. The coach, the new "broadening" type of American professor, is sometimes a man educated on the older lines, sometimes a professor of modern hygiene, but often a promoted trainer or rubber or masseur.

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In a list of "secondary objectives" in the statement of the Inter-collegiate Conference, the realities of the situation peep out. Objectives 4 and 5 confess that these sports "provide opportunity to 'animal spirits' for legitimate physical expression" and "further the educational viewpoint and needs by securing and maintaining active interest of *alumni* and general public in the educational institutions through the field of greatest common interest and appeal." This concentration of sport in the universities is not in fact a development of education, but a distortion of the educational machine through an exuberant economic growth of the community which has swamped the country with endowments and with a multitude of people anxious to give their sons and daughters the social prestige of university graduation.

This inflation of sport is a natural and necessary result of the atmosphere of boredom created by crowding healthy adolescents who do not want to learn, into classrooms with teachers not particularly anxious to teach and not very clear about what should be taught, and its value as advertisement and its financial possibilities have been duly exploited by the college authorities. The influence of this development upon the general education of the community, and the desirability of withdrawing a large proportion of the better-class youth from general social and economic development to specialize as stadium performers and develop a gang feeling in intra- and inter-collegiate rivalries, lest worse befall, we will consider in the next chapter; our concern here is only with the physical aspect of the business and its radiation of health and excitement throughout the modern community. That radiation is undeniable. The health is for the moderate majority rather than the experts. The Encyclopædia Britannica states on the authority of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching that twelve out of every hundred university football players receive "serious injuries." The figure given for all games is 3 per cent. These are the strenuous ones who are crippled, the vicarious offerings made for the well-being of the rank and file.

The same influences are at work in the promotion of athletics in the educational institutions of Europe as of America, but the European developments have not attained the same enormous scale nor devastated the intellectual life of the colleges to the same extent, because in their case there has not been the same steady advance

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in prosperity and spending power during the past two decades. The nearest approach to American conditions in Europe is to be found in the older English public schools. There an undernourished, under-developed slip of modern education travels, like an unwanted passenger in an overcrowded omnibus, between the captain of the cadet corps and the mighty cricketers and athletes whose attainments in the playing fields have determined their selection for the teaching staff.

One interesting aspect of athletic recreations is the organization of "records." In the past half-century authoritative organizations have made the most precise and careful observations of human bodily achievements. We know now that man at his best can run 100 yards in $9 \frac{3}{5}$ seconds. This has been done four times, by D. J. Kelly (1906), H. P. Drew (1914), C. W. Paddock (1921), and C. Coaffee (1922). Possibly it is a limiting record. C. W. Paddock also holds the 100-metre record ($10 \frac{2}{5}$ seconds). For longer distances the achievements of P. Nurmi, a Finn, remain unsurpassed. He ran a mile in 4 minutes $10 \frac{2}{5}$ seconds (Stockholm, 1921); and he held all the records from 200 to 10,000 metres until Jules Ladonniègue did a mile $\frac{1}{5}$ of a second quicker in October, 1931 (Paris). The highest jump so far recorded is 6 feet $8 \frac{1}{2}$ inches, by H. M. Osborne at Chicago in 1924, and the longest is D. H. Hubbards', of 25 feet $10 \frac{7}{8}$ inches at the same meeting. J. Weissmuller swam 100 yards in 52 seconds and 100 metres in $57 \frac{2}{5}$ seconds. But lists of records in a score of sports are to be found in every book of reference, and there is no need to give more of them here.

There seems to be no sensible objection to this exploration of human possibilities in every sort of bodily exertion. But in some directions a record hunt must necessarily take a murderous turn. For example, there is ski jumping. There is hardly any limit to the height a ski jumper, *with luck*, may not jump down and get away from. Up to a reasonable limit, men may compete and none be injured, unless for a broken ankle or so. Then as the dimensions increase, the adverse chances increase. So that while people are willing to risk almost certain death or crippling injuries, there need be no limit to the record ski jump.

The same principle applies to many forms of mechanical record-making, speed boats, aeroplane and motor-car races and the like. In these cases one is not dealing with a wholesome definite physical

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limit, nor is one really testing out a machine. More and more one is chancing the perfect smoothness or the perfect banking of a track or the limit of strength of a wing. Sir Henry Segrave was killed in his motor boat, *Miss England II*, on Lake Windermere, in an attack on the speed-boat record. The boat hit a scrap of flotsam at a speed of over 98½ miles per hour, turned over in a cloud of spray, and sank stern downward. Mr. Hallwell, an engineer, went down with her. This *Miss England II* was recovered from the bottom of the lake, reconditioned, and on Lake Neagh, after a preliminary reconnaissance by aeroplane to make sure that the water was clear of driftage, Mr. Kaye Don got to an unofficial velocity of 107 miles per hour. But his official record made at Buenos Ayres was under the hundred and he capsized but escaped uninjured in a later race. Previously Sir Henry Segrave had made the record for automobile velocity on the Daytona beach 231 1/3 miles per hour, but his achievement was subsequently bettered by Captain Malcolm Campbell, who made an unofficial 260 miles per hour and an official record* of 246 miles per hour with the specially built car *Blue-Bird II*. A flight record of 357½ miles per hour was made by Squadron-Leader Orlebar in September, 1929, and this was outdone by Flight-Lieutenant G. H. Stainforth at Calshot on September 29, 1931, who reached a speed of 415.5 miles per hour and averaged 408.80 in four runs along the three-kilometre course. Blériot, who was the first to fly across the Strait of Dover, is offering a prize for the first man who in any mechanical contrivance whatever achieves a horizontal speed at 1000 km. = 621.37 miles, per hour. Quite possibly this is an attainable speed, but its attainment will exact a heavy toll of human lives.

It is possible that the development of record-breaking and display athleticism may be approaching its maximum now, or that in America it may even be passing its maximum. All the rational feats of bodily strength and skill may presently have been tried out to the limit. People will cease to beat records and only aspire to touch them. If the world's prosperity goes on increasing, the great majority of people may tire of the spectator's rôle in the stadium. They may find competing attractions. They may go to look on less frequently and less abundantly. There may be changes in the economic and industrial ordering of the world that will diminish

* *Nature*, February 14, 1931.

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the present supply of honourable amateurs for public games. Prosperous people may find some better method of launching their sons and daughters upon life than in offering them up to athletic uses. Public shows of games may become mainly professional displays of an exemplary sort. But this may not affect the wide diffusion of open-air recreation. That may be a permanent gain. If leisure increases, it seems likely to become more and more general, more and more a normal element in life.

THE SPORTING ELEMENT IN WAR, INSURRECTION AND MANY MURDERS

In a survey of human activities so essentially psychological as this that we are making, it is impossible to leave the question of sport and the sporting mentality without noting how closely allied are many of the impulses and motives that have been active in developing the world of modern sport, with those that are operative in maintaining war, and how closely allied complexes militate against order, tranquillity and security in everyday life. We have again to recall this fundamental fact in the human problems, that civilized man is a very imperfectly domesticated aggressive animal, that in each generation he has to be broken in again to social life, and that, whatever may be done to suppress, mitigate, or sublimate his fiercer, more combative impulses, there they are pressing against law, order and compromise. The American educationists find in athleticism a "legitimate" release for "animal spirits." Whether it is always adequate may be disputed, but there can be little dispute that the French Apache, the British Hooligan, the young American Tough on his way to become a gangster, are impelled very largely to their anti-social activities by impulses practically indistinguishable from the sporting spirit of their social betters.

So far we have said very little of hunting, shooting and other "blood" sports. We have still to note, for example, the almost pathetic spectacle of pink-clad huntsmen and hounds chasing rare and unpopular foxes, in spite of barbed wire, market gardeners, light railways, automobile-infested roads and chemical manure, across the suburban landscape of England, or rousing even the meek Egyptian fellahin to murderous protests. And here too we glance at the lined-up guns of a battue of pheasants, raised at great expense for the slaughter. These massacres are the last vestiges of the

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habitual amusement of monarch and noblemen throughout the whole course of history. The stir and effort, the triumph of slaughter, given by the hunt, have made it the dominant occupation of men of every race, who have found themselves free to follow it. And from the hunting of beasts to the man hunt was but a step. The two things mingle upon the painted walls of Egypt and the Assyrian sculptures. War and conquest was the sport of kings. And in all antiquity it is conquest and killing that is glorified. There is no trace in the record of any honest appreciation of an equal conflict fought out stoutly to an indecisive issue.

The American Indian was so great a sportsman that he subordinated all the rest of his life to the exaltation of the warpath. He inaugurated the season with mystical dances, and scalped and destroyed according to a precise and picturesque ritual. Throughout the ages, the historian can tell of communities, from the Huns to the Zulus, which have given over themselves (and their neighbours) altogether to the master sport of war. Clearly we have something in the human make-up here, very fundamental, fundamentally ineradicable, needing suppression and sublimation and likely to crop up again very obstinately whenever the suppression and sublimation relax. It is charged against the German Kaiser that he saw war as a sport and so precipitated the crash of 1914. It is at least equally true that Mr. Rudyard Kipling and his school, had presented imperial conquest as a sport to the minds of the British ruling classes. Only a few days before this was written some gallant British major-general—I made no note of his name—escaped from the control of his wife and wrote to the papers to say that war, the "man hunt," was the supreme sport of mankind.

How gladly would the unregenerate sportsman in ourselves chase that gallant gentleman into a gas cloud or drop him into a poisoned dugout and leave him there!

These "animal spirits," the American educationists recognize, crop up not only in the ragging and insubordination of students and the criminal violence of lower-class adolescents, but also, it is plain, in a certain proportion of adult crime. It is clear that certain uncontrolled human types, when they get the chance, will kill, as a cat or a tiger will kill, because it is in them to do so. We are not speaking here of lunatics; we are speaking only of a slight individual exaggeration of what is innerent and normal in man. Every man

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is a potential killer, warrior or murderer, and it is absurd to disregard that reality when we deal with the problems of economic organization and social and political control. Insurgent movements, insurrections, are a vast relief to the boredom of a countryside. Consider what a relief it must be to some poor devil, obsessed by a sense of social or racial inferiority, to make and throw a bomb, or waylay and murder a policeman, or riot and burn.

Many a revolution has been brought about by the want of sporting release, and as for war, the drums and trumpets, the martial music, the flags, the serried uniforms, the rhythmic jingle and tramping of marching men, and above all the sense of going off to a dramatic objective, call to all of us. It was necessary to spoil the sport of war by poison gas, air bombs, propaganda and the plain prospect of universal bankruptcy, before men would think seriously of giving it up. And when, if ever, we have "abolished war," we shall have to reckon much more thoroughly than we do now with the "blood" element in the sporting motive. Some forcible men will train and drill themselves and develop the service mentality, but not all; some bold spirits will hunt with a camera instead of a gun and be content with a picture instead of a skin, but not everyone will do that. Yet, if we can detach the adventurous element from cruelty, society will be the better able to keep cruelty under. With that first great pax in the world, the Roman Empire, the arena, the blood show, spread all over the civilized world. The civilized countries of to-day which are furthest removed from war display the greatest ruthlessness in sport. There is need for public watchfulness against the release of cruelty in sport. The world of sport, elaborately developed and firmly controlled, seems to be *inter alia* the most hopeful organ for excreting the more violent and adventurous ingredients in the surplus energy of mankind. "*Inter alia*," we write, because sport leads also to greater fullness of life and beauty.

BETTING, GAMBLING AND THE LOTTERY

Our survey of sport, to be complete, should include the betting world, gambling and playing for gain. One may raise the question whether these things are to be looked at under the heading of sport, or whether it would not have been advisable to treat them as an

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erratic branch of finance. And we may set aside either alternative with the suggestion that the reality beneath these things and beneath the lottery, which is prohibited in Great Britain, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States, is something which is neither superfluous energy nor abnormal finance, but a craving to relieve a rather too dull everyday life by streaks of hope. To buy a lottery ticket is for most purchasers to buy something much more exciting than a novel or a cinema show. Until the drawing, the mind is pleasantly occupied by dreams of what will be done when the prize is paid. A bet (on reassuring information) at long odds, or a lottery ticket is, at the worst, the key to many days of pleasant reverie. It is the imaginative stimulus for a dream that may come true.

That is from the point of view of the individual maker of bets. Energetic, fully and happily occupied people do not want these mitigations of an orderly life, and we may suppose that in a world growing more prosperous, various and interesting, betting will decline. The evil of betting comes in with the exploitation of this natural desire suddenly to get much for very little and so experience a bright, rare enhancement of life. The gambler soon comes to bet not with his odd superfluous coins but with his necessities. People will buy hope in such quantities that they deprive themselves of the necessities of life; too hopeful employees will borrow from the till on the strength of some tip or dream they have had; women will stake the housekeeping money, and men their wages. When the law intervenes with prohibitions, an illegal organization of betting arises in response to the attack. A full encyclopædia of human activities would include a small library upon anti-gaming and anti-gambling legislation and its evasions. It would be neither very entertaining nor very illuminating. Pictures of lottery drawing are very dull pictures. The only really agreeable thing about this complex dreary business is its multitude of gleams and states of hope. The actual prize-winner, especially if the prize is big, is rather to be pitied than envied. Projected on to an unfamiliar plane of prosperity, socially transplanted, he or she in too many cases is destined to learn how little happiness can be bought in the world by an inexperienced buyer.

The habitual maker of bets and buyer of lottery tickets always loses in the long run. But specially attentive and industrious

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classes are able to make a living by ministering to the general gambler. Here we have no space for the ways and habits of tipsters, bookies and the like; for the journalistic side of gambling with its special sporting editions devoted to tips and starting prices, the organization of gambling clubs and houses, the corruption of games and the turf due to betting. From the prince's baccarat and Monte Carlo's roulette and *trente-et-quarante*, to the soldier's crown and anchor and the errand boy's pitch and toss, it is a history of stakes lost, relieved by incidents of irrational acquisition. It is a history of landslides in an account book. It is a pattern of slithering cards, dancing dice, spinning roulette wheels, coloured counters and scribbled computations on a background of green baize. It is a world parasitic on the general economic organization—fungoid and aimless, rather than cancerous and destructive, in its character. A stronger, happier organization would reabsorb it or slough it off altogether.

§ 4. *The World of Entertainment*

A field of human activities which seems certain to undergo great expansion and elaboration as human leisure and surplus energy increase, is the field of entertainment. Here the detail is enormously abundant and varied, and the alternative to a labyrinthine assembly of histories, panoramas and anecdotes of theatres and travelling companies, gipsy shows, bear-leaders, gymnasts and conjurers, street singers, menageries, circuses, clowns, fairs, hand, horse and steam roundabouts, minstrels and organ grinders, sing-songs, music halls, "variety" in all its forms, cabarets, revues, star actors and starry actresses, obscure actors and actresses, singers, musicians, music festivals, chamber music, concerts, Wagner, Reinhardt, Crane, Barnum, Lord George Sanger, Mark Twain's immortal letter to Queen Victoria on the showman element in royalty, Maskelyne and Cooke, Mr. Charles Cochran, Mr. Ziegfeld, Mr. Frohman, the cinema, broadcasting, auditoria, admission, licensing, Sunday closing, censorship and prosecutions, books that profess to entertain, novels, novelists, playwrights, comic writers, comic papers, the newspapers as entertainment—is again to say "Museum" and evoke another ten miles or so of imaginary floor space, a cheerful deafening nightmare of glare, uproar, spangles and

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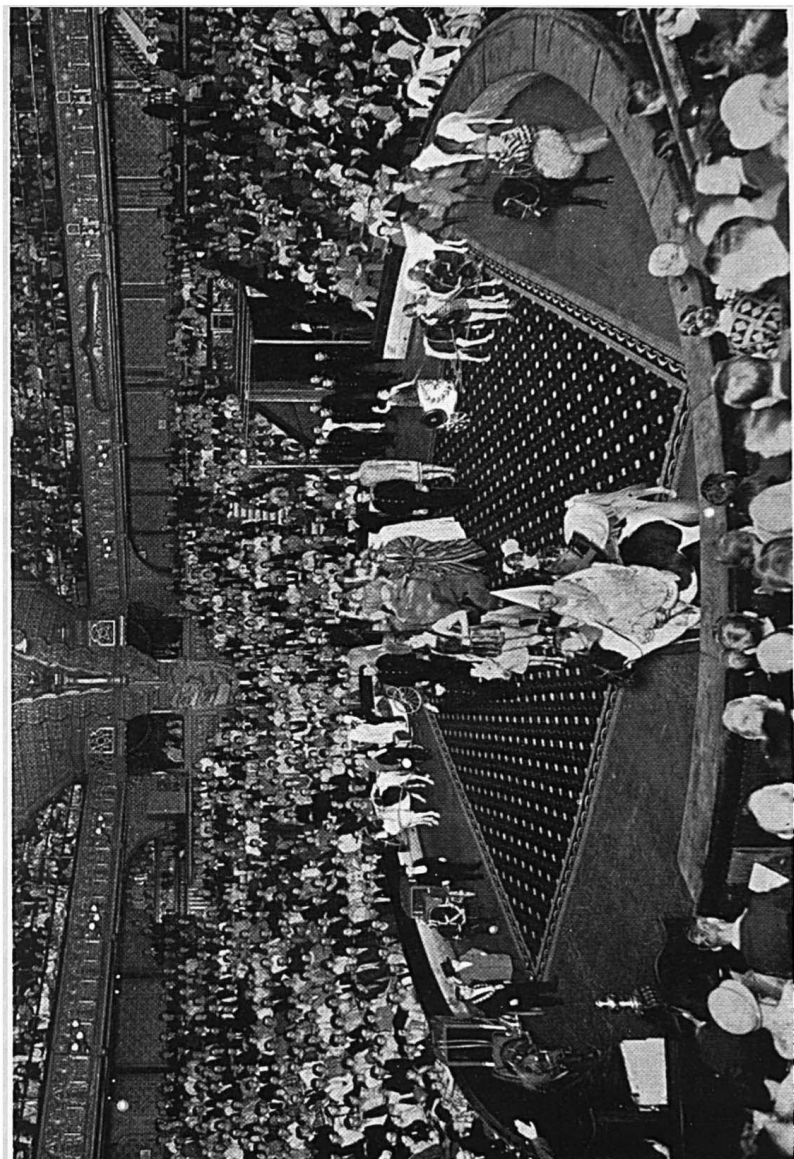
display. The record would go back into prehistory. The "funny man," the jester and the juggler, are probably as ancient as mankind. So are the singer, the story-teller, the acrobat, the dance and dressing up, the strange beast led about.

We may add, perhaps, a few general remarks about the entertainment world as a whole, about its atmosphere of thought and feeling, and then about what one may call its strangulation. For the strangling of entertainment is also a serious business activity.

The psychology of the entertainer is peculiar. His persona lies outside any one of the three main types of persona described in Chapter VIII. Entertainers may be drawn from any class of mentality, but their peculiar circumstances lead very rapidly to the exaggeration of reactions that play only a secondary part in the lives of most human beings. The peasant's guiding principles are safety and profit, the nomad's, glory and swaggering advantage, the educated types, service and sound achievement. But the breath of the entertainer's nostrils is attention and applause. Only the modern politician approaches him in his sensitiveness to attention and applause. By them he lives, and for want of them he perishes—as an entertainer.

To a large extent entertainers are entertainers by heredity. This is truest of circus folk and performing folk generally, and least true of writers. Musicians are drawn very largely from professional musical families and music shops, if only on account of the advantage of early access to instruments and early stimulation. Nowadays, however, schools of dramatic art and music schools, and in America courses in story-writing and play-writing, introduce an unprecedented volume of new blood into the succession of those who would amuse.

Dependence upon applause produces characteristic traits. Applause is what the entertainer seeks, but what the normal human being desires in an entertainment is before anything else elation and laughter. Elation and laughter are the characteristic gifts of the best and most entertaining novels, plays, music and operas. These qualities compel applause. But since the great majority of professional entertainers have no very exceptional power of delighting, cheering and producing those happy surprises that stir the human heart to laughter, and since they have to live, they put it upon the common man in the audience that there are serious qualities in their



(By courtesy of the Blackpool Corporation and Messrs. Stewart Bale)

THE ETERNAL ATTRACTION OF THE CIRCUS



(By courtesy of Helena Rubinstein)

THE CONQUEST OF MATURITY

“As many people as can are striving for beauty . . . to keep something of youth still” (p. 198)

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work to which he must bring care and attention, that it behoves him to discriminate, to submit himself to instruction and learn to applaud not spontaneously but *properly*. He must be advised and shepherded by critics and reviewers, guided by a clique, and brought up to the applauding point in spite of his fundamental lack of response. Such are the essentials of the comedy of the entertaining world and so it is that that world is full of argument, assertion, detraction, plots and vile conspiracies, and infested by a great multitude of professional appraisers and praisers and such-like critical journalists, clique organizers and advance agents; and that at the end of this chain of intermediaries the modern citizen sits before a long list of plays, shows, and entertainments of all kinds, by no means entertained, wondering distressfully where, if anywhere, he can go to find those rare, precious golden threads of self-forgetful happiness, those glittering, exalted moments which are the sole justification for any kind of entertainment whatever. And who among us has not stood before a row of books in a shop window, full of the same perplexity, gathering resentment against the authors without inspiration, the critics and publishers without discrimination, who live and flourish by seeming and failing to satisfy our universal frustrated desire?

Next only to prostitutes, no social class has been so needlessly pursued and vexed by administrators and magistrates as entertainers, and none has been so ruthlessly forestalled, hampered and crippled by commercial cunning. The entertainers, the artistes, preoccupied by their essential need for applause, and intent upon producing their effects, have little time or intelligence left over for the material arrangements of the publication or show. Here step in the impresario and the makers, owners, and conductors of exhibitions, theatres and other show places. They mediate between the public and the more or less gifted persons who would entertain the public, and they make their profits, and seek to make the utmost profits, according to the traditions of the ordinary entrepreneur.

There is consequently a disposition to restrict the output of popular displays with a view to higher prices, there are conspiracies to syndicate and monopolize theatres, music halls, and cinemas, to ration the most attractive stuff and serve it out diluted with less amusing or exciting matter, to buy up and monopolize and restrain the performance of star performers, and to cut the market of out-

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standingly original star performers by advertising and pushing inferior rivals and mere imitators into prominence. These traders in entertainment corner joy; they ration joy; they adulterate joy. All these activities intervene between us and our moments of real happiness in entertainment. They thwart and irritate us.

No need for museum exhibits here, for nearly everyone can fill in these general statements from what we have all known and felt. Not only do we not get nearly all the good entertainers and delightful entertainment or anything like the amount of their work that we might have, but we have a quite excessive amount of weak, plausible, sham entertainment foisted upon us. It is well to have a rationalized oil or coal industry, because here we deal with a standard commodity, but entertainment can never be standardized, and these ingenious people who quasi-standardize it and flatten and deaden it are real destroyers of human initiatives and of human happiness and well-being. This is one side, the commercial side, of this very real problem of contemporary life, the restriction and strangulation of entertainment.

It is a complex and difficult problem, and here we can offer no suggestion of how free trade in entertainment can be established and maintained. The municipalization of theatres and show places and their separate local management may alleviate this unofficial commercial strangulation of the entertainer. A municipal free-house working in competition with just as many private entrepreneurs as appear would check monopoly, but combined with a municipal regulation of privately owned show places it may easily develop into the second form of strangulation—strangulation by authority. A public authority may very well require that a show place for the public should be safe, sound, healthy and with a reasonable standard of comfort and elbow room. Further than that it is doubtful whether the public authority should interfere. But it does interfere most persistently. In all ages rulers, religious organizations and governments have regarded uncontrolled entertainment and particularly uncontrolled mirth, with suspicion. Mirth is a powerful solvent: the *aqua regia* of thought. All human authority is more or less haunted by the fear of ridicule. No doubt the Old Man in the primitive squatting place became restive at any unexplained laughter. Few people, even the most potent and flattered, are free from some element of self-distrust, and laughter

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is the natural enemy of all authoritative conventions. Even the court of Louis XIV must have had moments when it realized that it was just a little preposterous, and the Church of his time, that it was more than a little pretentious. The laws against sceptical or disrespectful jesting in the eighteenth century were severe. Actors and minstrels were vagabonds. No writer who wrote against authority could call his ears his own or hope to keep out of the pillory. And for the better protection of the realm, all who would act must be licensed as the King's Servants. Academies were founded in France to elevate the aims and ambitions of writers and keep the intellectual life of the community in due subjection to the great apex of the pyramid, and every English poet who did not delight outrageously might hope to become Poet Laureate. There was a real sustained effort during the eighteenth century, in Catholic quite as much as in Puritanical countries, to stand between the industrious masses of the realm and levity. Reading "light books," such as novels or poetry, was discouraged in the respectable home. "Fun," said the ruler, "by all means," and begged the whole question by adding, "innocent fun."

Is there ever any fun without its streak of naughtiness?

There has been much emancipation since the phase of high control in the eighteenth century, but not by any means complete emancipation. A cat may look at a king in all his majesty, but it will certainly be indicted for the worst possible taste and probably turned out of doors if it laugh aloud at him. The utmost absurdities of theology are still taboo. Only very little, remote, pearl-eyed, shark-toothed Polynesian gods may be laughed at freely. People may now protest "seriously" against current sexual institutions and sentiment, but good honest laughter in these matters is decried. You may leer and snigger a little, but Peeping Tom's giggle is the very opposite to the healthy "ha-ha" of a mind released. The absurdest military or naval proceedings, again, command and get attitudes of respectful homage. A marshal, spurred and feathered like a Bantam cock and claiming credit for a victory that happened to him, overwhelms us, with awe. Who dare mock him on the stage? At the loyal and patriotic anthem we stand up and look as stiff and meekly dangerous as possible. People dare not laugh at these preposterous things, cannot laugh at them, because they have never been shown how to laugh at them. Yet the world is full of vast, solemn, disastrous old

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conventions and institutions that only a gale of laughter or the despairing fury of revolution can ever sweep away.

And so we go out from our entertainments into the streets again smug and subdued, like a genteel congregation leaving church; elation and laughter well drained out of us.

§ 5. *Art as Overflowing Energy*

Between Entertainment and Art there is no boundary. All entertainers claim to be artistes, even if there is much Art that does not condescend to entertain. Art is the larger term, and we are bound to attempt some generalizations about the immense variety of forms in which it expresses itself, before this chapter can be considered complete.

What is Art? That question was asked and answered with endless variations in ten thousand nineteenth-century debating societies. But from the biological approach it is seen as a special form of play which takes a constructive form. There are no precise boundaries between other forms of play at which one can say: Here play ceases and Art begins. Play is the happy overflow of energy of a more or less secure and satisfied creature under no immediate practical urgency. With dogs and cats and young human beings it takes the form of wild caperings and mock battles. Such caperings become rhythmic, pass insensibly into dancing, just as shouts and noises pass into song.

Human life is full of overflow and by-products. Nature, we may say, supplies the urge and conditions of life; the creature she evokes must have impulses to drive it, senses, feelings, preferences, discriminations. Then it will survive and multiply itself, and that is as much as concerns her. It is no affair of hers if the impulses are in excess and if these senses, feelings, discriminations and preferences open up beyond the world of mere existing propagation and survival, realms of effect beyond utility, and delights and emotions that serve no manifest biological end. You may say that all this world of feelings and responses that art explores is a mere superfluity upon the material scheme, like the colours of a bubble or the delight and beauty of a flower. Or you may say that it is an escape from the material scheme, that Nature, the careless old sloven, has quite heedlessly put a key into our hands that opens the portals of

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a universe of super-reality, more important than material being, a sublimated universe of emancipated and intense effectiveness.

This last attitude is that generally adopted by the artist and the art critic. They have to choose the alternatives we have stated, and the latter is the one they are practically obliged to choose. The former alternative would be intolerable for an artist with a normal persona, an admission of triviality that would take all the spirit out of life for him. Hence the artistic persona is almost always a mystical and arbitrary one, and the attentive critic toils, vaguely expressive, in pursuit. The real artist, with his music, his paint, his chisel, his pencil or his pen, explores his kingdom beyond space and time, explores his magical overworld, and endeavours to convey his not always very certain impression of his discoveries to appreciative minds. He shows. You must take it or leave it—if you do not get it then it is not for you—and therein he differs from the man of science who explores as boldly as the artist, but within material limits and with repeated experiment and reasoned demonstration so that he can prove and compel your acquiescence.

For this part of our survey of the human ant-hill we need invoke no imaginary collections, for all over the world there exist art museums and galleries; it is impossible to guess how many hundred miles of Art have been segregated from the general life and come to rest in these places. And we can point, too, to countless myriads of books about art, and still there will be the poets and the romancers and the fine writers to consider. But let us turn from these accumulations of achievement to the activities of painters, composers, poets, designers, contemporary playwrights and novelists. It is in many ways a distressful life. No artist is an artist all the time; he has his moments of serene divinity when he is absolutely sure of himself and his vision; the great artist has long periods of such assurance; but for the rest, the artist is an unsure, straining creature, miserably in need of reassurance and failing in courage. He has glimpses of his kingdom, and then it is hidden from him. And since in our present state of affairs much prestige and some profit come to the successful artist, he is jostled by a great number of pretenders, without vision, who imitate and put out the results of a pretended and fabricated inspiration. Many of these pretenders do indeed have gleams of artistic insight mingling with their dross, no great artist has been altogether free from dull moments of forced and routine

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performance, and there is every gradation between the almost perfect genius and the absolute impostor. The world of art is made feverish and miserable by its evident need for continual criticism, appraisal and condemnation. Critics are mostly very human in the worst sense of the word, so that no artist gets his perfect praise. Not for him is the full-bodied applause that greets the successful entertainer, nor the sure and certain "record" of the athlete. He may have done his utmost and be driven frantic by some stupidity of interpretation.

It exacerbates the sensitiveness of the genuine artist that he has generally to make a living by his art. He must sell his picture or his novel, he must get his composition performed. He cannot keep his mind indifferent to those banalities of criticism and publicity, on which his reputation and his income depend. And in this world of shareholders he finds himself working amidst a half-competitive swarm of people who have larger or smaller independent incomes, who are attracted by the charm and picturesqueness of a literary or artistic atmosphere, who feel they "want to do something."

But we have said enough to account for the expression of tormented defiance that looks out upon us from under the extravagantly slouched hat and disordered hair and over the wild large tie of the artist. He is a tragic hybrid. He is divine; he is pitifully human. We can hurt him even without malice, stupidly and enormously. He puts up his distinctive fight against us in his own fashion.

Here we will but name the rest of the world of art and artistic literature, the picture dealers, the exhibitions, the publishers, the musical recitals and concerts, the new multiplication of music by radio and gramophone, a world which passes without any boundary into the world of entertainment. We can but glance and pass on.

Steadily through art, life explores the realms of human possibility beyond the limits of material necessity, as athleticism explores to the utmost the physical possibilities of human life, and entertainment sustains its continual protest against a purely rational interpretation of existence. "Eat and drink," says the hard rationalist, "and be merry," adds the entertainer, and opens one door at least upon the wonderland of art. It seems inevitable that as man conquers the three major problems that at present confront him, as he escapes from the suicidal obsession of warfare, the plain

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danger of over-population and the perplexities of economic strangulation, his released energy, his ever-increasing free energy, will find its satisfactions very largely in immense artistic undertakings. No doubt it will also flow into the service of science, but though science illuminates, its main product is power—and it is art alone which can find uses for power.

Therefore, if we are not on the verge of a phase of disaster, it seems plain that we must be on the verge of an age of mighty art, and particularly of mighty architecture and musical spectacle. Architecture and music may be regarded as the primary arts. Painting, sculpture, all furnishing and decoration, are the escaped subsidiaries of architecture, and may return very largely to their old dependence. Spectacle is architecture animated, and music also, through the dance and the sound drama, leads the way to spectacle. There may be a very great rehabilitation of poetry and fine prose composition under the influence of radio. For two or three generations we have read our poetry in books; we may return again to hearing it.

But it is not for us to attempt a prophecy of the coming forms of art. It is absurd to suppose that all that we now call art, the masterpieces, the supreme attainments, is anything more than an intimation of what the surplus energy of mankind may presently achieve.